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REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

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Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue.

INDEXED
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
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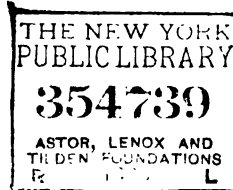
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1904-1905

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Fellows are particularly requested to notify to the Secretary all changes in their addresses, so that the Proceedings and other communications may be forwarded without delay.

J. S. O'HALLORAN,
Secretary.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE,
Northumberland Avenue,
July 1905.

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INCORPORATED BY ROYAL CHARTER 1882.

MOTTO—"UNITED EMPIRE."

Objects.

To provide a place of meeting for all gentlemen connected with the Colonies and British India, and others taking an interest in Colonial and Indian affairs; to establish a Reading Room and Library, in which recent and authentic intelligence upon Colonial and Indian subjects may be constantly available, and a Museum for the collection and exhibition of Colonial and Indian productions; to facilitate interchange of experiences amongst persons representing all the Dependencies of Great Britain; to afford opportunities for the reading of Papers, and for holding Discussions upon Colonial and Indian subjects generally; and to undertake scientific, literary, and statistical investigations in connection with the British Empire. But no Paper shall be read, or any Discussion be permitted to take place, tending to give to the Institute a party character.—(Rule I.)

Membership.

There are two classes of Fellows (who must be British Subjects), Resident and Non-Resident, both elected by the Council on the nomination of Two Fellows, one of whom at least must sign on personal knowledge. The former pay an entrance fee of £8 and an annual subscription of £2; the latter an entrance fee of £1 1s. (which is increased to £3 when taking up permanent residence in the United Kingdom) and an annual subscription of £1 1s. (which is increased to £2 when in the United Kingdom for more than three months). Resident Fellows can compound for the annual subscription by the payment of £20, or after five years' annual subscriptions of £2 on payment of £15; and Non-Resident Fellows can compound for the *Non-Resident* annual subscription on payment of £10.

Privileges of Fellows whose Subscriptions are not in Arrear.

The privileges of Fellows, whose subscriptions are not in arrear, include the use of the Institute building, which comprises Reading, Writing, and Smoking Rooms; a Library containing over 59,000 volumes and pamphlets relating to the history, government, trade, resources and development of the British Colonies and India; and a Newspaper Room in which the principal Journals, Magazines, and Reviews—Home, Colonial, and Indian—are regularly received and filed. Books may be borrowed—subject to the Library Regulations—and the correspondence of Fellows may be addressed to the care of the Institute.

The Journal and the Annual Volume of Proceedings are forwarded to all Fellows whose addresses are known.

Fellows are entitled to be present at the Ordinary Meetings, and to introduce one visitor; to be present at the Annual Conversation, and to introduce a lady. The Institute is open on weekdays from 10 A.M. to 8 P.M., except during August and September, when it is closed at 6 P.M.

The support of all British Subjects, whether residing in the United Kingdom or the Colonies—for the Institute is intended for both—is earnestly desired in promoting the great objects of extending knowledge respecting the various portions of the Empire, and in promoting the cause of its permanent unity.

Contributions to the Library will be thankfully received.

J. S. O'HALLORAN,

Secretary.

FORM OF BEQUEST.

I bequeath the sum of £ to the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, Incorporated by Royal Charter 1882, and I declare that the receipt of the Treasurer for the time being of the said Corporation shall be an effectual discharge for the said Bequest, which I direct to be paid within calendar months after my decease, without any reduction whatsoever, whether on account of Legacy Duty thereon or otherwise, out of such part of my estate as may be lawfully applied for that purpose.

Those persons who feel disposed to benefit the Royal Colonial Institute by Legacies are recommended to adopt the above Form of Bequest.

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Title or Profession }

a British subject, being desirous of admission into the ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE, we, the undersigned, recommend him as eligible for Membership.

Dated this day of 19

F.R.C.I., from personal knowledge.

F.R.C.I.

Proposed 19

Elected **19**

The Description and Residence of Candidates must be clearly stated.

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE.

SESSION 1904-1905.

FIRST ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE First Ordinary General Meeting of the session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, November 8, 1904, when a Paper on "The Rhodes Scholarships" was read by Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D.

The Right Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 147 Fellows had been elected, viz. 19 Resident, 128 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

Alfred Askeff-Hardwick, F.R.G.S., His Grace the Duke of Bedford, K.G., Colonel Gerald E. Boyle, Lewis C. Boyle, C.E., James Caird, William G. Dawes, W. Duffus, H. Woodward Edwards, Walter H. Everson, Leslie G. Langmore, Joseph Metcalfe, Richard F. Morton, Edward B. Osborn, John V. N. Plumptre, F. A. Scrivener, Gerard H. Craig Sellar, William Statham, Commander Murray F. Sueter, R.N., Sir Robert Usher, Bart.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

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 (Queensland), Ven. Archdeacon William E. White, M.A. (New South Wales),
 Henry S. Whiteside (Gold Coast Colony), John B. Wilson (Orange River Colony).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books,
 maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the
 Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United
 Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and
 others.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my painful duty to refer to the loss which this Institute and the Empire at large have sustained through the death of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, who was a most distinguished servant of the Crown in many parts of the Empire. I have the honour to read the resolution which was passed unanimously at the Council Meeting to-day:

"The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute deeply deplore the death of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wylie Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., who devoted himself to the service of his country in various parts of the Empire, both as a soldier and administrator, was for twenty-one years associated with the Institute as one of its Fellows, and for several years past took an active part in its management, first as a councillor, and more recently as a vice-president. The council desire to convey to Lady Norman and the other members of the family of their distinguished and honoured colleague the assurance of their most sincere and respectful sympathy."

I have now great pleasure in calling upon my friend, Dr. Parkin, to read his Paper on the Rhodes Scholarships. You are all acquainted with Dr. Parkin by reputation. On a previous occasion I have referred to him as one of the men who are entitled to the credit of having infused a real imperial spirit into the English-speaking parts of the British Empire. Dr. Parkin has travelled more over the Empire than any other man I know with the exception perhaps of Lord Brassey, whom we are glad to see here to-night.

Dr. G. R. Parkin then read his Paper on

THE RHODES SCHOLARSHIPS.

We have met together to-night to discuss the greatest scholarship scheme that has ever been devised. The splendour of its idealism, the unique character of its conditions, the liberality of its provisions and the possibilities of great results which it opens up have impressed the world's imagination. I need not ask the sympathetic attention of the members of this Institute while I discuss the scheme, since it had its birth in the same great idea which led to the organisation of the Royal Colonial Institute. A United Empire as the broad basis of British national life was the foundation thought of this remarkable bequest, as it was the foundation thought of this society. A race united in bonds of friendly understanding, as a still broader basis for international influence, exercised to secure the peace of the world, was the supplementary idea which grew up in the brain of Mr. Rhodes. Such a conception

could only originate in a great mind. And Mr. Rhodes was a very great man. Defects no doubt he had mistakes no doubt he made ; into at least one grave error of judgment in political morals he unquestionably fell. But making allowance for all these, and subtracting them from the gross results of his life and the sum of his character, we have left behind a man and a mind working on larger practical lines for the upbuilding of the Empire and the good of his fellow-men than any Englishman I can think of during the last two or three generations. This may seem a bold statement. I do not think I would have made it before I went to South Africa. Having been there, I say it without hesitation—and challenge judgment.

The main facts on which the judgment must be based can be put briefly. First, Rhodesia. What does it mean? A country six times the size of the United Kingdom—one quarter the size of the United States, brought under the flag by his individual initiative at a time when the people and the responsible Government of this country shrank from undertaking the task. Look at the map of Africa : observe the way in which this vast territory lies in relation to the possessions of other States, some hostile to us and eager to anticipate us in gaining a footing there ; notice how it gives, through its central position, a command of the whole of South Africa, and how it drives a wedge into the heart of a barbarism as old as the continent itself. The merest glance at the map makes it clear that the history of the world would have been greatly changed (and, may we be excused for believing, changed for the worse ?) had not Mr. Rhodes been present in South Africa to save this vast region for civilisation and the Empire.

Next, the Cape to Cairo route. This year Sir Charles Metcalfe is bridging the Zambesi, and pushing the line northward. Counting the waterways, two-thirds of the great dream which spanned a continent will soon be an accomplished fact. Next year the British Association meets at the Victoria Falls, thus realising in a strangely unexpected way Mr. Kipling's verse about the dreamer who sleeps in the lonely grave among the Matoppos :

And unimagined Empires draw
To council 'neath his skies.

The Empire of science was perhaps even beyond the poet's thought when he wrote the lines.

Next turn to his plans for the development of Africa—the provisions made for irrigation, forestry, agriculture, fruit-farming—all

outlined and endowed on a large scale for the instruction and help of the people of South Africa.

Look, again, at the industrial organisation of Kimberley, the means which he employed on a scale so extensive to make that city habitable and beautiful. Think of the splendid estates, Groote Schuur, at the Cape; Government House at Buluwayo; Inyanga, the park at the Matoppos, all devoted with free hand for the public good or enjoyment. Then, when all these immediately practical things had been provided for, he projects himself and his ideals as a spiritual force upon the whole future of the world with this scholarship endowment, of about £60,000 a year, for all time to come, to develop the higher training and promote the mutual understanding of the widely scattered branches of our Saxon and Teutonic race, through men selected on grounds of combined physical, intellectual, and moral energy.

Lastly, he hands over the residue of his wealth to a few chosen friends, all men of foremost place in their own lines of life, all men who think only of using as a public trust the money privately bestowed upon them, with no further instruction than to carry out at their discretion the plans for the Empire and for civilisation which they had known the giver to have at heart while he was alive. If there were nothing else, the choice of agents to execute his will put a final seal upon the absolute sincerity of lofty purpose which lay behind it.

Remember also that the man who formed these ideals, who clung to them while living, who found in them an inspiration to the pursuit of wealth, and planned for their realisation in years to come, was one who had been thrown at schoolboy age into the very vortex of mining-town life—into a place which had drawn to itself in those early days probably as much of what was grasping and sordid in human nature as any community which ever existed. Fighting his way from boyhood up to fame and fortune in such an atmosphere, our wonder must be, not that he sometimes came short of the ideal, but rather that he clung so steadily to noble conceptions as to the use of wealth, and maintained a sense of duty to his country and to his fellow-men which did not end with life, but pierced the centuries which lay beyond.

Remember, too, that the plans were made in early years, almost in youth, and were then made known to his intimate friends. The power to achieve them was gained only after years of toilsome and painful effort directed steadily towards a definite end. They are not mere monuments to himself, constructed as an after-thought

by a man who had acquired vast wealth and did not know what to do with it. Admitting the grievous mistake into which Cecil Rhodes fell at one point of his career, his friends may claim that seldom or never has so noble an atonement been made for individual error. I know of nothing parallel to it in our history.

Such things recall the lines written of another great Englishman :

The path of trade which leads, who shall say where ?
 To humble competence and low content ;
 To wealth and wisdom or to wealth and care ;
 To means hard earned, to be as loosely spent,
 But seldom to a higher goal than pelf.
 And few on that road ope a wider eye
 Than grasps the vision of the trader's self
 Or second self—kith, kin and progeny.

But on that path this man advancing felt
 The impulse of a great good far away—
 Looked up—saw visions ; and where others knelt
 'To grope for gold, he knelt to dream . . .
 Yes, knelt to dream, though born to toil and trade.
 His was the dreamer's rapt and prescient eye ;
 Thence came the wings that lifted him from soil
 Of sordid paths, and raised low aims to high.

Our noble Chairman may remember that some years ago, when he was with me at Upper Canada College, and when Cecil Rhodes was yet alive, I spoke of him in a tone of criticism as decisive as it was sincere. I shall always remember the terms in which his lordship asked me to postpone my final judgment. "Rhodes is coming to England," he said, "this summer, and so are you. I only ask that you shall meet him. I shall arrange for this at once ; and when you have met him and heard his ideas about his fellow-men, the Empire, and the world, I shall then be quite willing to hear your verdict on the man, his character, and his aims." The death of Mr. Rhodes intervened, and the meeting never took place ; but what all the world has learned since, and especially what I saw and learned in South Africa, makes me more than understand the depth of conviction in one who knew him so well as Lord Grey did. It makes me bold now to assert that, in my judgment, we had in Cecil Rhodes a man whose mind moved on larger constructive lines for the good of his fellow-men and of his country than any other Englishman of our time.

Having said this, I turn to that special one of his many huge plans with which we have to deal to-night.

When a colossal mind, impatient of or indifferent to details, has outlined a conception so original in character and so wide in range as this scholarship scheme, a great deal of work is necessarily involved for those who have to fill in these details and put the scheme itself into practical operation. To this task the trustees have addressed themselves. A large number of communities, great and small, in various parts of the world, were interested; all had to be consulted.

Of course, the first to be considered was Oxford.

Such a tribute of affectionate loyalty from a man of affairs as that expressed to Oxford in the will of Mr. Rhodes, few institutions of learning have ever received. The confidence in its moulding power implied in committing to the care of the University, for centuries to come, selected representatives of the Anglo-Saxon world, for the realisation of a great ideal, is a compliment as subtle as it is rare. That Oxford should have two hundred students more or less is a small matter—that she should have inspired such confidence in the heart and mind of one old pupil; that a great Empire-builder should have picked her out to be the home of a great idea, to be a centre of national and international influence, is a very great matter in the history of the University—one that is sure to influence its future profoundly. Whether it so wishes or no, Oxford must stand henceforth at the bar of a public opinion which will constantly be weighing the accuracy of the judgment passed by Mr. Rhodes.

Oxford has already a large outlook on the outer world. One of her sons rules over South Africa; another is Viceroy of India; many others are filling national posts of almost equal importance abroad as well as at home. But a scheme which opens a possibility for leading spirits of the Anglo-Saxon world to learn their lessons at her feet is, even for her, a wonderful widening of opportunity.

Whether at first Oxford felt all this is doubtful. A nervous tremor, if one may judge from the journals of the time, certainly ran through the Common Rooms of the ancient University at the first announcement of the bequest. The fact of two hundred young men being drawn to her from the ends of the earth, from South African veldt and western prairie, from New Zealand bush and Rocky Mountains, awakened visions of untamed cowboys and boundary-riders, of bowie-knives and revolvers invading the High Street—rather trying to the imagination of cloistered scholars. But any such feeling was temporary and limited. Oxford as a whole

welcomed the larger opening ; while knowledge of educational conditions in the communities concerned enabled anyone who knew the Colonies or the United States to give assurance that even from the most remote, though there might occasionally be sent material crude in form and rough in manner, it would always at least be vigorous, hard-working, and full of purpose. A series of questions which, in behalf of the trustees, I addressed to the separate Colleges soon brought out the fact that every College was ready to accept each year a number of the Rhodes scholars proportioned to the size of the College ; that some Colleges would only receive men prepared to read for Honours ; that most of them were prepared to take either undergraduates or more advanced students.

But even when the various Colleges had expressed their willingness to accept the students, much yet remained to be done.

You must remember how different is the system of our two great residential Universities from the other Universities of the world.

If two hundred students wish to enter at Edinburgh or Heidelberg, London or Harvard, Yale or Chicago, Toronto or Melbourne, all each man has to do is to pass the necessary matriculation examination, find the best boarding house he can to accommodate him, and at once begin work. It is quite different in the two great English Universities. A man may matriculate at Oxford and still have no connection with a College. Each of the twenty-one Colleges of Oxford reserves the right of accepting or rejecting each applicant who comes to it. As the student is to live for three years a member of the College community, is not merely to work, but dine and play and live in the utmost intimacy with members of that community, the question of who shall be taken in is a somewhat serious matter. Some Colleges have one standard, some another. All rightly require to know the antecedents of their students. All fix some minimum of intellectual attainment.

But all these points were soon found to be matters of detail to be settled by careful arrangement. Ability to pass Responsions was fixed upon by the trustees as the preliminary test of a candidate's eligibility, so that no man would be refused on the score of scholarly attainment when he reached the University. About 90 per cent. of our scholars have passed this test ; arrangements will soon be complete for applying it to the small remainder before they leave their own countries. Scholars are allowed to name in order of preference the Colleges they wish to enter. The fullest particulars of their school and college record are furnished to

Mr. Wylie, the representative of the Trustees at Oxford, whose intimate knowledge of the University life and of the *personnel* of the Colleges, to say nothing of his unfailing tact and judgment, enable him in consultation with the heads and tutors to distribute the men to the best advantage throughout the University.

Having completed arrangements with Oxford we were free to turn to the other communities concerned.

When the will of Mr. Rhodes was first published, the admiration everywhere expressed for the greatness and nobility of its conceptions was qualified by much criticism. Many of its suggestions were considered impractical, and grave doubts were expressed as to the possibility of framing from them a working scheme. He wished qualities to be measured which were not measurable; he desired to draw into a single educational atmosphere men reared in widely different communities, with divergent educational ideals; he planned to select his scholars by new agencies and according to new standards; he had evidently outlined his views without detailed knowledge of the conditions under which they would have to be worked out. From all these difficulties, which were patent upon the very face of the testament, the sanity of the testator provided a way of escape—first, by the selection as his trustees of a group of men accustomed to deal with large affairs on general principles; and, secondly, by leaving to them, after giving an outline of his views, the widest possible discretion in giving these effect.

In working out what was committed to them the aim of the trustees has been to secure the best advice that each community interested could give as to the means by which the provisions of the will can be made most effective in that community. It has been an interesting and almost unique experience to carry out this business of consultation. Practically it has brought me in touch with almost every educational man of weight in the United States and in all our Colonies. In New York I met the heads of fifteen of the greatest American Universities, and in Washington the Presidents of the State Universities throughout the Union assembled in conference. At Boston the Colleges and schools of New England were represented. At Chicago nearly sixty heads of Colleges from the six neighbouring States, representing nearly altogether between twenty and twenty-five millions of people, had been drawn together by President Harper. At Atlanta the nine Southern States were represented, the delegates coming 600 miles southward from

Virginia and 500 miles northward from Louisiana. At Kansas City, Spokane, San Francisco, and Denver the representatives of the Far West and Pacific Coast were collected. In the Maritime Provinces of Canada, at Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, and Vancouver, independent conferences were held, as also in each of the Australian States, in New Zealand, Bermuda, Jamaica and Newfoundland. In South Africa the consultation was chiefly with individual schools or the heads of educational departments. All this represents a great mass of academic opinion thoroughly familiar with local conditions. And clearly it is only by the exercise of local and personal judgment that the wishes of Cecil Rhodes about the selection of scholars can be carried out. The object of the trustees has therefore been to make sure that this judgment shall be reliable and impartial. The conditions for securing this end varied in different communities. Politics and denominationalism are the chief stumbling-blocks when impartiality is sought for. A single illustration out of many that might be given will show the nature of this difficulty. As other than merely intellectual qualities were to be considered, we were anxious to have the opinion of men of affairs combined with academic judgment in making selection. With this thought in my mind I asked President Roosevelt, who was inquiring with much interest about the steps taken, whether it would be wise in the United States to take the Governor of each State into our counsels. "Not one of them; I wouldn't trust one of them," was his prompt reply. "The thing is academic—keep it academic." "Why," he added, "if you mentioned that scholarship to my good friend, and one of my best supporters, Governor Blank, his first thought would be how to use it for the next election." All this at a large political luncheon at the White House. Sundry Governors of States to whom I told the story laughingly endorsed the judgment as correct. It furnishes an illustration of the blunt and fearless honesty which has given President Roosevelt such a hold on the minds of his countrymen, and explains why he is not always a favourite with the machine politician.

In the Colonies of the Empire where neither Governor nor Chief Justice is elective or directly mixed up in politics these two officers have been asked to act along with educational men, on the Committees of Selection, giving the lay element that we desire. In the United States this lack is largely counterbalanced by the fact that heads of Colleges are themselves men of affairs to a degree little known in British countries.

One appeal of overwhelming force I was able to make to the men

who met me in conference. In an age held to be excessively material we had here a man, I could say, of great wealth asking that we should use his money for the higher purposes of life. Educational men so challenged were bound to make the bequest a success, to use their very best judgment in working out most efficiently the thought of the giver. To fall short of this would be to discourage giving on a large scale for all time to come. Such an appeal could have only one response. The trustees and the public may be assured that, so far as the best academic judgment of the Colonies and the United States can assist, the successful operation of the scheme may be assumed.

One thing more. Wherever through the Colonies I have gone the potentialities of this scheme as a mighty binding force within the Empire have been freely recognised. It may be twenty, or it may be fifty, years before its full force is felt; but it is planned for the centuries, and we can abide with patience its full development.

Wherever, again, I have gone through the United States the idealism of Mr. Rhodes in regard to our international relations has been accepted as nobly true.

That the peace of the world will in the future depend more upon a clear mutual understanding between the two great branches of our Anglo-Saxon race than on anything else was constantly dwelt upon in our conferences and fully admitted.

Personally I felt bound to urge one point wherever those conferences furnished the opportunity. I believe that there is one primary political duty incumbent on every British and American citizen. It is to labour for the creation in both countries of a sound body of opinion so strong that if ever party politics or national passion, prejudice or disputed issues, should lead our nations in the direction of war, there will be a force sufficient to put an absolute veto upon a conflict which would do more to check the progress of civilisation than anything else we can imagine.

The subjects upon which opinions were asked, and which were exhaustively discussed at the conferences, naturally grouped themselves under a few main heads:

1. The method of selecting scholars and the body to whom selection should be entrusted.
2. The possibility of adhering closely to the suggestions of Mr. Rhodes in the selection of scholars.
3. The limits of age within which candidates may offer themselves.

4. The school or collegiate standing of candidates.
5. The conditions of domicile under which a candidate will be allowed to apply for a scholarship in any Province, State, or Territory.

The conditions with which the trustees had to deal in different countries have been extremely various. In the older Provinces of Canada, in large sections of the United States, and in at least two or three Australasian States, they have had to do with communities enjoying an advanced system of both University and secondary school education. In remote or newly settled States and Territories of the Union, and in some of the Provinces, States, and Colonies of the British Empire, good secondary schools are only as yet in the process of creation, while Universities are either entirely wanting or in an embryo state.

It is manifestly impossible to apply similar methods of selection to communities so different.

Let me first refer to a method which we have found advantageous to apply in a limited way.

In four of the Canadian Provinces and in a very few States of the American Union a system has been adopted by which the leading Colleges or Universities nominate a scholar in a rotation fixed by the number of students in attendance at each.

It is claimed that by this method of rotation the wishes of the testator will be more fully met than by any other. The individual College becomes for the year of appointment like the schools upon which the thought of Mr. Rhodes was manifestly fixed. In each case the selection is made by a faculty personally acquainted with the candidates. The vote of fellow-students can be utilised. The difficulty of finding an absolutely impartial committee of selection is obviated. The danger of friction in deciding between candidates from rival Colleges—mostly denominational—is avoided. An even distribution of the scholarships throughout the most representative sections of the whole community is secured. A healthy stimulus is given to each College to send up a good type of man without the irritating necessity for competition with other Colleges carried on under somewhat indefinite conditions.

The one strong objection which might be urged to this system was carefully considered, and should be mentioned. It does not give assurance that all the ablest candidates in the State or Province will be in the field in any given year.

The system quite breaks down also where the number of Independent Colleges is great, as in states like New York, Ohio, or

Indiana ; where they are very unequal in their courses of study, or where some do not give the kind of preparation which Oxford requires.

The general idea of the trustees outside this exceptional arrangement has been to secure as a local committee of selection the most impartial and competent body of men that each community can produce.

My almost invariable custom has been to say that what the trustees wished for was a number of names on such a committee which, when published, would be immediately and instinctively recognised by the public as essentially adequate and impartial. Whether this has been done in all cases remains to be seen. But the only course for the trustees is to trust implicitly the men selected, and leave the force of public opinion in their own communities to set them right should they make mistakes. This, of course, is said subject to the condition that there should be no distinct violation of the principles of selection upon which the trustees have decided that the bequest shall be carried out.

For these Committees of Selection we have secured most of the leading University men of the Colonies and the United States. The Presidents of all the leading Universities are Chairmen or members of these Committees, and they usually have associated with them two, four, or six leading educational men of the State or Province. In the hands of these Committees are placed the names of all those who have passed the qualifying examination, along with their athletic records, the opinions of teachers and fellow students in regard to character qualifications, and such personal testimonials as are thought likely to assist the judgment of the Committees. Where several candidates have passed from a single college the faculty and students are requested to select their best representative. The terms of Mr. Rhodes' will are also supplied to the Committees, and they are asked to make their decision so far as circumstances permit in accordance with these suggestions.

The limits of age within which candidates may be allowed to present themselves for scholarships engaged the very serious and prolonged consideration of all the conferences. It was generally acknowledged that Mr. Rhodes probably had in his mind young fellows of the same age as those who enter Oxford from English schools. But it was strongly urged in almost every conference that the successful working of the scheme might be seriously endangered by sending boys directly from Colonial or American schools to Oxford, while there would probably be insuperable difficulty in

fulfilling other conditions which were very much in the thought of the testator.

Mr. Rhodes wished that his scholars should be selected on certain well-defined grounds of moral and physical superiority; that they should give promise of leadership in their own country in later life; and that they should not be denationalised by their Oxford education.

It was pointed out (*a*) that under the Colonial or American systems of education there is not in secondary schools the same opportunity for recognising these qualities at an early age as in English public schools; (*b*) that the College in the United States, Canada, or Australia does give these opportunities in a very conspicuous way; (*c*) that a student from either who aspires to leadership in his own country could scarcely afford to miss entirely all knowledge of its College life and the benefit of its College associations; (*d*) that a somewhat more matured man than the ordinary Oxford matriculant would be better fitted to get advantage from the serious influences of the place, and to resist its temptations to idleness; (*e*) that parents would hesitate to send a young boy so far from the home-base for a series of years; and (*f*) that the inevitable result of sending young fellows of eighteen or nineteen away from home for several years would be a loss of sympathy with and understanding of their own country very damaging to their future chances of influence and success.

It was also urged that numbers of the best students in younger countries, not having the means for continuous preliminary training, come to College at a later stage than in England, and that a hard-and-fast upper limit of age would exclude a large class of men who often prove themselves most successful and efficient in public life. It was generally felt that, had Mr. Rhodes understood more clearly these conditions of school and College life abroad, he would have wished his scheme to include this class of men.

May I introduce here the opinion given to me in a private letter from one of the most thoughtful of Canadian professors—one who himself enjoyed in this country a scholarship somewhat similar to those with which we are dealing? What he says represents the feeling of the staff with which he is connected—a body of equally thoughtful men, and is typical of opinion received from many other sources in Canada and the United States.

We are very strongly of the opinion that the scholarship should be awarded to mature students, rather than to schoolboys, for the following, among other, reasons:

1. The experience of the Gilchrist Scholars, extending from 1868 or 1869

to 1887, was conclusive so far as the capacity of the scholars to receive the full benefits of a scholarship were concerned.

The younger scholars, more particularly those who had not been seasoned in a University, with few exceptions, broke down in health or failed to attain distinction afterwards. The older scholars found the strain a severe one. Climatic conditions and ambition rendered the strain more severe than it would be to one born in Britain and accustomed to British ways of living and teaching.

The ambitions of the scholars must be taken into account; for the majority of the scholars will be the sons of poor men, and must make their course at Oxford the key to success.

The moral danger is very great. Young lads with characters not well established, transferred from homes of comparative poverty to a life far from those whose opinion they stand in awe of, and given a large income, will find it no easy task to avoid excesses, more particularly during the Long Vacations. I think that I am well within the mark when I say that over one half of the Colonials who were known to me during my four years in Edinburgh wasted two or three years, and in not a few cases their entire course. The worst failures which at present I can recall were young fellows sent over direct from school. Still, these had no monopoly. The vacations were the most trying times.

2. The second set of objections relate to the difficulty of selecting good candidates.

It is no easy matter to form a correct estimate of a fellow's ability even after a four years' course under several experienced and observant teachers in a College. But the difficulty will be increased tenfold if candidates are taken from the schools. Our high schools, unlike those in Britain, hold their scholars for but three or four years. The teachers are constantly changing. Consequently there are no settled traditions such as are found in the Colleges.

This will add to the almost insuperable difficulties of a central authority selecting in a satisfactory manner a scholar from candidates sent up from different places and recommended according to different standards. That central authority is apt to be suspected of religious, political, or sectional bias.

Then our schools cannot prepare the right kind of men for Oxford. So much time is devoted to mathematics and science that little is left for classics. In fact, the Colleges and Universities alone, in Canada, are true to the ideals of Oxford.

Similar views have been expressed with equal strength in some of the States of Australia. At a public meeting which I addressed at Cape Town, Dr. Muir, the Chief Superintendent of Education, stated his belief that if the Scholarships were given in South Africa to boys fresh from school rather than to more advanced students they would do more harm than good to education

in the Colony. His reason for thinking this was that lads selected at an early age and without adequate preparation for an Oxford course would form an undue estimate of their own powers on being given one of the largest educational prizes of the world, and would then at once be plunged into an educational centre where they would find themselves entirely handicapped and so lose their self-respect.

When Mr. Rhodes first proposed the plan in his own district at Rondebosch the head master of the school there pointed out the objection to his plan. Mr. Rhodes desired that at least a trial should be made, and the opinion at Rondebosch is that experience would have led him to change his views.

An interesting result of the consultations at Bermuda is that the local Government proposes to establish continuation scholarships at Canadian colleges, so that pupils who have won the scholarship at the local schools may take a two years' course of further study before proceeding to Oxford. All this proves how general is the belief that the more mature student will best fulfil the objects of the will.

The question of domicile presents difficulties, and has required careful consideration. In Colonies like Jamaica, Newfoundland, British Columbia, Rhodesia, and Bermuda the claim of the parent who sends his boy away to get the best early school education must be balanced against the natural wish of the schools to retain the scholarships entirely as a stimulus for local institutions. In some of the Western States of America it was urged that a man could not be considered a representative of a State if any considerable part of his education were obtained outside of that State, and there was a desire that continuous education combined with legal domicile should be conditions of eligibility. In New Zealand a vigorous argument was made for the selection of native-born candidates only, but this was felt to be inconsistent with the conditions of an Empire in which population shifts from one point to another. Speaking generally, it has been decided that candidates shall be free to elect whether they shall apply for the Scholarship in the Province or State in which they have their home and legal domicile or that in which they have chiefly received their qualifying educational training.

To mark the representative character of the scholar a residence of some years in the community from which he is selected is made a condition of eligibility.

Let me note here one or two of the points on which it will

probably be found impossible to carry out with precision the suggestions of Mr. Rhodes. He asked that a numerical rating should be given for character and for special moral qualities. Even where this is attempted in selecting a scholar from a single school, the task is difficult enough. But where the scholar is to be chosen from perhaps some hundreds of schools, as in a great State like New York or Illinois, all judging from individual standards, the thing is practically impossible. I found that the gravest doubt also was felt among educational men about securing just decisions from the votes of fellow students, especially among school boys. The influence of such a method upon school character was strongly questioned, since the temptation among candidates to strive for mere popularity would be excessive. In all cases we ask local authorities to use their best judgment in giving effect to the spirit of the will.

Mr. Rhodes asked, again, that the Trustees should consult the Ministers of Education in all the communities concerned. As a matter of fact such officials existed in only a very few of the communities, and so we were forced to adopt the general principle of consulting the highest educational authorities, and in doing this we no doubt carried out in substance his intention.

On the whole, I am satisfied that the steps taken will give genuine efficiency to this remarkable bequest, and that a system has been set in motion which will year after year send to Oxford a group of men carefully selected in accordance with the main ideas of Mr. Rhodes.

And now we may consider for a moment whether the end aimed at by the testator will be gained.

What can Oxford give a Colonial or American student?

In the educational world all over the Empire a good Oxford degree certainly gives prestige. But it should give power as well—the added power which comes from three years of earnest work done as a supplement to the training for life that the scholar has had before. Nothing could be of greater advantage, in my opinion, to Colonial students than this lengthened period of preparation. The haste with which men enter professional life in new countries tends to superficiality. Very commonly it is forced upon them through the lack of means. That difficulty Mr. Rhodes has cut. The embryo doctor, lawyer, journalist, clergyman, politician, who aims at the highest can by the help of this bequest spend three additional years, unoppressed by anxious care, in laying broadly and firmly the intellectual basis on which his professional work is to be

done. How struggling men in every country and in every age have longed for and toiled after what is thus flung at the feet of our Rhodes scholars!

Nor is it Oxford training alone that is within reach. I well remember the keen delight with which, in my own Oxford time, when opportunity offered, I ran up to London for a night when some important debate was on in days when the great protagonists, Gladstone and Disraeli, still faced each other on the floor of Parliament.

Whether he comes from Australia, Canada, South Africa, or the United States, the Rhodes scholar will have ample opportunity, if he wish it, to visit and study the 'Mother of free Parliaments,' that wonderful outgrowth of an Anglo-Saxon life out of which have sprung alike American Congress and Colonial Parliament, or whatever else of representative assembly may have been devised to give expression to the will of a free people. And they will find her the "Mother of Parliaments" still—in world-wide influence, in loyalty to great traditions, in power of dignified debate, in watchful guardianship over popular freedom. They will see there the dignity of a splendid past wedded to the energy of the present—a body representing the accumulated political history of a thousand years, and yet only now beginning to awake to dreams of a larger history still, when it is the voice, not of the United Kingdom alone, but of the United Empire.

Suppose the young student intends to be a journalist, or to spend his life in the public service of his country, and with this ambition before him aims at the highest, and wishes to get the fullest equipment possible. He wins a Rhodes scholarship, and comes to spend three years at Oxford, where day by day all that is best in the Press of England comes under his notice; where he will be in close touch with the embryo thinkers, writers, and politicians of the next generation of Britain and all parts of the British world; where his Long Vacation can be spent in France or Germany or Italy, acquiring the languages of those countries, watching their Press, and studying the movements of public opinion. Will, or will not, such a man be better equipped for the highest work of journalism than if he had remained in Ontario or California, Cape Colony or New South Wales? Will his outlook on the world be larger, his perspective more true, and his views more justly balanced? Will it necessarily diminish his understanding of his own country or his sympathy with its needs and aspirations? Rather, I would say, he will come back laden with the wisdom and experience of many lands to lay under tribute for the better service

of his own, and I think, too, with clearer vision to understand its problems.

In the history schools of Oxford he gets that familiarity with the past which is the best assistance to ability in understanding the present or forecasting the future. His mind gets the comparative idea—and from broader experience he learns to make larger judgments. Surely such a man will go back with greater capacity to understand or direct the policy of countries which from the size, population, commerce, and close relations to other States, must take a large place, and must also take a world-view of national and international affairs.

Suppose, again, that our Rhodes scholar is to be a medical man. While Oxford has not as yet a great medical school, such as Mr. Rhodes wished that it should have, it still furnishes an excellent opening for such a course. A man enters Oxford and selects for his special study the scientific side of work best adapted to his future career. His three years' course gives him excellence in this, and adds the stamp of that broad culture which comes from training at a literary University. Oxford sends on such students to the great hospitals of London and Edinburgh for their clinics.

They may go forward to Germany and France, aided by their broad Oxford training in selecting from all countries of what is best. So, likewise, in other walks of life.

I was myself only a single year at Oxford, coming there after my University course in Canada for special work. My experience at that time makes me envy those who have the opportunity to take a longer course such as is provided by this scholarship scheme. It was not merely that one came under the influence of men whose names were famous in literature or in secular or religious thought, Ruskin, Jowett, Liddon, Stanley and others, but one met younger men who were thinking seriously and debating vehemently the great national issues of our time. Many of these have since filled posts of great importance, and I am confident that the influences of those days have deeply affected their careers.

I am sure that the wider views and larger experience gained from Oxford life sent me back to Canada not unfitted, but much better fitted than I was before, to do my work there; much better able to grasp the problems of my own country. I anticipate the same wholesome results for the young men who now come from the Colonies and the United States.

It is admitted that Japan has lately taught the nations of the world many striking lessons. How has she done it? By picking

the brains of the world. She has sent out her students to every civilised country; they have selected there everything that was of the best in national knowledge, practice, and organisation; and when they have made themselves masters of all this, they have come back to pour out upon their own country all their gains, to give it the advantage of everything they have learned. What could be better for young countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa—and one may add, too, the United States—than that in like manner large numbers of young men should go forth for the same purpose, and bring back for the good of their own countries the fruit of their studies and their investigations? The Rhodes scholarships place it easily within the power of the younger countries of the Anglo-Saxon world to draw upon the deepest and richest fountains of knowledge in England, and even in Europe.

What will be the influence of the scheme on Oxford? Some have rashly thought that it would lead to some great change in her internal system and the course of training which she offers to her students. Sometimes abroad one hears amusing views of what Oxford stands for to-day. When I had to publish in America the subjects of the Responsions Examination, a leading New York paper gravely pointed out to its readers that no author was mentioned in the whole list who had been dead less than two thousand years. But Oxford and Cambridge training represents a system which has produced a great succession of statesmen, theologians, historians, literary men of every type, as well as men of affairs almost if not quite unequalled in modern history. These men have very generally been ready to acknowledge that what they had accomplished was largely due to the influence of the University life in which they were bred.

No doubt Oxford would be more efficient still if she could give the same completeness to her higher scientific teaching that is now recognised in her schools of history, philosophy, law, and the humanities generally. But for that she has a right to demand from her sons the financial support which is all she requires for the purpose. It will be a lasting disgrace to this rich country if the two great Universities which have for centuries educated and given character to the wealth and aristocracy of England ask in vain for the means which will make them able to fulfil the new duties which are thrust upon them by the changing conditions of the world.

Oxford has been formally made by the will of Mr. Rhodes the centre of a grand imperial thought. He himself attached less

importance to his immediate gift of money than he did to his example of giving for the public good. That example should stimulate others to equip the University fully for all the new duties which lie before it. Already one of Mr. Rhodes' trustees has established a chair of Colonial and Imperial History. An Oxford man to whom I happened last year to mention the needs of the University said at once that he would gladly give a thousand a year to such a cause, and that something of the kind had long been in his thought. Surely the Universities have many such sons. The grand foundations of centuries ago have left their stamp on English character. Shall the foundations of this far richer age be less powerful to influence the future?

Mr. Rhodes once told some friends that while he had perhaps not learned much at Oxford, he had at any rate read some Greek, and that one line of Aristotle had stamped itself on his mind. It was a line in which the philosopher says that probably the greatest happiness of life is to be found in the conscious pursuit of a great purpose. I do not know the line and I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the translation, but I wish that the greatness of the thought could be impressed upon the mind of every scholar whom his benefaction brings to Oxford.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Lord BRASSEY, K.C.B. : I am proud to be here to-night under the Chairmanship of Earl Grey, and I am sure I am expressing a universal sentiment when I say we wish him God speed on his mission to Canada. I would say further we recognise a splendid gift in the noble academic foundation which we owe to Mr. Rhodes. There has been no nobler gift ever made in the cause of education, nor has there ever been devised a means more fruitful or more full of promise in the future for the unity of the Empire. It must also be recognised that the administration of the fund has been placed in most able hands,—that in the hands of trustees so felicitously chosen and in the hands of Dr. Parkin, associated with Mr. Wylie at Oxford (most competent, devoted, and enthusiastic men), this splendid gift will produce the results which Mr. Rhodes designed. There cannot be a grander bond than this of education, and I feel glad that my university of Oxford has been called upon to undertake this great task.

The Right Hon. the Earl of RANFURLY, G.C.M.G. : After the splendid Paper read by Dr. Parkin, I have very few words to say ;

but as one who was in New Zealand during the arranging of the rules for the selection of Rhodes scholars, and as chairman of the selectors of the first scholar there, I naturally take great interest in those who have been sent to Oxford from the various parts of the Empire. I feel sure people little know the difficult task it was to choose the best scholar. We had six names before us. Two we were able to scratch out without difficulty. The other four we balloted for and all came out equal. We then took them in pairs and they again came out equal, and we had six or seven ballots before we managed to get rid of one of the four. Then, feeling confident that they would come out equal again if I voted as I had, I refused to give a casting vote, the candidates being in my opinion equally good men. I therefore did not vote in the last ballot, with the result that one candidate did get elected, and I am glad to hear from Dr. Parkin that he saw him at Oxford the other day and thinks he will do credit to the country that sent him. I feel that the bringing of these young men from different parts of the Empire will cement it together, and my reason is possibly somewhat different from that of others. It is because I believe that, having had the opportunity of seeing the country for themselves and of learning about "home," at the same time benefiting by Oxford, they will go back true sons of the Mother Country, and their influence should be largely felt in the Colony they come from. I shall look on the lives of these Rhodes scholars at Oxford with the greatest interest, and I hope in the next week or two to see some of those that are already there.

Lady HAMILTON: You may ask what cause I have to be here to-night. I may tell you that it is with the greatest interest I have come, for one night I had the privilege of a long talk with Mr. Rhodes, just after my husband and I came back from Tasmania. His personality was the strongest I have ever had the privilege of coming in contact with, and after his death, when his will was read, it seemed to me the most touching thing of all that he, the childless man, should have thought out the whole scheme of these scholarships for his boys of the future so carefully. No one who has had sons to send to the University, and who understands what it costs and means, can fail to be astonished at the completeness of the scheme. As far as I know, there is no one else who has ever given an adequate sum for the purpose. The £300 a year exactly seems to fit the scholars' requirements. If a scholar can only put his lips, as it were, to the cup of Oxford life, and is debarred from drinking its full draught even to the manly sport going on in the

college, he only turns out, according to my idea, half a man. "Quit ye like men, be strong," was Mr. Rhodes' text. I wonder if the trustees are going to write some sort of inspiring address to these scholar children of Cecil Rhodes. Some anxiety was expressed in Dr. Parkin's Paper lest they should stray, but surely if the trustees do their duty they should be able to inspire the holder of each scholarship with the determination to be worthy of the trust he holds. Knowing a good deal myself about young men, I think they are very much to be trusted with anything that is great, and that they do rise to what is required of them when it is pointed out; but youth is slow to observe, so that the responsibility of inspiration lies mainly with the trustees in the direction I suggest. It is a pleasure to be allowed to add my testimony to the character of Mr. Rhodes, whom I admired from the bottom of my heart, and who was the one man I wanted to meet after having been abroad.

The CHAIRMAN: Dr. Parkin requests me to state, that if there is anyone present who does not quite understand the working of the scheme, or who has any criticism to offer or any question to ask, he would be most happy to meet such criticism, and to answer the questions.

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.: We have listened to a most admirable exposition of the Rhodes Scholarship Scheme from my old friend the brilliant lecturer of this evening. I rise for the purpose of saying just one word about the author of the scheme itself. It has been my happiness and good fortune in the course of my long life, during which I have been acquainted with many distinguished men, to know Mr. Rhodes personally. He gave me some letters of introduction fifteen years ago, when I went to South Africa, to some friends at Kimberley. Subsequently I saw him at Cape Town; and during the last few years of his life I frequently met him in London; and speaking from this knowledge I wish to satisfy my conscience by adding my humble tribute to what has been said with regard to this splendid man. As Dr. Parkin says, he was a great man. He was one of the real makers of Empire. The scheme we are discussing to-night of course is only one part of what he did for the benefit of the Empire, and it is impossible, viewing the whole of his achievements, to feel for him anything but the greatest possible admiration.

Mr. B. F. HAWKSLEY: It seems to me that for a trustee of Mr. Rhodes' will to get up and speak to you when one of the trustees is in the Chair and when an address has been read by one

appointed by the trustees to do a vast amount of detailed work in a way which could have been done by no other man that we know, at all events in this hemisphere, is as though someone said "You scratch my back and I will scratch yours." I am bound to say your secretary at a late period of the dinner told me he had been asked to request me to say a few words. My life is, as I often say, a vicarious one spent in doing what others tell me to do. I did not think, however, I should be brought into this room face to face with that map on the wall. Perhaps I am short-sighted, but I have spent most of the time in trying to discover on the map where England is. Now the power shown in the past by England to colonise the face of the earth was the great idea which dictated to Mr. Rhodes his will. He was not a man imbued by what we call land hunger, but with the idea that there was no country so capable of colonising for the best purposes the face of the earth as England. Your Chairman will not contradict me when I say that Mr. Rhodes said more than once to his intimate friends, "Thank God you are an Englishman. If you have feelings of depression and you feel you are not doing as well as you ought and are in a parlous condition, always put on the other side the fact that you are English and thank God for it." That was his spirit when he dedicated so large a portion of his fortune for the purpose of these scholarships—the feeling that the influence of England was an influence for good, and when Mr. Rhodes used to talk to us about painting the face of the globe red it was not with any idea of aggrandisement or making England *qua* England a large and important country, but because, as he would say, take any of the other countries, count them on your fingers, and say which one has the colonising influence England has. It was that feeling which led him to say that he should like to bring to his old University men from all the English-speaking portions of the world—all the parts which are Anglo-Saxon or ought to be Anglo-Saxon—because no one felt more than he did the greivous error which lost us our American Colonies. It was with that feeling he said he would not limit the benefit of his bequest to English Colonies, but include other territories which are really Anglo-Saxon in origin. Therefore you see we are beginning to gather in Oxford a large number of men not only actuated by the belief in England which necessarily must belong to every Colonial, but men who have their own national instincts and who will go back with a certain amount of Oxford training and education. Well, I don't much like the word education in this connection, but let us say of influence which

they will have obtained in what is after all the Mother Country. To a certain extent Dr. Parkin has criticised the bequest in a way which possibly calls for a word of explanation. Most unfortunately Mr. Rhodes died a young man. He died at a very early stage, after having conceived for practical purposes the foundation of this bequest. It is not giving you any professional secret when I tell you that this will was what I may describe as a first edition will. Had he lived ten, fifteen or twenty years, can you doubt that as the result of experience he would have made many provisions which we now, in endeavouring to carry out the terms of his will, find absent? But we have to carry out the will as it stands. Dr. Parkin has told us, as the result of his travelling some 100,000 miles in the course of the last eighteen months, some of the practical difficulties in the way. It is for the trustees, not necessarily the present trustees, but for them and for those that come after them, to carry out this trust as best they can. It is to be hoped that as time goes on these scholarships will, as the result of experience, be brought to the highest possible state of efficiency. I welcome Dr. Parkin's Paper, and I regret to some extent that we have not been favoured with many observations from those in the body of the room. The trustees have no light burden, and we shall welcome, not only from the Colonies but from America and from this country, any criticism which may come from those who have studied the subject and will aid us in carrying out this gigantic trust.

The CHAIRMAN (The Right Hon. Earl Grey, G.C.M.G.): I for one have been profoundly moved by Dr. Parkin's reference to Mr. Rhodes. I rejoice that such an appreciation should have come from the lips of one who perhaps has had greater opportunities than anybody else of studying what the effects are likely to be of Mr. Rhodes' will in various portions of the world. Dr. Parkin has referred to our little conversation at Toronto. Mr. Rhodes was then alive. I told Dr. Parkin in terse Thucydidean language that in my opinion Mr. Rhodes was the greatest of living Englishmen. To-night he has rendered to that opinion the homage not only of the lips but of the heart. For he has told us that Cecil Rhodes was a man whose mind moved on larger constructive lines for the good of his fellow-men and country than any other Englishman of our time. He gave my statement a courteous reception, but was unable to conceal the reserve of incredulity that lay stubbornly behind his polite acceptance of my opinion. Dr. Parkin has referred to a sentence of Aristotle which was adopted by Mr. Rhodes. Now

Mr. Hawksley has in his possession a precious document, a confession of faith which Mr. Rhodes wrote when, as a young man of twenty-two, he was travelling in South Africa, sleeping under the stars, behind his wagon. In this confession of faith there is this sentence of Aristotle, that man finds his greatest happiness in the conscious pursuit of a great purpose. Mr. Rhodes stated in that most interesting and remarkable document how most men start out in life with some ruling idea, one to make wealth, another to collect pictures, and so on. Mr. Rhodes' ruling idea was to devote his life to strengthening the British Empire and to making it a more potent instrument for raising the civilisation and ennobling the life of the world. What is remarkable is not that he should have given expression at twenty-two to this aspiration, but that the faith to which he then gave expression should remain the faith which animated every act of his life, and which found final expression in the will which has stirred the imagination of the civilised world. Mr. Hawksley has mentioned that Mr. Rhodes always deplored that the stupidity of our rulers should have lost us the American Colonies. If I am not mistaken, in this historical document, Mr. Rhodes suggested, with the view of repairing in some measure the blunders of our forefathers, that something like a Society or Church should be established to consolidate and unify the Anglo-Saxon race in every part of the world. The same aspiration and ambition finds expression in the will, which established these scholarships not only in the British Colonies but in every state and territory of the United States. I am glad to hear that these scholarships are already acting as a mighty binding force not only of the Empire but of the whole Anglo-Saxon race. I understand from Dr. Parkin that the American States are jealously competing with each other for the privilege of sending to Oxford the best representatives. This being the case, the Rhodes scholarships cannot fail to have an excellent result upon the relations of the two great branches of the race. That these carefully selected American scholars should come and mix with our students at Oxford is one step towards the realisation of the hope which animated Mr. Rhodes. I hope the next step will be that some race Imperialist will establish American scholarships for youths from every portion of the British Empire. Reference has been made to the difficulty in literally carrying out some of the provisions of the will. I think the trustees have hit on a very happy plan for the solution of the difficulty. They have appointed, through Dr. Parkin's zealous efforts, the very best committee which could possibly be appointed in each locality, and those

committees have the duty of applying Mr. Rhodes' will not only in letter but in spirit as nearly as they possibly can. We shall have a variety of experiment, and the result cannot fail to be of the greatest possible utility. I now have to ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to Dr. Parkin. If the Rhodes trustees are as successful in carrying out their other duties as they have been in the duty of selecting the man to make arrangements throughout the world for carrying out the conditions of the trust, they will merit your gratitude and thanks. We wish Dr. Parkin success in his endeavours to carry out his most important work.

Dr. PARKIN: I thank you most sincerely not only for the vote of thanks but for the extreme patience with which you listened to what I am afraid was too long an address. I have only a few further words to say. The young men who have come from abroad are creating an excellent impression at Oxford. You may be sure that when Mr. Rhodes was making out that will he was creating something which was going to influence the world profoundly. The real influence will begin when we begin to plant our scholars back in their own countries. I had hoped and rather expected this evening a good deal of criticism of our plans. There has been a good deal in the press, and a good deal said to us individually, as to whether we were not turning aside from the directions of the will, and I had fully expected a certain amount of criticism and felt prepared to meet it; but the fact that such criticism is not forthcoming may probably be taken as some indication that people are satisfied with the explanations which have been given, though I am sure I express the feelings of all the trustees when I say that we welcome every criticism and suggestion, and that any given to us will be most carefully considered. We have the great honour of having in the chair to-night one who has won distinction in various ways, and who has devoted himself to philanthropic effort and everything which lends itself to the improvement of his country. Now he has been selected by our Sovereign to go abroad and represent this country in its greatest Colony. He goes away in a few weeks' time to take the place of his brother-in-law the present Viceroy. Canada is now going through the most remarkable evolution of development and prosperity that any Colony of the Empire has ever experienced, pointing clearly to the fact that in the next ten, fifteen or twenty years we are going to have there something never known before as an annexe of empire. Earl Grey is entrusted with the duty of representing this country there, and I am sure I represent the

feelings of the whole of this Institute when I, in the first place, thank him for having honoured us with his presence to-night, and in the next place wish him God speed and all success in the great work he has undertaken of representing this country in the greatest of its Colonies.

Earl GREY: I thank you heartily for the kind way in which you have received Dr. Parkin's remarks. I must, however, call attention to one astonishing slip which he made. He said that in leaving England for Canada I was going "abroad." And we all know Dr. Parkin to be an Imperialist of the Imperialists and a Canadian born and bred. I only hope that you will excuse as generously as we excuse Dr. Parkin the similar slips which I may make in the course of the next few years in Canada.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

AN AFTERNOON MEETING was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, November 22, 1904, when a Paper on "The Wealth of Canada as an Agricultural Country" was read by Mr. W. STALEY SPARK. The Right Hon. Lord Strathcona, G.C.M.G., presided.

The CHAIRMAN stated that Mr. Spark had travelled not only in Canada but in South America and in South Africa, and he should therefore be able to give good advice to intending settlers. He then called on Mr. Spark to read his Paper on

THE WEALTH OF CANADA AS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY.

It is astonishing how little the British public know of Canada, the vast possibilities of the country, its enormous wealth of agricultural land, and the great opportunities there are for capitalists to invest their money safely.

I do not think there is any country in the world which has developed by such rapid strides during the last ten years as Canada. Probably the reason of this is that the Government and their officials never forget their loyalty to the British Crown. They do their utmost to assist all classes of people; the law must be observed and order kept, and the country is the most moral and sober one which it has

ever been my lot to visit, and I have travelled considerably. It is mostly of the great development of the agricultural resources I shall speak to you to-day, for it is with the Department of Agriculture that I have been closely connected. The area of the country is 3,745,574 square miles, or twenty-eight times the size of Great Britain and Ireland; the population per square mile is 1·5; to each square mile there are 640 acres. The area of England and Wales is 58,808 square miles; the population per square mile is 558. The area of Canada now under cultivation amounts to about 80,167,000 acres, and there remains untouched probably more than double this amount. It is difficult, therefore, to assign a limit to Canada's agricultural possibilities.

Since 1867, when the Federation of the Provinces took place, the methods of agriculture have improved largely, and the growth of success has naturally been followed by an increase of the national wealth. The people of the eastern portion of the Dominion have turned their attention more to live stock, and those of the north-west to wheat-growing. In both of these industries the development has been extraordinary; only a small portion of the great wheat belt has yet been cultivated, and there are millions of acres waiting for those who are anxious to work and make for themselves a delightful home and a good balance at the bank. The Government offers to every male over eighteen years of age, who will reside upon and cultivate it, a free grant of 160 acres of land. The taxes are low; each quarter section of land (which consists of 160 acres) owned or occupied is taxed to the extent of eight to ten shillings per annum; the only other taxes levied are for schools in the locations where settlers have formed school districts. The total tax for all purposes on 160 acres seldom exceeds forty to fifty shillings per annum.

Whether the farmer grows grain or stock, there is always a ready market at a very remunerative price. When I tell you that the average production of wheat to the acre is twenty-one bushels, and there is a profit of 1s. 10d. on each bushel, you will see that a thrifty man should soon have a good balance to his credit at his banker's. The raising of stock is even more profitable; one can buy the best oats at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound, good hay at 20s. per ton, other grain and roots equally cheap, so surely it must pay to raise stock with fodder so plentiful and cheap.

I have just told you that any man may go to Canada and get a free grant of 160 acres of land, but it is my opinion that the man who has from about £1,000 to £2,000 capital is the one who will

make money most quickly, for he can buy a farm in good order and turn over his capital to advantage at once. There is a large fortune to be made by breeding draft horses, the supply being not nearly equal to the demand, which becomes larger every year as the number of settlers increases, the breeds which are most suitable to the country being the Shire and the Clyde. I know of several farms close to big cities which could be bought well within their value, where this branch of agriculture would pay a very large dividend on the investment, because there is always a demand at the gate of the farm, and draught horses can be sold to pay well at two years old. Then again a man cannot make much mistake in raising beef cattle, sheep, pigs, or poultry. The Government are ever ready to give all information as to the most desirable types to aim at producing, and the best markets for disposing of them.

There can be no question that, speaking in a general way, Canada is admirably adapted to live-stock growing. The country is, however, so vast in extent, the climate and soil so varied, that it is rather difficult to give a concise summary of the conditions under which animal husbandry is carried on, and of the possibilities of future development. It may be pointed out that the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, to a greater extent perhaps than the other subdivisions, produce all the staple grains and fodder plants, wheat, barley, oats, peas, rye, corn, turnips, rape, &c., necessary in pursuit of the live-stock industry according to British methods. In the breeding of pure bred stock Ontario stands, in relation to the rest of North America, in a somewhat similar position to that of Great Britain to the world at large. Ontario breeders have drawn upon the best British herds, studs and flocks for foundation stock, and are now doing an excellent trade in pure bred sires, not only with the farmers and ranchers of Canada, but with those of the United States of America as well. In the mutton breeds of sheep, especially, Ontario stands pre-eminent, and many car loads of Ontario rams are purchased annually by American sheep ranchers for crossing purposes.

Dairying is one of the chief branches of the live-stock industry, and, as is well known, Canada has held a leading place among countries exporting dairy produce. No finer cheese reaches the British market from any Colony or foreign country than the Canadian cheddars. The value of the cheese exported from Canada during the year 1903 was £5,181,140. The export of butter has largely increased during the last few years, chiefly on account of the cold storage facilities which have been provided by the

Dominion Government. During the year 1902 butter was exported to the value of £1,409,459. Swine-raising, in conjunction with dairying, has recently made wonderful progress, the export trade in fine bacon amounting at the present time to nearly £8,000,000, having increased twenty times in a single decade.

The agricultural resources of the maritime provinces, particularly New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, have not been developed to as great an extent as those of some of the other provinces, owing to the fact that greater attention has been paid to the industries of fruit-growing, fishing, mining, lumbering, &c. A large part of each of these provinces is well adapted to stock-raising, and the tiny province of Prince Edward Island has of late years made remarkable progress in dairying.

But despite the fact that stock-growing can be very profitably carried on by the general farmer throughout the greater part of Eastern Canada, it is to the great West and its boundless possibilities that the eyes of the investor will naturally turn. The grassy plains and foot hills of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia will sustain thousands and thousands of beef cattle and horses until they are ready for shipment to the British or other markets.

The men who years ago went into Southern Alberta and Southern British Columbia to engage in the live-stock business, and who, in the face of all the drawbacks and discouragements incident to a new country, persisted in their efforts until they acquired a thorough knowledge of the conditions essential to success, are now reaping a rich reward. Several of these pioneer ranchers who have obtained possession of large tracts of land now have herds of cattle and horses running into thousands, and it is said on good authority that the annual sales of stock from some of their ranches yield a profit on the actual investment of from fifty to one hundred per cent. These men have grown wealthy at the business, and are now in many cases willing to dispose of their stock at prices which offer excellent opportunities for the investment of capital. British investors who purchase such properties and put them under the management of expert Canadian ranchmen should have little difficulty in obtaining a dividend of 25 per cent. on their investment.

In addition to the sale of the annual crop of steers or horses, there is another way in which owners of ranches are practically certain to secure abundant dividends. This can best be explained by a sketch of the evolution of the ranching industry in Southern Alberta, which is typical of all the ranching country. In 1896 the territorial Legislature passed an ordinance setting aside a certain

portion of the districts of Alberta and Assiniboia, within which the stock-grower should operate. Roughly speaking, this district lay between the United States boundary and the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and between the Rocky Mountains and the Cypress Hills. At that time this practically embraced all the country over which ranch conditions prevailed. Of farming proper there was a little, and in some sections a little sheep-breeding was indulged in, but practically the whole of that district was engaged in the raising of horses and cattle. Conditions are now undergoing a rapid change. Land that has been for years regarded by ranchers as fit only for the production of grass is being snapped up in all directions by the immigrants of the farming class. More particularly is this the case with land in the vicinity of water. Some of the running streams throughout this immense district are already fenced on both sides from head to mouth. The inevitable result of this is to shut off ranch stock from the two most essential requisites, water and shelter, and to throw them back upon the high, shelterless plateaus which generally lie between the streams. From the ranching point of view, this means that the big herds will have to move, if their owners wish to stay in the business. The ranchers will cut up their holdings into farms and sell them at several times their original cost to the new settlers who are crowding them out.

What is now done by a few will in the future be adopted by practically all the large ranchers, that is, the running of beef herd or ranch quite distinct from the breeding herd, and probably in a totally different section of the country. Happily there are still immense areas of pasture land further north to which the rancher may turn his attention. Apart from this change in the ranch conditions, the live-stock industry of Western Canada was never in better condition than it is to-day, nor was there ever a time when it returned bigger profits. If the big herds must move, it is only a repetition of what has taken place in the ranch districts of the United States, where a considerable number of ranchers, finding themselves unable to obtain pasturage for their cattle, are moving their whole herds into Canada. In Canada, as in the United States, the place of the ranchers will be taken by the incoming settler and his little bunch of barn-yard cattle. The open ranch will in course of time disappear, and its place will be taken by fields of grain and cultivated grasses of various descriptions, giving after all a far greater capacity for feeding stock than the ranch ever had, or ever could have had. And as previously pointed out, the tide of

advancing settlement, while occasionally forcing the rancher to move, is always enhancing the value of his land and so proving of great and direct financial advantage to him.

Of this I am convinced, that when the Canadian gets rid of the "Percheron" blood and pays less attention to the standard bred trotting horse, Canada will become one of the foremost countries in the world for breeding horses other than the thoroughbred. It greatly surprises me that the British Government have not established a dépôt there to collect and train remounts, an establishment which would be of the greatest benefit to this country. It could be easily organised if the Government would consult with the Board of Agriculture in Canada, who have lately carefully studied the question.

It is a well-known fact that much of the success of the country is due to the way in which the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway, and the Canadian Northern Railway have helped the farmer and immigrants by opening up the country. I am indebted to these companies for many of the lantern slides I use.

If the breeders of live stock in this country would send some of their surplus stock to be sold in Canada, I venture to say they would get better prices for it than they would at home, and further than this they would be creating a market which would prove beneficial alike to this country and Canada. I must remind those that contemplate doing this that all animals sent must be registered in the stud or herd books of their breed, to enable them to enter the country duty-free; a duty of 25 per cent. is charged on all animals not so entered. I shall be very pleased to give anyone desiring it any information on this subject. Before concluding I should like to say a few words about two of the men who help to govern the country, and also say a few words about the farmers.

Of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I know I am correct in saying that his loyalty to the Crown is as genuine as it is deep-rooted. No man knows better what is needed for the good of Canada, and certainly no one strives harder to give effect to any measures which are of benefit to the Dominion. He is beloved by the people from one end of the country to the other. Of the Honourable Sidney Fisher, Minister of Agriculture, I know more personally—a Canadian born, who finished his education at Trinity College, Cambridge. As a Minister of Agriculture he has few, if any, equals in any country; a man of fearless integrity, devotion to his country for the country's good, a practical gentleman farmer, and one to whom is greatly due the enormous success of the agriculturists and the great increase of

the wealth of the country from the produce of the land during his administration of the department over which he presides.

The farmers of the country are the most intelligent, industrious, prosperous, moral, and contented lot of men I ever met; it is a great pleasure to work amongst them, and to know them is to respect them. I ought to know something of them, for I have addressed about 10,000 farmers in all parts of the country, and I was greatly impressed with their intelligent discussions and their keen desire to learn and carry out practically anything which would improve their system of farming.

It has been said that Canadians would be willing to have Canada annexed to the United States; such statements show the authors of them to be absolutely ignorant of the character of the Canadian people. The Canadians are amongst the King's most loyal and devoted subjects. They gave you a very practical proof of their loyalty during the Boer War, and I have no hesitation in saying that if necessity arises at any time they are willing to share the trials and hardships of the British Army in defence of the honour of our great and glorious Empire.

APPENDIX.

CANADIAN RETURNS.

Exports for Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1897.

Grain and grain products	\$19,807,900 or say £3,960,000
Live stock	\$10,263,717 or say £2,052,700
Provisions	\$25,232,195 or say £5,046,500

Exports for Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1908.

Grain	\$40,857,204 or say £ 8,171,500
Live stock	\$14,455,576 or say £ 2,900,000
Provisions	\$50,569,442 or say £10,114,000

The Paper was illustrated by a number of limelight views.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (the Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona, G.C.M.G.) said Mr. Spark had remarked on the sobriety of the people, and had mentioned that he did not notice a single intoxicated person. That was both satisfactory and interesting. In this connection he might say that the climate of Canada was very different from that of the old country, and there did not seem to be the same craving for drink that there was here. There was in fact a tonic in the atmo-

sphere. You felt you had champagne floating all around you, as it were, and he remembered saying many years ago, when the then Marquess of Lorne (one of the most eminent of the Governors-General Canada had ever had, and one of her best friends) addressed this Institute, that in Montreal when a person took a little Apollinaris he sometimes, to make it palatable, put a little "stick" in it, that was a little Scotch or American whisky, but in the North-West of Canada they took the Apollinaris plain. They did not seem to require it. Mr. Spark had spoken of the profits of ranching, and had mentioned that in some cases 75 per cent. and in others 50 or 25 per cent. might be realised. He would much rather himself that those who went out with the view of investing in ranching should be content with less than 25 per cent., and if they had an assurance of getting 10 or 12½ per cent. he thought they should feel they were doing very well. Anyhow there could be no doubt that by proper management ranching in Canada could be made a very profitable business. The Commissioner for Canada and those under him made it a point never to exaggerate with regard to what was to be done or to be found in Canada; in fact, the resources and everything pertaining to the country were so good that no exaggeration was required. They were satisfied to speak of the country as one of the best in the world, in which a man of industry who was determined to get on could get on and make a good place for himself. The 160 acres to which a settler was entitled was undoubtedly a good inheritance, for there was no land to be found anywhere better than that of the North-West. Each settler could choose for himself over a vast area of unoccupied territory, all of which or the greater part at any rate was fit both for agriculture and grazing purposes. As a proof of what was thought of the country he would remind them that within the last three or four years there had come over from the United States upwards of 100,000 well-to-do farmers who had sold out in their own country and settled in the North-West. Incidentally he might say that those who knew Canada knew these men would be just as good and loyal subjects as any of those in the City of London. Mr. Spark had suggested the establishment of a Remount Station in the North-West. Certainly the Government would get excellent horses at a very moderate price, and no doubt the suggestion would be taken into consideration. Speaking of the superiority of the cattle there, he might mention that he tried cattle raising to some small extent, though not on a ranch. He had a very good herd of the best Herefords, and also one of West Highland cattle, and those who

were considered good judges in this country told him that the progeny of these cattle would have carried off easily the first prizes at the Royal Agricultural Show in England. As to the loyalty of Canada, they used at one time to proclaim that pretty often, but they now felt it might really be taken for granted. It was well understood that there was not a more loyal people in all the Empire, and this remark applied not only to the English-speaking people, but to those descended from the French, who were loyal to the core. It is well known that Canada was the first to give a preference to the Mother Country, and he was merely repeating what had been said by that eminent man Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the present Premier of Canada, when he said they would always be prepared to consider any advances that might be made to them by the Mother Country in respect of preference as a domestic matter between the two peoples.

Major-General C. W. ROBINSON, C.B., as one who had been closely connected with and took a great interest in Canada, would like to say with what pleasure he had listened to Mr. Spark's interesting Paper. The facts stated were very encouraging with regard to the future prosperity of the country. He thought there was something to be said with regard to agriculture from the soldier's point of view. It was probable we should have an Army of a more thoroughly Imperial character in the future than even we had now, that was, we should have both in officers and men representatives from all the Colonies in a far larger proportion than at present. As he knew, every commanding officer preferred in his regiment soldiers of the agricultural class who in moral and physical qualities were much to be preferred to those from the towns, and anything which would tend in the future to bring a larger class of men of that sort into the Service must be for the benefit of the country. Nothing would help more in that direction than by filling up these districts with men who were accustomed to agricultural pursuits, using the word not in the narrow sense, but in the sense of men accustomed to open-air life and physical exertion. He believed that there was a large field in Canada for supplying remounts for the Artillery especially.

Mr. E. B. OSBORN stated that last year he re-visited the West where he had lived for some five years, and he noticed with pleasure the almost incredible progress the country had made. He would not say himself that every man could earn 25 per cent. on his investment. He would only remark that anyone who wanted to earn 25 per cent. in Canada or in any other country would have

to invest himself as well as his money in the undertaking. He noticed with pleasure that Mr. Spark agreed. There was one matter to which Mr. Spark did not refer, and that was to a most important product of the country, namely, its men and women. People who went out to the West of Canada would much like to know what sort of neighbours they were likely to meet, and on this point he wished to emphasise the fact that, go where you would, you would not find people who were as kind and genial and as willing to help a new comer as you would in Western Canada. Everything they could do for you from first to last, they would do. If the well-to-do young Englishmen who used to go out in previous years had only listened to the advice that the good old Scotch farmers settled there gave them, they would not have lost as much money as some of them did, and would not have returned saying there were too many "bars" (bears) out there. He must add that Sir Edmund Barton, whose testimony on this subject was useful, went through Canada on his way home after his last visit to this country, and had written to him saying what a wonderful country Canada was, adding as to the loyalty of its people, that he had looked out for an annexationist and could not find one. He himself must say that on his visit last year he looked out for a pessimist, and could not find one. Optimism was like wheat, a good half the product of sunshine. And probably the lack of sunshine accounted for there being so many pessimists in this country.

Mr. W. L. GRIFFITH recalled that the other day Sir Wilfrid Laurier described the Nineteenth Century as belonging to the United States, and the Twentieth, he said, would belong to Canada. This was a bold claim, but one which Canadians at any rate believed would be justified by the event. It was to be remembered that the great stream of settlers now making for Canada, from both Europe and the United States, consisted not of men such as had largely peopled the United States, without capital and experience, but men who had acquired both in the same sort of country they were now going to. There had been some apprehension as to the political effect of the emigration from the United States, but speaking from some years of life in the neighbourhood of the international boundary line, and reminding the audience that in Canada no offensive oath of renunciation is demanded, that taxation is very low, and that the judiciary is at least as pure as in the United States, he was firmly persuaded that so long as the British territory is well governed, we might be quite sure the immigrants would be contented, efficient, and loyal citizens.

In moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Spark, the CHAIRMAN said the suggestion had been made that the Home Government might assist a fast line of steamers to Canada besides giving a large subsidy for that to the United States. It had perhaps been forgotten that some years ago the Imperial Government offered, along with Canada, to give a subsidy of £75,000 a year, and probably in view of these circumstances they might be even more generous now. It had been said that the Government of Canada was paternal to a certain extent. It would take your poultry and sell them for you. It might not be generally known as regards the principal industry that there was always a present value of and a market for wheat in the North West, there being elevators and great stores at every station, so that the farmer could send his load of wheat at any time he liked—he need not even go himself—and he would get proper value for it.

Mr. SPARK, in reply, pointed out that, as the official returns showed, the exports had more than doubled in the last six years. He did not want everybody to go out with the idea that he would get 25 per cent. on his invested capital, but he thought that on the whole the statements given in the Paper were well within the mark. He noticed some dissent to the statement that twenty tons of maize to one acre could be grown. In a letter from Canada, dated November 3, 1904, the statement was made:—"On my own farm the hay crop made an average of four tons per acre, oats ninety bushels, corn twenty tons."

Sir HORACE TOZER, K.C.M.G., contended that the latter statement could not be accurate.

Mr. SPARK replied that he had given his authority and the statement would be found correct, explaining that the twenty tons of corn (maize) was as cut green for silo purposes.

A vote of thanks was given to Lord Strathcona for presiding.

SECOND ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Second Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, December 6, 1904, when a Paper on "The Navy and the Empire" was read by H. F. Wyatt, Esq.

Admiral Sir N. Bowden-Smith, K.C.B., a member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the Last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 28 Fellows had been elected, viz., 8 Resident and 20 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

Hon. Sir William Arbuckle (Agent-General for Natal), Henry Halford Dawes, Walter H. James, K.C. (Agent-General for Western Australia), Ewen R. Logan, M.A., Rt. Hon. Lord Monk-Bretton, C.B., W. Arthur Sawtell, Rev. Harry M. Shuttlewood, David A. Sutherland.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

Leonard A. Archer (Gold Coast Colony), Lieut. Henry E. Bailey, W.A.F. (Sierra Leone), James Booth-Clarkson, J.P., L.R.C.P. (Natal), Edward Bowen (Trinidad), Duncan Cameron, J.P. (New Zealand), William L. Crompton (Gold Coast Colony), Thomas A. Douse, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P. (Fiji), Ernest W. Ingle (Sierra Leone), Ernest A. Mannheim, A.M.I.M.M., M.A.I.M.E., Humphrey Marten, M.B., M.R.C.S.E. (South Australia), J. Crawford Maxwell, M.A., M.D. (Sierra Leone), Harry Millar (Natal), James K. Murray (Gold Coast Colony), Hugh M. More Nisbett (New Zealand), T. Norman P. Palmer, B.A., LL.B. (Cape Colony), Percy A. Shaw (Gold Coast Colony), Charles H. Smith (Transvaal), Sydney F. Smith (Fiji), Lieut.-Colonel Damoder P. Warliker (Mauritius), James A. Williams, I.S.O. (Gold Coast Colony).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: I have much pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Wyatt, who has recently returned from a tour round Greater Britain beyond the seas on behalf of the Navy League. He was absent from this country nearly two years, and I understand that to a considerable extent this successful mission was carried out at his own expense. In reading the account of his progress I noticed that

he was favourably received by most of the Governors and Ministers of the Colonies he visited, and those distinguished persons often presided at his meetings. The great contest now going on in the Far East is an object-lesson to us all, and especially so to our kinsmen in Australia and New Zealand, for there has sprung up not very far from them a new great naval and military Power which will have to be considered. I venture to hope that the patriotic efforts of the Navy League and Mr. Wyatt's lectures will cause our fellow-countrymen beyond the seas to realise the importance of maintaining one powerful homogeneous Navy for the protection of our commerce and to safeguard our common interests, for we must always remember that the "sea is one."

Mr. H. F. Wyatt then read his Paper on

THE NAVY AND THE EMPIRE

I PROPOSE in this Paper to attempt to consider not one side of a case, but the two sides. I shall endeavour to set out, first, the heads of the brief which an advocate for the United Kingdom might state if he were called on to plead the claims of the Navy before some (unhappily) non-existent tribunal, and then those arguments with which an opposing counsel, representing the self-governing Colonies, might be expected to be supplied. Some of the pleas on our side, and most—though I think not all—of the pleas on the other, have whatever merit attaches to long standing and to frequent repetition. But whether the opposed considerations be old or new, and whether valid or invalid, to state them together, in place of leaving them to be brought up piecemeal, may perhaps be useful service. For, clearly, while fragments only of a great subject are passed under review, discussion must be discursive and indeterminate, but when the controversy is presented as a whole, debate may become vital and agreement be approached.

What, then, is the case of the United Kingdom when that kingdom comes before the bar of reason, and appeals to its daughter States for naval aid? Perhaps an advocate might phrase it somewhat thus: "Here," he might say, "are some fifty-two millions of our British folk, occupying or controlling about one-fifth of the land surface of the globe. In number we stand only fourth amongst the great governing peoples of the earth, being far surpassed in this regard by the population of Russia, which has over a hundred millions of people in Europe alone; by that of the

United States, with some seventy millions, exclusive of negroes, and by that of the German Empire, with approximately sixty million inhabitants. Great though is this present disparity, it tends constantly to grow greater through the operation of a higher birth-rate in the case of Russia and of Germany, and of a large immigration in that of the American Union. Soon, moreover, if the present rate of Japanese increase be maintained, we shall be not fourth, but fifth.

"If, therefore, we, like the great nations of Europe, maintained our independence and our interests principally by land armies, we should be in a position already dangerous, and likely in the course of another generation to become desperate. But though our total white population is thus comparatively small, and constantly is becoming relatively smaller, yet, because our chief reliance is on our strength at sea, our power will remain adequate to cope with larger rivals, provided only that the volume of our trade exhibits, not decline, but growth, for without this growth the increasing cost of naval armaments cannot in the long run be borne. But at present a part only, not the whole, of the resources of the British people is being employed towards this great end. Both as regards the supply of men and of money, almost the entire strength of the Navy is furnished by that portion of our race which happens to dwell within the home islands. And already these are showing signs of bending beneath the load. The naval expenditure for this year reaches forty-three millions sterling, and the need for further outlay still continues. Across the North Sea, but a few hundred miles removed, a great rival fleet is being swiftly built, of which the menace each year grows more formidable, and of which the purpose is scarcely concealed. Your aggregate expenditures amount now to nearly half our own; your aggregate populations and sea-borne trade are more than a fourth of ours; you have at stake as much as we, for your safety and your prosperity and your future are bound up equally with the like interests of us, your brethren, in maintaining the mastery of the ocean. Our common heritage is linked by the sea, and without that link each portion of it will be as dis severed in war as so many worlds separated by untraversable space. Without that link the breath of suffering will be felt through all the wide rooms of the house of the British people. The grain areas of Canada will be smitten as with barrenness, because access to markets oversea will be forbidden. The shipping trade of Toronto, of Montreal, and of Quebec, of Halifax, of St. John, and of Cape Breton, will be at an end. The coastal trade

of the Maritime Provinces of the Dominion will meet ruin. The gold mines of the Rand and of Western Australia will have to cease their working. The lumbermen of Tasmania, the sheep-shearers on far up-country stations on the mainland—all sorts and conditions of men, who never thought or heard of naval power, will find the bread taken from their mouths, and from the mouths of their wives and children, if that naval power fail.

“And give thought also, not alone to these facts, which environ your existence now, but to your needs in a coming day. Consider that vast though is the progress already made, you are still in the infancy of your development, and that *pari passu* with the expansion of your manufacturing industries will increase your need of external custom for your goods. Remember that in Asia are found the greater masses of mankind, and that to retain our markets there will be of vital import to you in coming time. Recall again that this need of yours is visibly opposed by an immense rivalry of competing peoples, and that it can be fulfilled only by the action of a great Empire, organised both for commerce and for war. Realise that without naval supremacy the British Empire dare not go to war, and must instead watch the sacrifice of its dearest interests in every part of the earth. Next consider that if, lacking this supremacy, we should yet be forced into war, and should then suffer irretrievable naval defeat, the Empire would be dissolved by that defeat into its component parts. What then would be the probable fate of the oldest and greatest of what we have been wont to call our Colonies, divorced from its British brotherhood in such a death-pang of conflict, with industries suspended from the Atlantic to the Pacific through denial of sea transit, and with the squadrons of a triumphant enemy insulting its coasts? What could be its fate at such a juncture but one, the most repugnant to the vast majority of its inhabitants, the most opposed to its history, its traditions, its aspirations, and its ideals—that is, absorption by the great Republic on the south? British and French Canadian alike, each for his own reasons, would deprecate such result, but the constraining logic of necessity would overpower reluctance and compel that great diversion of apparent tendency. Or if the certainty of this issue to the case supposed be denied, at least the fearful risk of that issue must be admitted. But even granting for the moment,” continues our advocate, “that the result to Canada of a dissolution of the Empire caused by defeat at sea may be matter of doubt, the immediate effect of this dreadful catastrophe upon the fortunes of New Zealand and Australia can certainly be gauged.

Both these profoundly different British States would be placed in a condition of helplessness and ruin. The first, because it is intersected, and most of its communications are carried on by sea; the second, because immense portions of its area, such as Western Australia and the Northern Territories, cannot be reached by land, and these would, therefore, in the event imagined, be utterly cut off from the more populous regions; while towns such as Fremantle, Adelaide, and Sydney itself must sooner or later, and sooner rather than later, be at the mercy of an enemy who had definitely secured sea command. Moreover, each community would be afflicted, as already shown, with a dreadful paralysis of industries, arising from the interruption of ocean traffic.

"Therefore," we can conceive our counsel to exclaim, "give us your aid in money and in men according to the fair measure of your capacities; give it not reluctantly, or as a matter of duty, as a man yields to an importunate friend, but with the energy of free will and full conviction, as a partner in a firm assigns funds to purposes that he sees to be essential to that firm's existence: You in Canada have on the coasts of your Maritime Provinces upwards of sixty thousand hardy seafarers, unsurpassed in the world for the qualities which go towards making fighting men. Elsewhere in the Empire—in Australia, in South Africa, in some degree even in New Zealand—other sources of employment call on the energies of British subjects, and the maritime spirit appears to suffer decay. But here you of the oldest Colony still have men of the old stamp. Train them and discipline them in such sort that in the hour of our common peril they shall be, so far as is possible, fit to take the places of the dead and wounded who shall have already fallen on board shot-shattered ships, fighting for the common cause. Do not delay longer, for if you delay the hour of fate may come on us, and find those men useless, because undisciplined and untrained, and then you will be doomed impotently to look on, while the struggle that decides your destiny is fought out without your assistance, and the blood of the men of the old country is shed for you, and either victory is won for you without your aid, or else defeat comes, with all its ignominies, while you have been powerless even to try to avert it from you.

"And then," our advocate may finish, "this one thing more we ask you to remember, this that we have said to you often before—that the essence of all naval strategy is to use the entire strength to attack the foe, if possible always with superior force; and that as the enemy's fighting ships may be in any of the seas of the world,

which are all one sea, therefore all the fighting ships of the Empire must in war be available (unless strength is to be wasted) to go where the need for them is greatest—that is, to where the enemy's squadrons or roving cruisers are to be found. For generations, even for centuries, this has been the winning tradition of the Navy. To the enemy it belongs to choose where we shall fight him. To us it suffices to find him. But to win, when we meet him, that victory on which our whole national life throughout the world depends it is necessary to use not a part only, however large, of our common resources, but the whole of them. In the conflicts of the future, as of the past, every atom of naval strength that the Empire can supply will be required to secure triumph; to avert defeat."

I have ventured thus to cast the rough outlines of the statement of the case of the United Kingdom into this form, not for the sake of rhetorical device, but because the reports of the discussions in this room go forth into the world outside, and because the subject of debate to-night is a living issue, which should have a true appeal to the hearts as well as to the heads of those concerned.

My own presentment of our side of the case has been much curtailed through considerations of length; but, however inadequately set forth, that case yet appears to us of the old country so strong as to be irrefutable, and as often as some able exponent of it, such as Sir John Colomb, has put it before the public, so often many must have wondered why arguments to us conclusive should fail of effect where they are intended to apply.

To understand fully the reason of that failure—that is to say, to understand the Colonial position—is the essential preliminary to an arrangement with them, and I shall therefore try to state the opposing replies, as I have learnt these practically by hearing them from many mouths, and reading them in many newspapers, in many centres of population, from Quebec to Vancouver, and from Sydney to Cape Town.

Suppose, then, that the defendant's counsel answers thus:

"What we are prepared to do for the Empire in a quarrel which we approve we have shown already through our sons, who have shed their blood in its cause on many fields. That which we have done before we may do again, if we feel so disposed, when the moment of peril comes and the need of our help is clear. But what you of the United Kingdom ask of us involves a derogation from our autonomy and a surrender of the principles upon which the polity of the whole British people is based. You ask us to

abandon the right to maintain which Hampden died. You seek to impose on us a tribute to the Empire in whose government we have no place. You wish us to put the money of our people out of their own control, and under that of a Ministry which can make war without consulting us, and perhaps in regard to matters with which we have no concern. You have made us free; wish not to take our freedom from us."

And then, next, the representative of Greater Britain might add: "Remember that your conditions and ours are widely different. You live in a country small in area and with resources long since developed. We find ourselves in vast areas whose immense resources need our utmost effort to develop them. What can be more natural than the existing division of our labours? To you we leave it to provide the Navy which preserves our common heritage. For us the duty is to make roads and railways and harbours, to open to civilisation new regions, to work mines to increase wealth. And in doing this work we are, in fact, in a measure assisting in the Empire's defence. The railway already carried, like that about to be made, across the Dominion of Canada gives you another route to the Far East, and enables you swiftly to reinforce your distant fleet with men. Be content, then, with what we are thus doing for the Empire, and ask no more."

Then, again, comes from Australia this reply: "You tell us, as you have often told us before, that command of the sea is the great essential necessity of the whole Empire. We do not dispute it. We admit it, and we trust to you to secure this mastery of the ocean. You have the existing fleets, the population requisite to supply the men, the arsenals, the manufacturing appliances. But we, far distant, and isolated from the rest of the world, must look after the safety of our own shores and our own coastal trade. There are foreign ships trading in our waters which carry guns on board, and which in the event of war would become in a twinkling cruisers preying on our sea-borne commerce. Often in the past have Imperial officers, whom you have sent, exhorted us to provide for our own local defence. That obligation carries with it the need of a local squadron in our own waters, which shall be on the spot in the event of an enemy's raid. If great naval conflict should come upon you, we wish you victory; but our part is here."

But the defendant's counsel has not done with us yet. He does not mean to be rude, but he has something rather painful to say. "You ask us," he exclaims, "to put part of the funds entrusted to

us under your charge, to be spent at the discretion of one of your departments. When you request that we have a right to consider the probability, or the improbability, of a wise and economical expenditure. Now, we cannot peer very deeply into your departmental workings; we cannot judge with certainty of your Admiralty's administration. But we do know, we have seen, how your War Office conducts war. We have been witnesses of a great and scandalous waste of public money in the course of the struggle in South Africa, and for all we know your Admiralty may be no better. Can you expect us, in the light of our past experience, to take this leap into the dark?"

Then perhaps will follow another argument, and one which is pertinent indeed. "You urge us to take our share of this great burden for the sake of strategical and other considerations which are not apprehended by our peoples. Our Governments are democratic. They are in office only so long as they can command majorities. If you want our Ministries to take this step, our citizens must first be convinced of the necessity, and that conviction has not yet been produced. Indeed, instead of this, communities, or portions of communities, are to be found who are strongly opposed to any measure of the kind.

"In Canada, the French Canadian believes that any closer Imperial union for defence would be a step towards the deprivation of a portion of his liberties, his independence, and his privileges. The French Canadians form a vast and practically solid body of voters, whose opposition has hitherto been fatal to any effort by the Dominion to assist in maintaining supremacy at sea. And as in the Dominion the French Canadians, so in Australia the Labour leaders are opposed, beyond doubt, to any larger grant of aid by the island continent. In the Federal Parliament, the Naval Defence Act, introduced by Sir Edmund Barton, was strongly resisted by Labour representatives, and was passed in their despite. Facts like these are of the very essence of the existing situation, and you must proceed far with your process of political education before you can hope to overcome the difficulties which they create. But in Canada, as yet, we do not universally accept your premises, nor all believe that the Navy of the Empire is to us a vital need. You say that if that be defeated the industries of the Dominion will be paralysed, because access to oversea markets will be denied. We doubt your conclusion, because we have to the south of us a great Republic, which will never permit the commerce proceeding from its ports to be thus interrupted by an enemy's fleet. Even now, in

peaceful times, a large part of our produce finds its way in cargo trains, each often carrying a weight of twelve hundred tons, to the ports of the States. These goods pay no duty, for they pass through in bond. If, therefore, the British flag should cease to be able to protect our exports, an existing process will merely receive additional impetus. The property will cross the Atlantic under the Stars and Stripes, and the power of the United States will ensure its admission to the ports to which it is consigned. The same power already protects in theory the whole continent of America from European interference. It will be but an application of that theory if the Union refuse to permit the squadrons of European Powers to harass our coasts. We do not desire to put our trust in the States; we have no, or few, affinities with them, but at the same time we cannot ignore obvious and patent facts, as you ignore them in putting forth the argument to which we thus reply."

And then two more answers may still be heard. "Why, after all, should we be expected to contribute either men or money to the Navy of the United Kingdom? If the self-governing Colonies were obliterated from the map to-morrow, would the need to the rest of the Empire of naval strength be diminished in the least degree? Still you would have to guard your merchant shipping as it bears to your home ports the food and the raw material necessary to the existence of your crowded population, and still, in order to achieve that end, and in order to defend your home shores, you would have to be strong enough to win command of the sea against any rival. Your fleets of battleships, your armoured cruisers, the whole paraphernalia of naval war, would be as necessary to you then as now. Therefore, as we do not increase your expenses by one shilling, neither should we be called upon to contribute towards them. As for our sea-borne commerce, of which you speak, it crosses the seas for the most part in British bottoms, and you must for your own sakes see that these reach you in safety. You cannot throw overboard, or decline to ship, cargoes vital to your own people, nor avoid the necessity of defending both those cargoes and the British-owned craft that carry them. Cease, then, to use arguments that have no relevance, and leave us to work out our own salvation on land.

"Finally," the advocate for the Colonies might say, "consider on your part how small would be the assistance which we in our case could grant. If you had convinced us, as you have not, of the justice of your cause, what would be the amount of aid which you

might reasonably expect? Our funds are needed, we say again, for internal development. In New Zealand, in Australia, in Cape Colony, in Natal, we have no available surplus for purposes so dim and distant. Already in those Colonies we give something—more we cannot do. As for Canada, her wealth is greater, but still insufficient to help materially towards attaining objects so immense."

Thus far, then, our two imaginary advocates. I have not, I venture to hope, done injustice to the Colonial case, for I have stated the arguments, with which I have had myself very often to do battle, as fully as space will allow and as fairly and forcibly as I was able. Some here may express a doubt whether all these contentions are really urged in the different portions of the Empire. On this one point I venture to think that I can speak with some fragment of authority, since for close on two years I have been engaged, as the Navy League emissary, in discussing this subject in the various self-governing States. I have had the privilege of this discussion on the platform and in the columns of the Press, and in private conversation with many men, holding many diverse views: with presidents and members of Chambers of Commerce or of Boards of Trade, with mayors and members of municipal bodies, with politicians, with editors and leader-writers of newspapers, with Cabinet Ministers, and with men of affairs generally. And the pleas which I have assigned to the hypothetical representative of the Colonies are those with which I have been actually confronted, and which comprise, I think, the gist of all the principal objections; though there are, of course, many collateral points, with which it would take too long to deal. The reliance of some Canadians on a possible extension of the Monroe doctrine, of the nature which I have described, other Canadians may perhaps repudiate. I can only answer in advance that in the course of debate, when other arguments had been disproved, I have again and again been met by this, and that in quarters where words carry weight and are not spoken without meaning.

Perhaps it might help to crystallise the discussion to-night if I gave at this stage a summary of the heads of the Colonial case, comprehended in the pleadings which I have set forth, and to which I have next to furnish the response.

Here, then, is a list of those heads:

1. Taxation without representation.
2. Need of all resources for internal development.
3. (Specially in Australia.) Need of local squadrons for coast defence.

4. Impression of United Kingdom departmental inefficiency, derived from South African war.
5. (In Canada.) Reliance on a possible application of the Monroe doctrine by the United States.
6. (In Canada.) Attitude of French Canadians.
7. (In Australia.) Attitude of Labour representatives.
8. Belief that Navy must of necessity be used to defend Colonial sea-borne commerce.
9. Comparative want of funds.

And now I have to ask your indulgence for the reply of the United Kingdom advocate to the speech for the defendant.

"I have listened with pleasure," we may suppose him to say, "to the speech of my friend, and I repudiate emphatically the validity, while I admit the plausibility, of the arguments which he has urged. He begins by calling upon the great principle that there shall be no taxation without representation, and yet that principle has not the slightest bearing on the matter in hand. What was it Hampden really died to resist? What but taxation imposed by coercive authority without Parliamentary assent? If the Parliament of Charles I. had voted a subsidy to an allied country, would Hampden, or any friend of Hampden's, not in a madhouse, have felt called on to resist it? And if the Parliament of the Dominion, or of the Commonwealth, were to vote, as in the latter instance they have voted, a naval subsidy to the closely allied United Kingdom, in acknowledgment of the enormous services which her naval strength renders, can any Canadian or Australian, who possesses the faculty of reason, feel that his rights as a freeman were impaired or that the dignity of his Government was decreased? Did Canada hesitate to make a vast donation of money and of territory to the Canadian Pacific Railway on the ground that the funds and lands thus allotted were placed out of the control of the Dominion? Or has any State at any time refused on such a score as this to grant subsidies to an ally? The truth is, that whatever force may inhere in other arguments yet to be considered, in this there is no force at all. It might well be relegated to a museum for obsolete catchwords and misapplied phrases. Moreover, you cannot have the advantages of an alliance—advantages enormously upon your side—without its responsibilities. A partner in a firm must accept the debts of that firm. In like manner you, and every other member of the Empire, must make the interests of all the partners yours. You cannot

have the profits without the liabilities. Or if you say that you are at present a sleeping partner only, in that you have no share in the management, and that until you get that share you will indeed remain a partner, enjoying your share of the firm's advantages, which are the naval and military and diplomatic backing of the British Empire, but that you will refuse to invest in the firm's business any money of your own, then consider whether this attitude is either prudent or reasonable. If the firm need your money for the maintenance of its business, and if, failing that money, it becomes bankrupt, you will lose all the benefits which you previously enjoyed for nothing. This is scarcely wisdom. If, again, it is open to you to become a working partner, and assume a share in the control, whenever you really intimate that wish, it is manifestly unfair and delusive to base your refusal to risk any money of your own on this particular ground. Therefore, once more let it be said that, until the fallacy of this logic can be proved, the whole of the argument comprised under head No. 1 must be regarded as a nullity.

"The next objection is the theory of the need of all resources for internal development, an objection which can easily be shown to be equally fallacious with the first. For money which is devoted to remunerative business enterprises is not usually regarded as a heavy burden. Shareholders in the C.P.R. scarcely look upon their holdings as drawbacks. The true line of reasoning on this subject seems to be this: When a State uses the funds at its disposal for non-paying purposes, it may justly urge that it is the less able to contribute towards its naval insurance. But when it invests those funds in a manner which yields it increased profits, then the use of that contention becomes absolutely absurd. On the contrary, the greater the interests at stake, the greater the insurance required; and, in like manner, the wealthier a British State has become through judicious development of its resources, the greater the claim which the Empire has on it for its quota of insurance premium.

"I come now," says our advocate, "to the third objection, which represents a most widespread fallacy, difficult to dispel. It is the fallacy of local squadrons. Perhaps it can most easily be demonstrated by common algebraic symbols. Let x = the Navy supported by the United Kingdom, and y = the entire naval resources in men and vessels of the rest of the Empire; and then let $x+y$ = the fleet of a coalition with which we are at war. It is plain that if you take y away, x alone will not be equal to that coalition, in which event the

Empire comes to an end and the Colonies are ruined. But, says my friend on the other side, it is your business to make *x* strong enough to meet any coalition. We cannot help you there, for we must look after ourselves.

"To which I answer that it is just here that your fallacy comes in. For if you allow *y* to act with *x* instead of divorcing them—that is, if you leave every ship free to go where it is most wanted—it is perfectly manifest that you will have a better chance of beating the enemy everywhere than if you tie up a part of your forces in certain waters, which quite possibly may not be entered at all by the enemy. In that case those forces of yours will be out of action throughout the war. No possible argument can overthrow this consideration. Moreover, in Australia you frequently confuse two separate entities: one is local defence; the other is local naval defence. The position is that while, and only while, the Navy holds command of the sea Australia and New Zealand need fear no attack save from raiding cruisers. To guard important ports and bases against these cruisers all expert authority is agreed that forts and guns are needed. On this point there is no dispute, and it is certainly a matter of wonder that a port like Fremantle should not have a single gun to defend it; that Port Adelaide should be not quite, but very nearly, without protection, and that a position so important as Thursday Island, which has a detachment of some fifty artillerymen, should be so very imperfectly fortified as to be almost useless as a naval base.

"But what you, the opposing counsel, say is that, in view of the possibility of these cruiser raids, you want a local squadron 'on the spot.' On which spot? At Sydney, or at Port Darwin, at Adelaide, or at Brisbane? As Australia has a coastline upwards of 8,000 miles in extent, the word 'spot' in this connection is a trifle indefinite. If the point of attack be, say, at Port Darwin, then it would be far better to make the 'spot' Singapore, which is about twice as near as Sydney. The mere statement of this difficulty discloses at once the reason why the only naval strategy is to use the Navy as a single whole, to attack the enemy's battleships, if possible, off the enemy's ports, and to shadow his cruisers through the waters of the globe. Every cruiser that is 'localised' is half, or more than half, out of action. Its use is limited to a contingency that as likely as not may not occur—that is, to the incursion of an enemy into its neighbourhood. If every great Colony were to have 'localised' cruisers, clearly there would be a great waste of naval force. It is vain to reply that the Navy has

these localised squadrons now, for the reason that they are not localised. They have certain bases, but they are free to be sent wherever throughout the world their presence may be required—and this is all that is wanted. The governing consideration in respect to the disposal of all our squadrons is the position of the fleets of our possible foes.

“We have no ‘coast-defence’ squadrons for the shores of the United Kingdom, as has been often alleged in good faith, but in error, in a portion of the Australian Press. The Home fleet, now about to be rechristened, is the obvious, though not necessarily unfriendly, reply to the great navy which is being built up in the ports of Germany. If Tasmania were in the hands of a great foreign Power, which was there preparing a great fleet, then, for an exactly similar reason, would Sydney be made by the Empire the base of a force designed to watch it. As for the supposed isolation of Australia, it is a geographical delusion. The port of Broome, in Western Australia, is removed but a few hundred miles from the great island of Java, which, with Madura, contains a population of over twenty-six millions of people. These and other neighbouring islands, including a large part of Timor, within a day’s steam of Port Darwin, although at present in the possession of Holland, are liable at any time, unless Imperial diplomacy or the Imperial Navy prevent the transfer, to be incorporated with the German Empire. The admission of Holland and of the Dutch East Indies into that formidable organisation is an event of which we hear frequent rumours. Perhaps these represent rather the wishes of the German Government than those of the people of Holland; but the extreme possibility of this absorption in years soon to come is an eventuality against which a wise statesmanship would surely seek to provide. It is one which may well be viewed with something like terror by Australia; yet whenever it becomes imminent the British power of prevention will manifestly depend wholly and entirely on the alliances of the Empire and on its readiness for war, of which the governing factor is clearly the strength of the fleet. Setting aside this dark and menacing shadow of the future, the proximity of Australia to Asia is a fact which receives very little general consideration. Yet the passage from Hong Kong to the Northern Territories is but 2,300 miles in length, a distance which a fast steamer, with the aid of a few at present non-existent lighthouses, to assist an intricate navigation through a long chain of islands, could easily cover in five days.”

If I may speak here for a moment in my own person, rather than

in that of my imaginary advocate, I would say that nothing can be more striking than the transition from China to Australia, a passage which I made in June 1908. It is a transition from cities thronged and swarming with human beings, from narrow streets, crowded and seething, as at Canton, with multitudinous life, to coasts but a few days removed where human life is hardly found. Behind you myriads, and before you wastes. On one side four hundred millions of yellow people; on the other, four millions of white. What is the intervening force which now and in coming time shall hold back the vast reservoir of humanity from overflowing into what might seem its natural outlet? There is no force on earth which either now or then can perform that task, save the Navy paid for and manned by the United Kingdom, of the cost of which about a two-hundredth part only is borne by New Zealand and Australia. The Parliaments of these pass the legislation for the exclusion of the yellow man, but it is the British Navy, and the British Navy alone, which gives the legislation force. This fundamental fact, little relished, and in some quarters fiercely denied in Australia, was received in New Zealand with complete recognition of its truth. When I was addressing a meeting of the Wellington Chamber of Commerce, none applauded the statement of it more heartily than Mr. Seddon. If I have said nothing of New Zealand hitherto in this Paper, that is because that process of conversion which it is the object of this Paper to accelerate in Australia and Canada is in Maoriland already accomplished. I found few things, indeed, stranger in the course of my pilgrimage than the difference of view between these two British areas. Facts which were made the subject of fierce controversy in Australia, and for stating which I was myself assailed with some vehemence, were the A B C of current thought in New Zealand. Doubtless this difference of attitude is natural, for in the former the vastness of the territory obscures, so to speak, the governing presence of the sea, while in the latter that dominating influence is visible always, and can never be forgotten.

Resuming the task of our advocate, objection No. 4 has now to be considered. "This objection is due to an impression, and an impression hard to be removed. But the point here to be debated is not whether the War Office was in fact efficient or inefficient during the South African war (though it certainly succeeded in supplying an army of between two and three hundred thousand men, for a period of over two years, at a distance of from six to seven thousand miles from their base), but whether, assuming the

inefficiency, the objection grounded thereon possesses any validity. I submit that it possesses none. For, whatever the state of departments, the fact remains that the life of the Empire depends on victory at sea. The management of the fleet by the Admiralty may be perfect, or imperfect, but still that fleet continues the supreme defence of the British people. To refuse help on this score seems to me like the action of a man who has one barrier, at which his fellows are furiously labouring, interposed between himself and a tremendous inundation, and who refuses his co-operation because he doubts their skill. His doubt may be correct, but yet in refusing his aid he is giving up his only chance of being of use, and if in consequence of his abstention the barrier is carried away, he himself will perish, along with the friends whom he declined to assist."

I come now to objection No. 5, which has much potency in Canada. Indeed, this is inevitable, for the existence of the United States is the largest and most obvious fact that the American continent contains, and their attitude towards Canada in the event of foreign war cannot possibly fail to be considered.

"The answer, however, is simple. If you in Canada," I say to my opposing counsel, "trust to a possible application of the Monroe doctrine to preserve your interests in war, you are still putting your hopes exclusively on naval strength. You are, in fact, merely transferring your reliance from the greatest Navy in the world to one far less powerful. In naval war nothing counts except that which is there. The vast latent resources of the States are valueless in such a struggle, because the decisive issue is sure to be reached long before they can be applied. The plan of the British Navy is to fight; and it will in all probability be either beaten or victorious within a few days after the outbreak of war with a coalition. If it be beaten, then the first and foremost need will be to shut out supplies of food and raw material from the ports of the United Kingdom. For if these be received, the latter might refit its shattered ships; while if they be not received it must surrender. If under these circumstances the United States should decide to intervene, its fleet would have to cross the Atlantic and fight an action against a foe, certainly in superior force, occupying the interior position. The real nature of your plea is for an alliance between the Republic and the British Empire; but that this should be effective in war it is necessary that a large proportion of the Republican fleet should habitually cruise in peace on this side of the Atlantic. Your position, then, under this objection, is that

you trust to two fleets instead of one, and that you contribute to neither."

We come now to two objections which may well be classed together. They consist in the attitude of French Canadians in the Dominion and of the Labour section in Australia. Much could be said on both subjects, but space is not left me to deal with them. The only answer that I would here make, therefore, is to recall the words of Bishop Butler, that "things are what they are." No amount of political or social prepossession alters the essential facts which govern the existence of the whole British Empire. Foreign nations care nothing for the processes of our internal politics. All they do care for is the result. If the result of French Canadian ideas in the Dominion, and of the Labour-members' ideas in Australia, be wholly to prevent the one and partly to prevent the other from strengthening the British fleet, the result is so much to the good from the point of view of our possible enemies. Yet surely it is the part of statesmen in those communities to endeavour to bring about the political conversion of those who by the views they hold are thus assisting the Empire's foes.

The eighth objection is one the truth of which I am perfectly willing to admit, yet which is wholly valueless for the purpose for which it is used. For, granting that the Navy must in any case protect Colonial sea-borne commerce, that fact does not in the smallest degree lessen the necessity of the Colonies that this protection should be effectual. If all Colonial produce were paid for before it left Colonial shores, and were carried in United Kingdom-owned ships, that condition of things would not in the least obviate the fearful ruin that would be caused in the Colonies by a stoppage of the routes of the sea. What this argument really proves is the absolute solidarity of interests between the Colonies and the United Kingdom, and therefore the need of common action in their common defence.

As for the last difficulty on my list, it is hardly worthy of consideration, nor should I have included it but that I have often heard it used. The United Kingdom taxpayer now pays over a pound a head each year towards the upkeep of the fleet. If the Colonial taxpayer paid but one-tenth of this amount, either directly by way of subsidy, or indirectly by way of maintenance of naval reserves, that outlay would amount to over a million pounds. What Canada could do in the direction of training men has previously been pointed out; and such assistance might have a vital bearing on the next naval war. But we have to look to the

future, as well as to the present; we have to plant a living political habit, to bear in coming time the fruits of a closer union and a greater strength.

To do that in the new Britains across the seas, political enlightenment, in the true sense of the word political, is above all things necessary. The Pax Britannica, supported on the guns of the fleet, has for generations shielded those States from the shock of external war. Now at last the growth of the world is bringing them into touch with the realities of international action, just as a like cause has produced a like result in the case of the United States. I ventured to say in a recent letter in the *Times* that the root cause of the backwardness of our brethren in this matter was want of familiarity with problems of war and of international relationship. To facilitate the study of those problems much might be done by the various Governments. Staff colleges might be founded. The teaching of naval history might be made obligatory in schools and universities. But to all this there is one precedent condition, namely, popular desire. Without that desire nothing will be done, and to create it should, therefore, be the effort of all patriotic men. Alone in the Empire, so far, the Navy League labours towards this end, and would that its labours could elicit a larger measure of support. Goethe's famous prayer for "more light" is that with which all British men who love their race must conclude, in these days, a survey of the Empire.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Sir JOHN COLOMB, K.C.M.G., M.P.: The subject of the lecture is one which should command the riveted attention of all who really love and mean to preserve their Empire. I think myself a more valuable and instructive Paper has never been read to this Institute, and, as I say in the *Times* this morning, I think the Navy League never did a wiser thing than when they determined to send Mr. Wyatt to the Colonies with a view of explaining and teaching the popular mind to appreciate the primary principles upon the true application of which not merely their safety but the safety of the whole Empire depends; and I know, because I watched his course, that he discharged his duty with extreme tact and judgment. I most entirely agree with him that if you are to accomplish the consolidation of the Empire for its safety, which depends on British supremacy at sea, you have to create a universal desire on the part of all the King's subjects to understand the simple principles of what command of the sea means and what is essential

to its maintenance. It is necessary that people at home, as well as our friends beyond the seas, should be mutually instructed and understand one another if the consummation of our great desire is ever to be accomplished. Nothing could be better than Mr. Wyatt's method of teaching us to understand what is in the Colonial mind on this question. I know it; I have not studied the question for forty years without knowing it, but in all my time I have never come across so clear and able a statement in so short a space of the impulses and ideas of the Colonial mind—false ideas, as students of war know them to be, must be dissipated. In the presence of the Chairman of the Navy League, I venture to say again that that association has done enormous service, and I only trust they will get the support of the nation in carrying out this great missionary work. These are not times for people to be halting between two opinions as to how the Empire is to be defended. We have to make up our minds what we mean to do and how we are going to do it. Remember that, whatever our dangers may be in the immediate or remote future, they proceed from the organised efforts of complete States, and a war waged by any other Empire or State in this world means the production in a visible form of the concentrated power of resources of all the component parts of that Empire or State. We are the only Empire at present, and the only Empire without example in the past, to stand in the hour of danger, on the sea or otherwise, against organised power embracing all the resources of all the territories and materials of another State with the resources of one part of the Empire only. I am sure there is a sentiment prevailing in the British breast which means at the bottom the Imperial instinct. Sentiment is a great force; steam is a great force, but I ask you what would be the use of steam and what is the use of sentiment unless machinery and organisation are prepared to apply them in the hour of danger, to give to them visible expression? Therefore I think the Institute is to be congratulated upon a beginning having been made of a great educational process, so that every Englishman shall understand and be able to give reasons to himself why the whole fabric of the Empire depends upon British supremacy at sea. If you get him to understand that, he will not be quibbling at this little point or that. He will say this is true, and I must put aside all small things and co-operate in maintaining that which is necessary for British existence.

DR. MILLER MAGUIRE: I much regret that I have been called upon to speak. I should much prefer to listen to words of experience and practical wisdom from the able Colonists whom I see

around. I only see the Colonies through the spectacles of books and on maps. They have lived in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and I should like to hear their views on Mr. Wyatt's summary of their objections to any immediate organisation of our forces on a broad Imperial scheme—to the fusion of our resources into one mass—even as the ocean of which we are children is one body—one and indivisible. I take it, the policy of isolated and local naval organisations is admitted to be mere folly; you might as well try to localise the waters of the Atlantic or the Pacific, which latter ocean is now the centre of international gravity even as the Mediterranean was the centre of the strategy of the ancient world. But, alas! we lack leaders; we lack decision and force of character; we want a careful and profound study of our resources, absolute and relative. Then we want organisation and mobilisation schemes to concentrate our power where it is most required at a given moment. But the impetus, the direction, the management, the brain of the Empire must be consolidated and its nervous system managed from our Central Isles, the United Kingdom, which is admirably placed from a strategic point of view, if we had only wise rulers! But where are the leaders? Not among our party politicians; these have become mere wire-pullers and golf players and society *flâneurs*, and no men in any age are so unfit for guiding Imperial destinies as officials and Ministers whose places are due to dialectics and partisan tactics. Our own modern history is only this fact, writ large. Arbitration treaties and international law are no bases of national strength. Reference has been made to the United States and to the Monroe Doctrine. This doctrine seems to me to be an admirable expedient enabling a Power to pursue any policy of expansion which it pleases to adopt with a clear conscience. I ceased to believe in Arbitration Treaties when I was studying the Geneva Award for professional purposes, and I will only believe in them again when the United States Government submits the Monroe Doctrine for explanation and definition to a congress of Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards and Italians. Arbitration treaties are “springes to catch woodcock.” Give me an all-powerful navy and a sound army, and I will undertake to keep peace on earth and good will in my neighbourhood. Treaties are, like the Treaty of Paris, which put an end to the Crimean War, only made to be broken. No nation was ever great or will ever be great without a powerful navy or army, or both—our Empire is doomed, if, even for one year, we lose sea power! No Hague Convention will save us. No treaty will deliver us; no arbitration

will consolidate us. No allies will keep India for us, or preserve our lines of communication with Africa and Canada and Australasia. "In native arms and native ranks the only hope of freedom dwells." If, owing to Ministerial hatred of the "ferocious folly of war," we have no guns—allies will not give us an artillery fit for its duties. As for International Law, it is a mere series of abstract ideas, the practical value of which depends on the military power of the theorist at a given moment. Our theories were not adopted by the "Armed Neutralities," therefore we converted them by sinking their ships and bombarding their forts. Every doctrine of international law has been proved by orthodox blows and knocks at different periods of history. I was obliged to study international law for six years, and I passed all my examinations after much waste of midnight oil. How many different systems did I learn on leading points such as Right of Searching, Contraband, paper blockade, Alabama cruisers and so forth. I really forget, but I know that I learned four different systems in three years. Any one of them would ensure political salvation if preached by a Hawke or a Rodney or a Nelson. I congratulate this Institute, the Navy League and Mr. Wyatt, on a most valuable and opportune lecture. It clears our minds of cant. It dispels the mists of philosophic humanitarianism, and it should be made compulsory on every Cabinet Minister to learn it off by heart betimes.

The Hon. T. A. BRASSEY: As one who has devoted a good many years to the study of this question, you will perhaps permit me to offer one or two serious observations upon it. First, I should like to express my personal appreciation of the admirable service rendered by Mr. Wyatt and the Navy League in undertaking this mission to the distant parts of the Empire. It will, I believe, result in much good by awakening in the minds of our fellow-subjects in the Colonies a sense of the importance of the Naval defence of the Empire. Mr. Wyatt pointed out how vitally important the Navy is to the defence of the Empire. Now it has been my duty for some fifteen years to review, year by year, the comparative strength of navies, and a few months ago, in pursuit of that task, I came across the fact that the United States were then building more first-class battleships than we were. It is on battleships that the command of the sea still depends. I believe as a matter of fact that the United States at the present time have some thirteen battleships building to our ten, and owing to that fact, and to the fact that the resources of the United States are greater than those of the United Kingdom, I have come to the

conclusion that the command of the sea will, within ten years, pass to the United States, if the resources of the United Kingdom can alone be called upon to maintain the Imperial Navy. But let us turn our attention somewhat nearer home. Everyone is aware that the Germans have been making vast efforts to increase their Navy, and anyone who has watched the events of the past few months, the more than benevolent neutrality of Germany towards Russia during the war in the Far East, and the fact that a large proportion of the new Russian loan has been taken up in Germany, on the condition that a part of the money shall be spent in German shipyards on the increase of the Russian Navy, will, I think, agree with me that on this side of the Atlantic we have to fear a Russian-German combination competing seriously with us for the command of the sea. I therefore come to the conclusion, from this point of view, as well as from the other, that we must draw upon the resources of our Colonies if we are to maintain the command of the sea in the future. Australia has already done something. A beginning has been made with a small squadron, and in another direction a very important step, long urged by my father and myself, has been taken in the establishment of a branch of the Naval Reserve. But Australia is certainly not in a position at the present time to make any serious money contribution to the cost of the Navy, because Australia has been passing through a long period of drought, the most severe in her history. South Africa has made some small contribution to the Navy, but she also is not in a position to make any serious contribution at the present time, because she has not yet recovered from the ravages of war. Canada alone of our Colonies is in a position to make a serious contribution; she could give two or three millions without imposing upon herself any serious burden. But she has done nothing, and why? "If you want us to help," Sir Wilfrid Laurier said some two or three years ago, "you must call us to your councils." Mr. Wyatt alluded to this question of no taxation without representation as being a contention on the part of our Colonial fellow-subjects without force, but that principle has been a fundamental principle of the Constitution. It was owing to the neglect of that principle we lost our American Colonies. And I venture to say it is the crux of the whole question of the Navy and the Empire. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's position, in my judgment, is absolutely unassailable, and it is idle for the Navy League, or the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee, of which I am a member, to press on the Colonies a contribution, unless we give the Colonies effective representa-

tion in the councils of the Empire. The question of a naval contribution is, I say, a constitutional question, and the solution of the question rests with us. We shall never possess a really Imperial Navy, we shall never be able to work out a proper scheme of Imperial defence, until our constitutional scheme is entirely remodelled. On what lines can the Colonies be given effective representation? Certain proposals have been put forward by Sir Frederick Pollock and his friends in the *Times* under the heading "Imperial Organisation." Two plans are combined, as I understand, in those proposals. Sir Frederick Pollock suggests the formation of a Committee of the Privy Council for Imperial affairs, including the best representatives of Colonial opinion, and the summoning to the Cabinet, as occasion may require, of the Colonial Premiers and other specially qualified persons; and he points out that if an Imperial Committee of the Privy Council were in existence the persons who could most usefully be summoned to the Cabinet would be members of the Committee. So long as the Colonies are only doing what they are at present for the defence of the Empire, Sir Frederick Pollock's suggestion might meet the necessities of the case, and I think such an Imperial Committee would be of some practical value. But from the point of view of the threatened loss of our command of the sea—the inability of the United Kingdom from her own resources to meet the Powers arrayed against her, the necessity of drawing on the resources of the whole Empire and the consequent necessity of giving effective representation to the Colonies, I venture to say his proposal is of no value at all. The Privy Council does not control public expenditure, and if the Colonies contribute their fair share of Imperial expenditure they will rightly insist on representation in the Imperial Parliament. A new federal Parliament is not to be thought of in our time. Can Colonial representatives be added to the Imperial Parliament as now constituted? It has been proposed to add them to the House of Lords, but the House of Lords does not control expenditure. Supposing they were added to the House of Commons, what would be their position when English, Scotch or Irish questions were being discussed? Our Colonial fellow-subjects would resent any interference on our part in their internal affairs, and I am perfectly certain they would not wish to interfere with the internal government of this country. The only solution of the question, in my judgment, is the separation of the Imperial and the domestic, and the establishment of subordinate legislatures in the several countries of the United Kingdom, each dealing with its own internal affairs.

In conclusion, I repeat that I believe the solution of this great question is really a constitutional question and rests with us in this country.

Dr. G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G. : What my opinion is of the splendid work Mr. Wyatt has done, I need not now say, because I have taken advantage of another opportunity of expressing it. I watched his course and was in my travels often upon his track, and I think he will agree with me as to the striking and enthusiastic support he met with in some parts of the Empire, and of this warm support I could wish we had heard a little more in the Paper. It shows that while public opinion in the Colonies, just as much as public opinion in England, moves slowly in the way of a great change, a distinct change has been accomplished in the Colonies, as in this country. It is only twenty-five years since I first discussed Imperial Federation in this country, and at that time we had almost to teach even important people that there was any use in keeping the Colonies at all. Now we go to the Colonies, who are struggling with their own difficult problems, and we want them to grasp at once this great question of sea power. It is a large demand to make. Even the United States, up to some few years ago, hardly realised what sea power meant, and the extraordinary development which speakers have mentioned is practically the outgrowth of a wave of feeling which has spread among American people under the pressure of circumstances. As to Canada, I do not think anybody has spoken more strongly than I have, but I have seen a great change of feeling in Canada. Now as to the attitude of the French Canadians, which is mentioned in the Paper, I would remind you that up to two years ago it seemed almost certain that any great development of British naval power was meant as a counterpoise to France, and you can understand a people, like our French Canadian friends, a simple honest folk, firmly attached to our institutions, but also, no doubt, deeply attached to their own race, not feeling any great amount of enthusiasm in the matter. But now I believe the *entente* between England and France has touched more deeply on the foundations of Canadian life than on almost any other point in the world, and if that *entente* grows, I believe the work in which we are engaged will be greatly simplified. In the meantime this work of education must go on ; we have to teach our people what it all means. The present condition of things is very peculiar. I happen to be living just now in England, and while I stay, though a Canadian, I shall be called upon to make my contribution to the Navy. If circumstances took any of you over to Canada you would not be taxed for

the Navy or asked to contribute in any way. Last year 60,000 people went from this country off to Canada, and immediately they dropped off all care for the Navy. Yet their interest in its strength is as great now as it was before. I agree generally with the view Mr. Brassey has put. We are working out a complicated problem. I think we should face the whole question. I disagree in part with Mr. Chamberlain, because he has taken one side of a vast question, a very important side perhaps, and he has put that forward, or it has been put forward as the one thing essential to the unity of this Empire. I say that, after you have fought out the question of Free Trade and Protection, the great features of this problem still remain. A solution of the fiscal question can only be a stepping-stone to the constitutional problems behind it. Sir John Colomb, while no doubt right in the main, sometimes rasps me a little, I confess, with the vigour with which he puts his views. It is to be remembered that we in Canada are just now spending \$60,000,000 on a new line across that country. 60,000 people out of these islands went there last year, and maybe 100,000 may go out this year. Remember that we have to supply for all of these judiciary, churches, schools and all the appliances of civilisation. In fact, we have in Eastern Canada to assist in every way to help to supply the people who go West with a means of civilisation, and there are many things which do involve a great strain. I think by the time we have got the constitutional question settled and our public opinion fixed, we shall be prepared to take our full part in the whole business, and that, I think, is the more hopeful view. I congratulate Mr. Wyatt on the success of his Paper and of his mission, and I wish, as I have said, we had heard more of the magnificent reception he had at various places where his eloquence interested and convinced large audiences.

Mr. SPENSER WILKINSON, who explained that, owing to having another engagement, he had not heard the debate, but had carefully read the Paper, said: Indeed, I should not have appeared if I were not very anxious to express my deep sense of obligation to Mr. Wyatt, whose Paper seems to me to be, perhaps, the most eloquent, lucid, and comprehensive statement I have read on the subject. I would, however, deprecate one expression which he used, and there is also, I think, a certain gap or lacuna on which I would remark. The substance of his argument in its most concentrated form is in these words. The United Kingdom, speaking to the Colonies, says:—"You have at stake as much as we, for your safety and your prosperity and your future are bound up equally with the like interests of us, your

brethren, in maintaining the mastery of the ocean." I feel sorry he should have used the expression "mastery of the ocean," which I think is unnecessarily offensive to foreign nations. It is apt to make people think we claim the whole ocean as our dominion, and therefore claim more than our share in the government of the world. What I understand Mr. Wyatt to mean is what is implied in the more familiar phrase, "Command of the Sea," which is a well-understood technical term and has not the same obnoxious sound. It expresses a certain condition of things arising out of naval war, when the fleets on one side have so far defeated or destroyed the fleets of the other, that the victorious side has for the time being undisputed use of the water-ways as against its opponent. If this country is to remain independent and preserve its empire, I hold, as strongly as any one can, that it must be so prepared that in case of war its Navy shall be able to maintain that strategical position which is described as the command of the sea, and that no doubt was the intention of the founders of the Navy League when they set forth in its constitution that its purpose was to secure as the primary object of national policy the command of the sea. Now, while I hold that the dynamic basis of our independence and the possibility of there being a British Empire is the power to assert command of the sea, I believe if that independence and that empire are to be maintained, they must have a moral basis as well. When we talk of the British Empire, or of our own nation, we mean something more than territorial ownership or grandeur or wealth; we imply a certain notion of right and wrong. If you review the history of the world you will see that every Great Power has represented some great principle, and when you come to the question of maintaining a great force for war, you have also to consider the question of what you are going to fight for. When we appeal to the Colonies we have got to put before them a cause for which they are going to fight, for the Colonies, like ourselves, have consciences, and are as anxious as we are to be identified with right. Therefore, let us always regard our nation and our Empire as something for which there is a righteous justification. We talk of Imperial defence, by which we mean not merely defence of the soil. You remember the words, "on Earth as in Heaven." These words contain in a nutshell the whole progress of civilisation; you make an ideal and strive to realise it. Again, "order is Heaven's first law." The whole business of Government is order, and it is done through the maintenance of law. Now, in the community of States, every great State should stand up for it; it should resist, for instance,

wrongs done to its own people, and the defence of the Empire means that our people in this country and the Colonies know that they cannot be molested by other Powers, however great, unless they are doing something unlawful. I think myself we have not of late thought as clearly on the subject as we ought, for recent events have shown that our Government have not the keenness they ought to have to defend their subjects, lawfully engaged, from molestation of any sort. The tendency has been too much to forget what a nation exists for, and rather to think it exists merely for the blessings of peace and wealth-making. I don't believe a nation can stand long which forgets that its first duty is to protect its people under all circumstances against any Power, however strong, so long as those people are peacefully, lawfully, and inoffensively occupied. I have said there is an omission in the Paper. You want the Colonist to join in paying money towards the British Navy. I think the Colonist would like to be quite sure he would be protected, and I am not sure he would have that feeling just now. I think, in this Empire, Great Britain has to lead, and if we lead the Colonies will follow. I have not noticed any war in which we have been engaged in which the Colonies have hung back. Therefore, I am not so anxious about persuading them to pay this or that. I think, so long as the country is properly standing up for itself, you will have all the Colonies behind you. I for one cannot but ask the question whether in certain recent action the Government and those who approved of its policy were actuated by a genuine desire for the blessings of peace or whether there was not an element of fear disguised under the name of humanity.

Sir ARTHUR P. DOUGLAS, Bart. : As one who spent all his earlier life in the Navy, but who for the last twenty-seven years has been living in New Zealand, I may be allowed to say with what pleasure I have listened to Mr. Wyatt's able Paper, and how rejoiced I am at the great success of his recent tour throughout the Empire. I can remember a time when it was absolutely impossible in the city of Wellington to get half a dozen people together who would think of joining the Navy League. It shows what an enormous amount of good has been done by this Empire-preaching, this talking to people in the distant parts of the King's dominions, of the absolute need there is of joining together for, and feeling a great interest in, the only thing which is going to preserve the Empire. To my mind, there is nothing more fatal than that there should be broken-up pieces of defence, scattered over far ends of the world. You cannot have a local Navy of any value ; it must

not be split up. Mr. Brassey has touched on the question of representation. I am not now able to go on to that question, though I do not say but what, if we have to pay, we should require representation. I may mention that many years ago I was sent by the Admiralty to Liverpool, with the present Lord Brassey, in connection with the formation of the Naval Artillery Volunteer Brigade, a body which did not succeed at the time, but has since been resuscitated; and I rejoice very much to think that the Australian people have lately taken a step in the formation of a Reserve, which, in my opinion, is going to be one of the greatest value to the British Navy.

MR. W. STALEY SPARK: I think Mr. Wyatt was perhaps a little hard on the French Canadians. I must protect them against any ideas which might be drawn from the Paper that they are not amongst the most loyal of the King's subjects. Indeed they are, and I hope Mr. Wyatt did not intend to convey any other idea. I had no intention of speaking, and I will only add that I shall be pleased to contribute my mite towards supporting the Navy of this Empire.

THE CHAIRMAN (Admiral Sir Nathaniel Bowden-Smith, K.C.B.): In asking you to accord a vote of thanks to Mr. Wyatt, I think you will agree with me that he has made good use of his time, and that, as regards the question of the outlying parts of the Empire contributing towards the maintenance of the Imperial Navy, he has put the question before us from the point of view of the Mother Country, and also from that of some of the Colonists. He has treated the question not only with ability but in moderation. To those Colonies who feel able and willing to contribute towards the Navy I venture to express a hope that such assistance may take the form of direct contribution or in raising a reserve of seamen and firemen for a time of emergency, and that it will not consist of fitting out a few small ships for local purposes, which, as the lecturer has pointed out, would not be of much assistance in protecting their commerce. To those of our statesmen and politicians who would appear to dictate to the Colonists what course they should take in this matter I would observe that, knowing something of Australia and New Zealand, they will suffer no such dictation. Whatever assistance they give, it must be absolutely of their own free will and choice, and any attempt at dictation from this side will only defeat its own object. A veiled allusion has been made by one of the speakers to the recent North Sea incident and the apparent want of sufficient firmness on the part

of the Government. I should like to observe that, in my opinion, that unfortunate incident should be spoken of as a "blunder" and not as an "outrage." To call it an outrage would imply that it was intentional, which can hardly be maintained by any thoughtful person. We now know that, on that eventful night, some of the Russian vessels fired into one of their own ships, the *Aurora*, and amongst other damages killed the chaplain, which could not have been intentional. I maintain therefore it was a blunder, a gigantic blunder, and not an outrage. I will now ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks not only to Mr. Wyatt, but also to the Navy League, whose Chairman is with us on the platform. May the Navy League long continue its patriotic work, and find many Mr. Wyatts to propagate its doctrines!

Mr. WYATT: I have to express my sense of the great kindness with which my poor efforts have been received. There have been two principal comments in the way of criticism on my Paper. One is that of Mr. Brassey, to the effect that this question is part of a great constitutional question, and that therefore the correct course is to do nothing until we have settled the constitutional question. Now I do not think I yield to anyone in the Empire in fervour as an Imperial Federationist, but I do not agree with the criticism. I want constitutional union, but must we wait until we have settled that? Certainly there has been great progress, but the process is slow, and while we wait to see the process ripen, we may wake up one fine morning and see nothing left. All that foreign nations are concerned to ask themselves is, Can it defend itself? That is why I want to see this union for defence secured at once. As regards federation, I believe opinion in the Colonies is less advanced than in this country, though of course the Colonies vary. When Mr. Brassey referred to the phrase of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, "Call us to your councils," he might have added that at the meeting of Prime Ministers that phrase was recalled by Mr. Chamberlain, who said, "We do ask your assistance and invite you to our councils," and there is no doubt any advance on the part of any of the Colonies towards closer union would be received with open arms. It will, however, be years before that union is achieved. Meantime, are the Colonies to stand out? That is an impossible position. In working to get them to put their resources together to secure command of the sea you are working towards union and promoting federation. In regard to Mr. Spenser Wilkinson's remarks I can only say "Peccavi." I used the expression "mastery of the ocean" as a convenient synonym in order not to repeat the same phrase

too often, and I only hope that foreign nations will not see in the phrase a meaning not intended to be conveyed. He says the cause for which the Colonies are willing to fight must be a righteous cause. Who would not agree with him? We believe our British Empire and our work in the world on the whole make for righteousness, and in the proportion in which the whole nation is sound of heart and goes forward in justice, in that degree our advance makes for the advance of mankind. One vital essential is, I agree, that the United Kingdom should keep up its flag and maintain itself before the world; but I did not think it was my business to deal to-night with the North Sea outrage.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

AN AFTERNOON MEETING was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, December 18, 1904, when Lieut.-Colonel James Hayes Sadler, C.B., read a Paper on "Present-day Administration in Uganda." Sir George S. Mackenzie, K.C.M.G., C.B., presided.

The CHAIRMAN said the Institute was very pleased to have the privilege of affording its Fellows and their friends the opportunity on the present occasion of obtaining information about our youngest Protectorate from so eminent and reliable an authority as H.M.'s Commissioner in Uganda. The Waganda had been styled by several travellers the Japanese of Africa, and at the present time no greater compliment could be paid them.

Lieut.-Colonel J. Hayes Sadler then read his Paper on

PRESENT-DAY ADMINISTRATION IN UGANDA.

I PROPOSE in this Paper to give a brief description of the Administration of the Uganda Protectorate, to note some of the results which have attended our occupation of the country, and to give an idea of the possibilities it opens out to British trade and enterprise.

The Protectorate lies on the equator, in the heart of Africa, and comprises the regions contained between the great Lakes, the Victoria Nyanza, the Albert and Albert Edward Nyanzas, and Lake Rudolf. Uganda has been closely connected with this country

since the first days of its discovery. First made known to the world by the British explorers Speke, Grant, and Stanley, it became the field of British missionary enterprise rendered memorable by the heroic and self-sacrificing labours of such men as Mackay, Bishop Hannington, Parker, and others of our missionaries. The first steps to open up friendly relations with Uganda were taken in 1888 by Sir John Kirk, British Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, who had early foreseen the importance of the country, and ever taken the keenest interest in this then distant land. But it is to the patriotic foresight of the late Sir William Mackinnon and the Directors of the Imperial British East Africa Company which he founded, assisted by the Administrators of the Company on the Coast, Sir Francis de Winton and our able Chairman, Sir George Mackenzie, and backed by the public interest now aroused in the country, that are immediately due the policy and action which, commencing with the missions of Mr. Jackson and Sir Frederick (then Captain) Lugard, and completed by the mission of the late Sir Gerald Portal, resulted in the establishment in 1894 of a British Protectorate over the Kingdom of Uganda. The Protectorate was extended in 1896 and succeeding years, and it now comprises an area about equal to that of England, Scotland, and Wales. Of the five provinces into which the Protectorate is divided, three—the Kingdom of Uganda, the Central Province, consisting of Busoga and Bukedi and the Elgon district, and the Western Province, comprising the Kingdoms of Ankole, Toro and Unyoro—may now be said to be under effective administration. In the Nile Province the valley of the Nile is occupied by the stations of Wadelai, Nimule and Gondokoro, from which centres our influence is being gradually extended. Commissioning tribes. The now is, the Lufiro is probably the best means that could be devised

During the prevention of abuse and the redress of grievances in 1897 and the general advancement of the country. difficulties; the Collectors and Assistant Collectors at Entebbe, Kamukooka in Buddu, and an Assistant Collector at Kakumiro in the central part of the Kingdom. Their duties, which are multi-

In 1900 and include magisterial and judicial work, charge of the police, of the Hut-tax and disposal of produce, the promotion of agriculture, in short, all matters appertaining to order and limited autonomy in their districts. In Toro, Ankole, and Unyoro the Paramount obtains, but the jurisdiction of the Native Councils is restricted, and they have not the power of framing native laws. Native affairs in the Nile Province and in Busoga and

Present-day Administration in Uganda.

waste lands as well as the control of the larger forest vest in the Government. The holders of land in the Kingdom of Uganda have the right to minerals found on their estates, subject to the payment of a royalty; elsewhere throughout the Protectorate the mineral rights belong to Government.

The Protectorate is administered by a Commissioner, under the direction of the Foreign Office, in the Protectorates Department, under the superintendence of Sir Clement Lloyd Hill; the Commissioner is assisted by a Deputy Commissioner and an executive staff of four Sub-Commissioners, eight Collectors and fifteen Assistant Collectors. Each Province is in charge of a Sub-Commissioner, under whom are the Collectors and Assistants in charge of districts and stations. At Entebbe, the capital of the Protectorate, are located the High Court, the Secretariat, the Treasury, Public Works and Survey Offices, and the headquarters of the Military. The judicial machinery of the Protectorate is based on the Indian system, with certain modifications necessitated by local conditions; the Collectors and Assistant Collectors are Magistrates and Assistant Judges within their districts; Sessions Courts are held by the Sub-Commissioner in each Province, and all are subordinate to the High Court in Entebbe. The two great Indian enactments, the Indian Penal and Civil Procedure Codes, are in force, and other Acts of the Indian Legislature are from time to time adapted to the Protectorate as circumstances require. We have an able staff of ten Medical Officers under Major Wise, R.A.M.C. Lately there has been a tendency to unite as far as possible with the sister Protectorate British East Africa, and the Postal and Telegraph and Medical services of the two Protectorates are now

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The Protectorate lies on the equator, in the heart of Africa, and comprises the regions contained between the great Lakes, the Victoria Nyanza, the Albert and Albert Edward Nyanzas, and the Rudolf. Uganda has been closely connected with this country

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A short description of administration in the Kingdom of Uganda will serve to exemplify our system of administration in the Protectorate generally; the fact being borne in mind that here is centred the highest civilisation of this part of Africa, and that the principles here followed are being introduced into the surrounding countries according as circumstances and varying degrees of civilisation render advisable.

The Kingdom is divided into twenty Sazas, or counties; over each is a Saza chief, who receives a salary of £200 per annum; he is responsible for the conduct of native affairs in his Saza, for the upkeep of the roads, and for the assessment and collection of the Government taxes. These Saza chiefs and their deputies form the native council or Lukiko, which sits at Mengo, the native capital of the Kingdom, and over which, during the minority of the young Kabaka, preside the Regents, Apolo Katikiro the Prime Minister, Magwanja the Chief Justice, and Kisingiri the Controller of the Kabaka's revenues. Once a week the Sub-Commissioner presides at the Lukiko; all important matters are referred to him, and he is in daily touch and communication with the Regents and Chiefs. The Lukiko is an old and popular institution; the questions brought before it are discussed with open doors, and its decisions appear to give general satisfaction. It has the power of framing native laws subject to the approval of the Commission, and exercises civil and criminal jurisdiction over natives of the Kingdom subject to appeal in all cases involving a sentence of more than five years' imprisonment or a fine exceeding £100. Death sentences are subject to confirmation by H.M.'s Commissioner. Worked as it now is, the Lukiko is probably the best means that could be devised as much for the prevention of abuse and the redress of grievances as for the general advancement of the country.

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There are Collectors and Assistant Collectors at Entebbe, Kampala, Masaka in Buddu, and an Assistant Collector at Kakumiro in the western part of the Kingdom. Their duties, which are multifarious, include magisterial and judicial work, charge of the police, supervision of the Hut-tax and disposal of produce, the promotion of trade and agriculture, in short, all matters appertaining to order and progress in their districts. In Toro, Ankole, and Unyoro the same system obtains, but the jurisdiction of the Native Councils is more restricted, and they have not the power of framing native laws. Native affairs in the Nile Province and in Busoga and

Bukedi are managed more directly by British officers, as Native Councils do not yet exist, though steps are being taken to form Lukikos of the more responsible chiefs.

Great changes have taken place in the country during the ten and a half years of our occupation. Slavery with all its attendant miseries has been abolished in this part of Africa, and thence to the Coast; the people have been released from a tyrannous despotism which took no account of human life; and peace and contentment have been given to a much disturbed land. Laws and regulations have been framed giving equal justice to all; courts of criminal and civil jurisdiction have been established throughout the settled districts; the legitimate authority of the Kings and Chiefs has been upheld, but a curb has been placed on the power they formerly had of tyrannising over their subjects, and they are showing a remarkable readiness to imbibe Western ideas and rule their people according to our notions of equity and right. The cause of education has been fostered and is making rapid strides; communications have been extended and rendered easy and safe; trade and commerce have been encouraged and are in process of development; and the foundations have been laid of a sound and permanent revenue.

Being an inland Protectorate and having no ocean port, Uganda is unable to show to its credit import duties which are always a large item of revenue. Our principal source of revenue is the Hut-tax, so ably initiated and instituted by my predecessor, Sir Harry Johnston. I have no hesitation in saying that this tax will prove to be the making of the country, not only because of the revenue it brings in, but because of the habits of work it inculcates, which are rapidly altering one of the natural characteristics of the people. The tax itself is light, three rupees or 4s. a year collected on each native hut. In lieu of cash a month's labour may be given, or the value of the tax brought in in produce; a local produce scheme, as it is called, has lately been introduced and has done much to help the people to pay their taxes. The Administration does not take in produce directly itself; having ascertained what is readily saleable and what the merchants will take, it encourages the natives to cultivate or collect the required kinds. The rates are fixed according to the market price at the time; the taxpayers bring the produce to our stations, where it is weighed and at once made over to the merchants, who pay its value in cash. The accounts of the taxpayers are then adjusted, and any surplus made over to them. The Administration thus acts as an intermediary, through its

officers, between the natives and the merchants; the scheme is very popular with both classes; it in no way interferes with private enterprise or with direct dealings between the buyer and the producer, and besides adding to our revenue it directly stimulates agriculture and exports, and helps to feed the Uganda Railway. Formerly a large proportion of the taxes was paid in labour; now, owing to the expansion of trade which has brought money into the country, and the introduction of the local produce scheme, taxes are largely paid in cash, and round our centres it is difficult to procure Hut-tax labour. Other sources of revenue are customs dues on imports, licences and dues, and miscellaneous.

The actual receipts for the year ending March 31 last were £51,474, showing an increase over the returns of the preceding year of £7,016 and over the estimate of £10,589. Of this nearly half was collected on account of the Hut-tax, under which head the receipts have risen from £16,080 in 1901-2, and £19,029 in the following year, to £25,356 in the last year, representing an increase in two years of over 51 per cent. Care is taken not to demand a cash payment from those who are unable to pay it; the tax is well understood, it has been easily collected, and has given rise to no complaints whatever.

I may tell you that quite lately, on the initiation of the Regents and Lukiko of Uganda, a further tax of two rupees, or 2s. 8d., has been imposed on that part of the population who do not own huts, or contribute to the payment on the parent hut, but who are now found to be earning wages and to be in a position to pay their share towards the cost of administration. Now I think it is a very remarkable circumstance that these Chiefs should of their own accord have suggested this additional contribution to Imperial revenues; it appears to me to afford a marked indication of their readiness to propose and adopt measures which they consider to be for the good of their country, for one important result we look for from this particular measure is, by lessening the distinction drawn by the Hut-tax between the married man and the bachelor, to promote morality, to induce the bachelor element to settle down, and to encourage married life in a country where the birth-rate is dangerously low. I may also tell you that this additional tax is being paid willingly and with the utmost good humour. That the progress in revenue to which I have alluded is continuing is instanced by what has occurred since the close of the last financial year. In the first five months of this year—that is to say, from April to August last—the collections from the Hut-tax of those

stations from which returns had been received when I left Uganda showed an increase of some £4,000 over the corresponding figure for that period of the preceding year; and at the close of the period one Province, the Central Province, had already exceeded its total estimated revenue for the year.

All our figures for the past year show an increase except on one head, and that exception is expenditure, which has decreased from £251,597 in 1900-1, and £228,680 and £208,738 in the two succeeding years, to £191,479 in 1903-4, showing a saving on the estimate of over £4,600, notwithstanding unforeseen expenditure of nearly £20,000 on account of past years not included in the estimate.

The value of the trade of the Protectorate for the last year was £176,047, nearly double the figures of the previous year, the returns for which, however, were not complete for the first half of the year. The value of the imports was £128,199, of which £52,572, or nearly 43 per cent., came from the United Kingdom. The principal items of import were cotton goods, groceries, hardware, corrugated iron, beads, miscellaneous and ivory from the Congo Free State. Exports came to £52,848, the principal items being ivory, skins and hides, cattle and rubber.

Broad roads connect our stations and the principal native settlements. In this respect, as in others, the Nile Province is the most backward part of the Protectorate, owing to its remote situation and the poverty of its people; steps, however, have been taken to strengthen the Administration in this province, and this year a main road connecting Nimule and Gondokoro will be under construction. There is a weekly mail service to the Coast, and a weekly postal service by runners along the main arteries of the Protectorate. The telegraph line from Mombasa to Entebbe has been extended to Lake Albert and to Wadelai on the Nile, whence it is being carried on to Nimule to connect eventually at Gondokoro, I hope with the Soudan system, which will give us an alternative line to Europe. During the last year 49,000 letters were received in the Protectorate, and 43,000 were posted; in all, some 23,900 telegrams were dealt with. On the Victoria Nyanza, our pioneer steamer the ss. "Sir William Mackinnon" has had to give way to the railway steamers, but she still renders useful service; on the Lake Albert and the Nile we have a steam launch and two sailing boats, which are soon to be supplemented by a larger steamer.

For the education, religious and secular, of the natives the three Missionary Societies provide thirty-eight permanent schools and a

large number of native teachers outside the permanent schools. Luganda is taught in all the schools, and English in the principal schools. The Church Missionary Society alone has 1,070 native churches in the Protectorate and 2,052 native teachers; the baptized Christians of the three denominations number 142,000, and the adherents of the Missions about 420,000. The great work these Societies have undertaken is continually increasing.

The work of preparing an accurate map of Uganda and of definitely fixing the areas of the estates allotted to the Chiefs and landholders is one of great importance; it is being carried on by a survey department, which will this year be raised to a complement of twelve English and nine Indian surveyors. Up to the end of March last, 7,000 square miles had been prepared by plane tabling for main and secondary triangulation; observations with the 10-inch theodolite had been taken over an area of 2,465 square miles, and in detail work 450 square miles had been mapped on the 1-inch scale.

In the Botanical Gardens at Entebbe and at various outlying farms the Scientific Department studies and experiments with all products, foreign and indigenous, likely to have an economic value in Uganda; in the same department records of lake levels are kept, and a system of meteorological observations has been started at eight stations embracing the principal climatic variations of the Protectorate. We find that last year 62·88 inches of rain fell; this was the largest rainfall on record and corresponded with the highest level of the lake known for years. The highest monthly mean temperature was 81°·5 in February, and the lowest 61°·9 in August. The highest shade temperature recorded was 104° at Gondokoro in April.

A great deal has been done to improve the health and conditions of life of the officials serving in Uganda. At Entebbe the old and insanitary wattle and daub grass-roofed structures are fast being replaced by brick houses with galvanised iron roofs and cement floors, and the old style of quarters hardly now exists. A fine European hospital was lately opened containing five wards, a large operating theatre and offices, fully fitted and equipped, and a new native hospital is in course of erection. New and commodious Law Courts and a new Collectorate have been completed and opened, a new Government House has been built, and the older public buildings, such as the Secretariat, Treasury and printing office, have been reroofed with iron. A new post and telegraph building and new public works offices have been commenced. A

rest house has been built and furnished for the use of officials passing through headquarters, and a comfortable hotel is kept by an enterprising Italian.

At Kampalu a new Collectorate and houses of brick and iron are being erected; Hoima, our principal station in Ungoro, has been shifted to a better site and new buildings provided, and the rising station of Jinja is being completely rebuilt. For the other out-stations better accommodation is being supplied as fast as our resources permit; all have been provided with sufficient wire gauze netting to render at least a portion of each house mosquito-proof.

For the last three and a half years parts of the Protectorate have been in the grip of a deadly epidemic. Sleeping sickness, well known in West Africa, was first noticed in Uganda about April 1901; since then it spread rapidly round the northern shores of the Victoria Nyanza, causing appalling mortality in those tracts and in the islands to the north of the lake; gradually it is being carried, along the east and west sides, southwards towards German territory. Our medical officers began early to investigate the disease, and some important facts were elicited; but it was soon found that the disease, the true nature of which had not then been ascertained, was one with which it was beyond our powers to deal. We therefore asked that the services of a specialist might be lent to the Protectorate. In the meanwhile the Royal Society had taken the matter up, and since the middle of 1902 successive commissions appointed by the Society have been incessantly engaged in the laborious work of investigating the disease on the spot. As is now well known, Colonel Bruce, F.R.S., and his colleagues have practically proved that the malady is due to an infection with a trypanosome, which is transmitted by a species of tsetse fly, the *Glossina palpalis*, which abounds in the vicinity of the Lake Victoria shore; but so far no remedy has been found, and the disease spares none of its victims. The outlook is gloomy, for if the epidemic continues large tracts along the northern shores of the lake and the northern islands will be completely depopulated; as it is, parts of the lake shore in Busago are destitute of habitation, and in parts of the islands where there were formerly 350 huts there are not now so many human beings. The only thing that can be said is that the area of sleeping sickness corresponds with the distribution of the fly—where there is no fly there is no fear of infection—and that there are signs that the virulence of the infection is decreasing, though on this point it is difficult to speak with any certainty. Such measures as were found possible have been taken; move-

ments of the people between the affected and unaffected areas are discouraged, and as soon as the nature and cause of the disease became known we were careful not to allow Hut-tax labour to enter an affected district from an unaffected district; but over such a large area any practical system of isolation was not possible; we could not isolate the lake districts from the inland districts, and indeed it is a matter of extreme difficulty to formulate any scheme which would be effective in dealing with a widespread disease which has an inoculation period of something like two years and which is spread by an insect existing in large numbers over a thickly populated area. This is the sad part of our administrative work, that we have hitherto been unable to arrest or mitigate the ravages of this fell disease, under which the people have shown themselves marvellously patient and quiet.

But, apart from the sleeping sickness epidemic, the prospects in other directions are bright. On all sides round our centres at Entebbe and Kampala the signs are apparent of progress and increase of prosperity, and indeed the Baganda have made rapid strides. The Chiefs have been quick to adapt themselves to European methods in their mode of life and in the conduct of their affairs and the government of their people. Several have built themselves commodious brick houses fitted with plain and ordinary pieces of English furniture; they have their clerks and typewriters; they keep their accounts with a bank; they are anxious to improve themselves and their people, and generally are advancing much on the lines along which we should wish them to advance. Among the commoner people the use of cotton apparel is fast ousting bark cloth, the old dress of the country; petroleum is coming into common use to light the huts, and common pieces of hardware, boots and shoes, and cheap articles of European manufacture are in constant and increasing demand. In the districts trade is increasing, and each year adds to the number of the traders. In Jinja, where a year ago there were five Indian and native traders, there are now nineteen; early in 1908 we had to move the traders' quarters in Kampala, as they had become too cramped; a new bazaar was laid out on the Jinja road, there was keen competition among the traders for sites, and the new bazaar soon became a large and flourishing settlement.

Now a very great deal of the progress I have been able to describe as taking place in Uganda would have been impossible without the assistance of the Uganda Railway. Without the railway our trade could not have expanded as it has done, the

export of local produce would have been impossible owing to the cost of portage, our revenue would not have reached its present figure, expenditure could not have been curtailed, and the cause of civilisation and material well-being would not have advanced as it has. And in all this only a beginning has been made. I look upon the Uganda Railway as the main factor in the development of two important Protectorates and as having already splendidly justified its existence. As you are aware the railway does not enter Uganda, it stops short on the eastern side of the lake, whence communication is continued by the two well-appointed railway steamers: one takes the weekly mail service across the lake, the other circumnavigates the lake and brings the produce of German East Africa to the railway at Port Florence. We have now direct steam communication from Charing Cross to Entebbe, the English mails can be delivered in nineteen days, and the tedious journey from Entebbe to the Coast, which formerly occupied from two to three months, is now reduced to three and a half days.

The climatic conditions of Uganda are not altogether favourable for the permanent settlement of English families and the healthy rearing of English children, nor perhaps for European manual labour in the open, and in this respect the conditions of Uganda cannot compare with those obtaining in South Africa and in the western uplands of East Africa. It is, I consider, to the natives themselves, mostly intelligent and rapidly acquiring habits of industry, that we must look for the development of the country, under European supervision and assisted by European capital. The soil is marvellously fertile, and in flora and fauna Uganda is probably the richest part of Africa. Rubber is found in most of the forests, particularly in the Sesse and adjacent islands, and in the forest tracts fringing the Victoria Nyanza, and will prove to be an important industry. The best samples of Uganda rubber fetch from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per lb. in the London market. Lately we have introduced into the Botanical Gardens the rubber of the Para (*Hevea Brasiliensis*) and *Castilloa elastica* varieties; three acres have been planted with healthy trees of the former variety, and if this experiment answers a very profitable industry will have been opened. The country appears to be peculiarly well adapted for the cultivation of cotton, which, indeed, grows wild in parts. Samples of cotton grown in Uganda have been valued in London at the high price of 7½d. and 9½d. We are now experimenting with the Egyptian seeds of the Asmouni, Abbasi, and

Affii varieties ; already close upon five tons of this seed have been distributed to the Chiefs and landowners, who have shown themselves keenly alive to the advantages this industry offers the country, and in addition the Administration has laid out plantations of from 100 to 200 acres, partly planted with cotton and partly with other products. Coffee, too, grows wild ; Nyassa coffee (*C. robusta*) has been introduced, a plantation of $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres gave a good crop, and the berries have been distributed to the Chiefs for sowing. The Protectorate is rich in fibres, and the commencement has been made of an important export trade in these articles. A consignment of *Sansevieria* fibre lately sent home by a local merchant realised £82 a ton ; *Raphia* fibre fetches from £26 to £30 per ton. China grass (*Böhmia nivea*) has answered well in the Botanical Gardens and should prove to be a paying industry.

Chillies are now in great demand for export. Locally they fetch 1s. 4d. for 10 lb. to 12 lb. : they grow wild over Uganda and Busoga, but now that the natives are aware of their commercial value they have taken to cultivating them. Oil seeds such as semsem are procurable in profusion. Lately a trade has sprung up in hides and skins which has increased from £3,634 in the previous year to £14,818 in 1903-4. All kinds of garden produce flourish well, and most English vegetables are procurable throughout the year. The search for minerals has not yet met with success, but I am far from saying that the whole field of research in this direction has been exhausted.

Both in trade and in agriculture there are openings for British energy and capital ;—so far we have not a single English trader, as such, in the Protectorate. It may be said that the trade returns are small ; so they are, but trade and agriculture in the Protectorate are only yet in their infancy. As I have shown, the trade practically doubled last year, and I wish to see British manufactures take our market at once. In 1903-4 there was an increase of £10,111 in the import of cotton goods from the United Kingdom ; this is to some extent satisfactory, but it is balanced by an increase of nearly £9,000 in one cotton article alone, imported from the United States, namely, “*American*,” an unbleached calico which has admirably met the requirements of the natives in Northern and Eastern Africa. Quite lately an Italian firm has succeeded in producing an equally good article in Italy from Uganda-grown cotton. Could not this be also done in England, and the natives be taught to look to England for an article of common daily wear for which there is a large and steadily increasing demand ? As

regards agriculture there are large tracts of most fertile soil simply waiting to be cleared and planted; there is the land, either belonging to us or the Chiefs, and the people to work on it; what we want is the energy and capital to open up these lands and enable them to supply the home market with many of the products now imported from foreign countries. Cotton alone opens a wide field. I hope we shall make Uganda a cotton-producing country and have our own mills and industries; and there are again rubber, oils, and the various articles of produce I have already enumerated.

I trust I have been able to explain in these few pages some of the lines upon which administration in Uganda is conducted, something of what it has accomplished, and what it aims at. Peace and order have been secured, trade is rapidly increasing, education is advancing, agriculture and cultivation are extending, and considerable progress has been made in civilisation and material well-being; but of all the results which have so far attended British administration in this part of Africa the happiest are, I think, to be found in the happiness and contentment of the native races who have accepted our rule, for happy and contented I firmly believe the chiefs and people of Uganda to be, and they pride themselves upon being loyal subjects of the Crown.

The Paper was illustrated by a series of limelight views.

DISCUSSION.

Sir HARRY JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., stated that he attended partly to show his admiration of the work done by Colonel Hayes Sadler for nearly three years past in Uganda. It was a work necessarily of great interest to himself, for he should always remember with vivid interest the two years he spent there as Special Commissioner, laying the foundations under the direction of the Foreign Office of the present system of government. Not every official sent to Africa had been as fortunate as he had in his successors, who for the most part had thoroughly appreciated and given actuality to the ideas, many of which he had left behind merely on paper. Apart from this, he desired to say a few words on the Hut-tax, or perhaps he should say with reference to taxation generally. Most British administrators in Africa, as well as the office in Downing Street, had had an uneasy time in endeavouring to steer a middle course between two extreme forms

of opinion. There had been one called the Colonial party *par excellence*, that had frequently promulgated rather drastic ideas as to the way in which indigenous natives should be treated. That party would undoubtedly have plunged British administration in Tropical Africa into serious trouble and grave expense, possibly also into much bloodshed, in redressing mistakes. Also there had been a party, a paralysing party, which out of sheer sentimentality would have the negroes supported in a life of absolute safety and comfort at the expense of the British taxpayer. Workers like the lecturer and himself had striven to steer a middle course, and the hut-tax had often served as a sort of shuttlecock between these extremes. While he believed emphatically in respecting the legitimate rights of the native, he had been equally impressed with the fact that for countless centuries the negro had led a more or less lazy life in a continent unusually endowed by nature with the means of subsistence and of wealth. It was a life made too easy for him by nature, and consequently he had fallen into that condition of laziness that had so often made him the slave of more intellectual races. It was our duty to endeavour to make a civilised man of the negro and give him a fair share of Africa; still, at the same time, one had always felt he must be brought to a sense of his responsibility—that whilst it was our privilege to bring bloodshed to an end and to introduce safety and a civilised Government, it was equally the duty of the negro to play up to that policy by providing what share he was able to afford of the expense of governing his own country. Undoubtedly in Africa, as in Asia, we were working towards the eventual end of self-government, but the negro must pass through many years, possibly centuries, of tutelage under the Caucasian, before he could be safely entrusted with unchecked control. Whenever one took up a newspaper and read that some recently arrived traveller considered the hut-tax a mistake, one should not be too ready to follow his opinion. The best idea, of course, became bad when badly carried out, and he was not saying there were not bad ways of carrying out the system of levying hut-tax; but, assuming the work was done on the right lines, he thought the general principle of expecting the negro to support the Government of his own country was a wise one, not only from our point of view, but from the point of view of the negro himself. This excellent principle, as he had said, was not vitiated by the fact that in some parts it might be put into execution in a questionable way. In these matters we should study our geography and try to understand the characteristics of the regions

concerned. He thought the lecturer would agree that, once the initial difficulty had been got over of inducing these powerful people to make a treaty, the rest had been very much plain sailing, and that the difficulties had been less, for instance, than in governing British East Africa. In other parts the difficulties of promulgating and collecting native taxation had been greater, but he was sure that by gently pushing on the principle we were pursuing we should in the long run be acting advantageously for the negro as well as for ourselves.

Mr. VICTOR BUXTON thought that, as they listened to the graphic description of present-day administration in Uganda, it must have seemed almost incredible that this was the same country we used to hear about a few years ago, in which wholesale executions took place, in which terrible cruelties were constantly being enacted, and which was in a perpetual state of turmoil and war. He was proud and thankful to think that our Empire had been the means of bringing about such a transformation. For one who had the opportunity of seeing the country, as he had this year, the marvel was only increased. When Colonel Hayes Sadler first arrived in Uganda, there must have been a good deal of anxiety on the part of the native chiefs lest some new arrangement were to be imposed, for events had moved rapidly there, and one treaty had (perhaps necessarily) followed on the steps of another. Those interested in the country and concerned for the welfare of the native could not, therefore, be too thankful that Colonel Hayes Sadler, instead of bringing forward a new treaty, had quietly and steadily carried out the existing settlement, giving the natives to understand that this might be regarded as permanent, and that they need not be afraid of having their customs and land arrangements disturbed again. There were many expressions in the Paper which bore witness to the Commissioner's hearty sympathy with the Baganda, and his desire to rule the country through their own institutions. Another point one could not fail to notice was his recognition of the valuable work done by missionaries. It was perhaps not unnatural that those who went out to rule distant British possessions, and who wielded the material forces of the Empire, should be disposed sometimes to forget other forces which had at least as great effect in the progress of civilisation; but Colonel Hayes Sadler had shown that he did not leave out of account these moral and spiritual forces. It might perhaps be allowable to recall two occasions upon which the work of missions had contributed to our present hold upon and influence in Uganda. In 1891 the British East Africa Company felt compelled to decide upon

the evacuation of that country: and there were those representing other nations who would have been ready enough to step in. Bishop Tucker happened to come home just at this time, and he represented what a serious thing it would be for British prestige if the promises we had made to the natives were ignored. He (the speaker) well remembered a missionary meeting in Exeter Hall at which Bishop Tucker laid emphasis on the danger of retreating from the country. It was a most striking gathering: before the meeting was over promises had been sent up to the Chair of £8,000 to assist the Company if they would be willing to hold on another year, and within the next ten days another £8,000 was contributed. That £16,000 turned the scale: the Company countermanded orders already sent out for retiring, and held Uganda till in 1898 our Government took over the administration. Then there was another instance in which he could remember the influence of missions. It had been mentioned that slavery had been abolished. How did that come about? On the Bishop's return from this visit to England, some native chiefs came to him and asked his advice as to what they should do with certain runaway slaves. He told them slavery was the law of the country, and therefore it was their duty to return them; but he took the opportunity of laying before them the principles of Christianity with regard to this question, and suggested that they might, if they wished, take steps to get the law altered. Within a few days he received a statement signed by forty chiefs, saying, "All we Protestant chiefs wish to adopt these good customs of freedom. We agree to untie and free completely all our slaves. Here are our names as chiefs." Thus slavery was abolished, not through the direct action of the administration, but through the influence of Christianity. He would not now refer to the anxiety which many must have felt, in view of the approaching transfer of Uganda from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, lest Colonel Hayes Sadler's administration should cease, but would only say how earnestly they must all hope that this would not be the case, and that he might return and carry on his work in that country for many years to come.

Mr. FRANK RAWSON, C.M.G., remarked that the only claim he had to speak was that he happened to be employed for eight years in constructing the railway, and he had the pleasure on two occasions of visiting Colonel Hayes Sadler. It was rather a misfortune the railway should be called the Uganda Railway, because it did not go into Uganda. Colonel Hayes Sadler had to a certain extent recognised the advantages that had resulted from the railway, and as a matter of fact it was no exaggeration to say that but for the railway Uganda

might not have belonged to England at all, but have reverted to the native inhabitants or been taken over by some other country. Without the railway we could not possibly have held the country, for we were only able to send troops up when the mutiny broke out because of the railway, but for which he doubted whether any European would have been left alive. We heard a great deal about the cost of the railway. Some said that the railway cost £6,000,000. As a matter of fact it cost only £5,500,000, still he supposed half a million more or less did not matter to some people. Only those who had travelled in the country could possibly know the difficulties of construction, the enormous mountains that had to be crossed and the extraordinary difficulties owing to climate and labour. Considering these things and the extraordinary development of the country, and the fact that the railway was already paying its way, he did not think anyone could say that this was really an expensive railway. Personally he disputed the fact of its being expensive, and doubted whether any railway in the tropics had been built so cheaply and at the same time so well. In this connection he much regretted that the Report of Major Pringle, of the Board of Trade, was never published as a Parliamentary Paper.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir George S. Mackenzie, K.C.M.G., C.B.): I regret we have not had an evening meeting for the reading of Colonel Hayes Sadler's interesting Paper. It is impossible to deal with the many points, showing what marvellous strides have been made in the administration of Uganda, in the limit of time available at an afternoon meeting. I have here Colonel Hayes Sadler's General Report on the Protectorate for the year ending March 31 last. I would recommend anyone interested in the subject to read that report, for it deals with the work done in detail under the various heads of administration. It must be remembered Uganda was first made known to the civilised world in 1862 by Speke and Grant. It was next visited by Stanley in 1875, when its remarkable king M'tesa sent that renowned message to the missionary societies, and then came the British East Africa Company in 1889. Few in this room can appreciate, as I do, the credit that is due not only to Colonel Hayes Sadler but to his predecessors in having brought the administration up to its present level of efficiency; and when I refer to his predecessors we must not forget to make special mention of the Imperial British East Africa Company, who acquired the territory for us and laid the foundation of peaceful and friendly intercourse with the natives through the whole of British East Africa. The one name that stands out prominently in the roll of the Founders of British East Africa is that of the great patriot and philanthropist,

Sir William Mackinnon. But for him and those gentlemen who so generously associated themselves with him in obtaining the charter from the Crown, under which the Company worked, it is certain that Uganda to-day would be outside the sphere of British influence. Many here may have forgotten the fierce political party war that raged round the question of the retention or abandonment of Uganda in the House of Commons as lately as the year 1892. Leading politicians then opposed to the construction of the railway—without which it would not be possible to administer the country efficiently—prophesied all manner of attendant evils. The Paper just read to us entirely falsifies those forebodings. Had the counsels of the opposition prevailed, what, it may be asked, might have been the effect on the Egyptian question to-day, for Uganda dominates the sources of the Nile and an important portion of the Nile Valley? It is, in fact, the key to the back-door of Egypt. We can but imagine what would have resulted had Uganda been under a foreign flag at the time Colonel Marchand reached Fashoda! The railway, it must be borne in mind, is an administrative as well as a political necessity. To those "stay-at-home" critics who carp at the money expended upon it, I would ask their consideration of the great works it has so successfully performed, as stated by Colonel Hayes Sadler; and I may add to those he referred to the total abolition of the slave trade throughout the whole of British East Africa. Think of the many years we struggled ineffectively through the costly means of Admiralty cruisers, which used to capture and liberate on an average only about 100 slaves annually, while in the first three years of the Imperial British East Africa Company's administration we arranged for the liberation of several thousands, and, by the understanding then come to with the Arabs, slave trading was practically stamped out. The railway, I am glad to learn, is now doing well, and very nearly covering its working expenses. Looking back now on past events, and forward to what I know it will accomplish in the future, I maintain the money expended upon the railway will be fully justified, even if it is viewed as a commercial undertaking, which it certainly was not primarily intended to be. The post now takes three and a half days, while the armed post-caravans formerly took three months, and the transport of the mails was equal to £2,500 per ton. Transport by ordinary caravans cost from £250 to £800 per ton, and now costs from £3 8s. 6d. for agricultural implements and country produce, up to £50 and £60 for arms and spirits. In conclusion, I desire to say just one word as to the financial aspect of the question. Colonel Hayes Sadler, as a Government official, is more or less

tongue-tied, and is unable to speak as freely upon that question as I can. It is unreasonable to expect Colonel Hayes Sadler even to solve the problem of making bricks without straw. It is very promising to learn from his official report, to which I have referred, that there is a steady increase of revenue at every point. But if development is to go on, cash is necessary for reproductive works, and it ought to be provided. When one thinks of the thousands of pounds accumulation of surplus income in this country yearly seeking investment, and which is forced into enterprises in foreign countries and bogus gold mines, is it not remarkable that some effort has not been made to retain such capital for investment in our African Protectorates and Crown Colonies? Why should the Treasury not issue special Protectorate loans from time to time on such terms as would attract capital to them? The Protectorates, of course, would have to show that they were in a position to meet the interest charge on the loans before the required grant was made to them. But to expect the administration to hold development schemes in abeyance till the capital sum required has accumulated out of surplus revenue is not working to the best advantage, nor on commercial or business-like principles. I understand the administration of Uganda and East Africa is shortly to be transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. I trust progress under the control of the latter may prove as rapid and satisfactory as it has been in the past. The Foreign Office have certainly borne the heat and burden of the work, and have made matters easy for their successors. I hope Colonel Hayes Sadler may be able to arrange some such scheme as I suggest for the getting of funds to proceed with reproductive works, which at some points he is so much in need of. I have now to ask you to join with me in a hearty vote of thanks to Colonel Hayes Sadler for his Paper, and for his so kindly coming here to-day.

In reply, Colonel HAYES SADLER thanked the meeting for the patient hearing accorded to the Paper and for the kindly and encouraging expressions that had been used as regards the Uganda administration. They were peculiarly fortunate in having in the chair a gentleman who not only took a prominent part in the events which led to the establishment of the Protectorate over the regions dealt with, but who himself very ably and successfully administered in British East Africa at the time of exceptional interest for the future of our position in those regions. He moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and the proceedings then terminated.

THIRD ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Third Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, January 17, 1905, when a Paper on "Imperialism from an Australian Stand-point" was read by E. A. Harney, ex-Senator, Australian Commonwealth.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., & Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 20 Fellows had been elected, viz., 9 Resident and 11 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

Cecil Bayly, George Millar Bowman, Sir Arthur P. Douglas, Bart., William G. A. Hambling, The Rt. Hon. Lord Hindlip, Wm. Percival Oak, M.Inst.C.E., John Owen-Jones, Mervyn C. Stephen, Beckles Willson.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

John Anderson (Straits Settlements), John Atkinson (Gold Coast Colony), José B. da Silva (China), John Grosvenor Dawe (Gold Coast Colony), Robert C. Dixon (New South Wales), Edward Duncan (Fiji), Harry S. H. Hayles (Gold Coast Colony), Don Adrian St. V. Jayewardene (Ceylon), John Maxwell (Gold Coast Colony), Hercules Tennant (Transvaal), James J. Wilson, M.D. (Gold Coast Colony).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The names of Mr. F. H. Dangar on behalf of the Council, and Mr. H. F. Billingham on behalf of the Fellows were submitted and approved as Auditors of the Accounts for the past year in accordance with Rule 48.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. E. A. Harney to read his Paper on

IMPERIALISM FROM AN AUSTRALIAN STANDPOINT.

IN venturing upon this address I am conscious of a certain presumption. The subject is a vast and intricate one, and it is at the same time a subject upon which this audience is likely to be more than ordinarily well informed. I can pretend to no other qualification than that of having resided for some years in Australia, during a portion of which time I was a member of the Commonwealth Senate.

But if I can add little that is new I shall at least cherish the hope that my remarks may provoke a discussion more fruitful than themselves. There is also comfort in the reflection that thoughts in themselves old often acquire a fresh significance when clad in some unfamiliar garb.

At the outset I wish you to understand that the views put forward in this Paper are not always such as I myself should entertain, but they are to the best of my ability representative of those *really* prevailing throughout Australia. I use the word "really" as contradistinguished from seemingly, because it does appear to me that Australian public opinion is not very faithfully, or, to put it more strictly, very accurately mirrored in the journals I have read here. For this no blame is to be attached to the Press. It can only publish what it receives, and it ought scarcely to be held accountable for the subtleties of the Antipodean wirepuller. But in this twentieth century the cable enters into the game of political casuistry: and from my local experience I have been able on occasions to discern purposes in its messages which were not exactly the ostensible ones.

I, for my part, shall endeavour to steer a middle course. As a lawyer the judicial attitude has for me some anticipatory joys.

In Mr. Froude's very interesting book entitled "*Oceana*" the following passages occur:

"Political economists began to ask what was the use of Colonies which contributed nothing to the Imperial Exchequer while they were a constant expense to the taxpayer. They had possessed a value once as a market for English productions, but after the establishment of free trade the world was our market. The Colonies as a part of the world would still buy of us, and would continue to do so whether as British Dependencies or as free. In case of war we should be obliged to defend them, and to scatter our force in doing it. They gave us nothing. They cost us much. They were a mere ornament, a useless responsibility. . . ."

These remarks refer to a period about thirty years ago, and of that period they are undoubtedly true. But all this has since

changed—thanks in a great measure to the educational influences of this Institute, and to its persevering efforts in the dissemination of knowledge and in the cultivation of a livelier sympathy between the centre and the outlying extremities of the Empire. The Colonies are no longer mere glittering parasites endured to gratify the national vanity. If our fathers appraised them as of no utility but of great expense, weakening the country's defences at home while multiplying her complications abroad, these notions have not descended to their sons. Nor is this because their advantages *qua* Colonies have become more manifest, or because the direct monetary losses they entail have diminished. It is because the British standpoint has altered. The change is not in the object seen, but in the optics seeing. The Colonies have ceased to be regarded as separate entities. To the British mind they have become integrally portion of an Imperial whole. The conception of a United Kingdom has given place to that of Greater Britain. The national sentiment has broadened with the spread of the race ; and, expanding throughout those vast regions over which the British flag now flies, embraces all in a common patriotism. From this loftier altitude, and in this more commanding light, the cost, the administrative inconveniences, the dreaded complications, once deemed so formidable, dissolve into shadows. The very prominence of the Mother Country itself begins to dwindle before the prospective glories of this Greater Britain, rich in its soil, rich in its internal resources, rich in the multitude and variety of its natural productions, but richer than all in the sturdiness and in the pioneering energies of its people, who, in scorn of danger, of hardship, and of want, are slowly but surely penetrating into all the vacant spaces of the earth, where year after year they open up new fields for labour, fresh outlets for capital, broader avenues for trade, laying over one fifth of the globe under tribute to the enterprising genius of our race.

But these more exalted ideals are not without their disadvantages. They are fraught with their own anxieties. Behind them lurks the apprehension that as the Colonies grow more necessary to the British Isles, the British Isles may become less necessary to them. It is a natural disquietude. What we highly prize we fear to lose. The Colonies certainly have shown no indication of an inclination to break away—quite the contrary. It is not, however, in their conduct, but in their capacity to do so that the disruptive germ is detected. The Mother Country is accordingly most desirous of some definite tangible alliance which would form

an effective Constitutional bar to any possible disintegrating tendencies.

There is also another and less visionary motive prompting her to closer union. At present, although the Colonies obtain their full share of the benefits and privileges of the Imperial establishment, they contribute scarcely anything to its upkeep and take no part whatsoever in its responsibilities. The burden—and it is a fast growing one—has up to this entirely rested upon the shoulders of the Mother Country.

On the face of it this is anomalous, and it is the more remarkable when we consider that the white settlers of the self-governing Colonies already number about a quarter of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, and that within the lifetime of some of us they may actually exceed its population.

All must, therefore, be sensible of the importance, from Great Britain's point of view, of placing the relations of the constituent members of the Empire upon a more secure and equitable basis. Several projects have been suggested. None of them have come to anything. Indeed, they seem to have achieved little more than by bringing out to emphasise the difficulties of the problem.

Among these, Imperial Federation has been earliest in the field and has longest held its ground. Its fitful flame was untiringly tended, and, brightening with the advent of an altered political sentiment, it burst forth in 1884 into the Imperial Federation League, which expiring ten years later, from its ashes sprang the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee and the British Empire League of to-day.

Imperial Federation as an abstract proposition always has been, and always must continue to be, exceedingly fascinating. It conjures up a picture well calculated to captivate. The imagination is fired at the glowing prospect it unfolds—of a world-girdling Empire claiming sovereignty over fifty-six different communities, numbering 410,000,000 souls, about a fifth of the human kind; occupying nearly 11,400,000 square miles, or more than a fifth of this planet's surface; ¹ doing a gross trade of £1,800,000,000, and yielding a gross revenue of £260,000,000.² The whole of this stupendous fabric, unparalleled among the records of time, all knit into a single political organism; its general lines of government radiating from a common centre; its heterogeneous elements merging under the influences of kindred institutions into one composite nationality; its

¹ *Whitaker's Almanack*, 1906.

² Quick and Garran's *Annotated Constitution of Australian Commonwealth*.

trade throughout informed by the invigorating principle of free exchange, under whose inexorable but beneficent law each portion of its immense territory would become devoted to those productions and pursuits for which it was from its conditions best adapted. Nor would the blessings of such an empire be restricted to itself. They would overflow its borders, and be felt by all nations in an increased prosperity and immunity from war. It would, indeed, go far to realise Tennyson's beautiful dream—when

“The war drum throb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.”

But, alas! it is only a poet's dream, and must, I fear, ever remain so. It is an illusion that vanishes before the light. The machinery obstacles to it, if I may be permitted the expression, are all but insurmountable. Still they are the least, though curiously it is to the investigation of them that almost every writer upon the subject has applied himself. The real difficulty, and the one which is most pertinent to my argument, lies in the attitude of the parties.

The consent of the Colonies has always been somehow taken for granted. In my opinion this is a mistake, at least so far as Australia is concerned. Certainly, Imperial Federation there, as elsewhere, has been constantly in the air, but it has never come to earth; it has never shaken off its nebulous character, and the average Australian's knowledge of it is mostly derived from the purple patches of post-prandial declamation. It rests upon no really felt want; it appeals to no genuine public sentiment.

In committing myself to this assertion I am not unaware that a British Empire League existed in Sydney about ten years ago, or that a similar institution was later on formed in Victoria; but neither of these bodies had any substantial following. And, what is much more significant than the existence of either of them, at the Colonial Conference of 1897, when the political connection of the several parts of the Empire with one another was under discussion, all the Australian Premiers, with the single exception of the Tasmanian, resolved “that the present political relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country were entirely satisfactory.”

Federations are under any circumstances the outcome of political exigency—they are never welcome. They collide with the spirit of nationalism. They make for cosmopolitanism, a political taste which, happily for the preservation of the patriotic affections, is peculiar to the travelled and cultured few. They also beget an

apprehension, not altogether ill-founded—more especially among the less recognised members of the suggested partnership—that they might be surrendering themselves into the hands of a stronger power. Hence, although history affords numerous instances of such combinations, we find that they have, as a rule, been entered into reluctantly. It was so with the Federations of Germany, America, Switzerland, and Canada.

The Australian is perhaps an exception. That was in many respects a spontaneous fusion through internal attraction. But I do not think any deduction favourable to the amalgamation of the British Empire can be drawn from it. Passing over the slight break between Tasmania and the mainland, Australia forms a geographical unity. Neither river nor mountain separates the States, the boundaries of which are merely indicated by straight lines drawn upon the map. The whole is inhabited by the same people, identical in their institutions, manners, and modes of development, and at the time of Federation their industrial and commercial interests had become so interlaced that each State was more or less indispensable to the other.

But the British Empire is a congeries of scattered societies in all stages of economic maturity: oceans and continents lying between them, subject to every variety of climate, and comprising peoples fundamentally dissimilar, morally and physically, and in the views they hold of life and government. The instrument of union for Australia was in obedience to the dictates of nature; a similar instrument for the British Empire would be in defiance of them.

Of course an Imperial partnership need not involve the same degree of common action as does the Australian. In 1891 Lord Salisbury thought it should be limited to a Zollverein or customs union and to a *Kriegsverein* or union for war. But at the Conference of 1902 Sir Edmund Barton declared with general approval that the former of these was impossible. At the same Conference certain other subjects, such as naturalisation, patent laws, shipping subsidies, were discussed with a view to securing uniformity in legislation, but no agreement could be arrived at. Even the creation of an Imperial Court of Appeal was rejected.

Union for war seems to have most to recommend it. But would the Colonies ever agree to a central control of their military affairs and to the payment of their proper contribution? Speaking from my knowledge of Australia, I feel bound to answer No.

There is, as regards central control, the haunting dread of being

drawn into the vortex of European militarism. Australia has, so far, progressed in security and quiet, enjoying an envied tranquillity amid the commotions of other nations. She has now no enemies, and, thanks to her geographical situation, she is, if left to pick her own quarrels, long unlikely to have any.

As regards contribution, her attitude is less defensible. But she is ruled by the voice of universal suffrage, and Edmund Burke reminds us that mass humanity is ethically lower than individual. Be that as it may, the Australian takes his stand upon the maxim: "No taxation without representation." He then declines the representation and invokes the maxim to evade the taxation. He also considers that as his labours are continually augmenting the aggregate wealth and the importance of the Empire, nothing more should be expected of him. The rejoinder is no doubt obvious. In whatever he adds he too shares; he could add nothing unless secured against foreign aggression, and if Great Britain did not protect him he should either subsidise some other power or incur himself the expense of maintaining a sufficient army and navy. This, however, it suits him to ignore.

Still, the point is not what Australia *ought to do* but what she *is disposed to do*.

At the last Premiers' Conference Mr. Chamberlain tentatively threw out a feeler for an Imperial military reserve. Sir Edmund Barton, strongly Imperialistic though he always has been, knew the temper of those he represented and at once declined to entertain it. On the same occasion Sir Edmund opposed a resolution favouring direct colonial contribution to the navy. Subsequently, however, he agreed to an increase of the annual subsidy from £106,000 to £200,000. But, although this did not bring the amount to one sixth the actual outlay upon the Australian fleet, and although superior vessels to those then in use were to be substituted, and although the sphere of their operations was to be confined to the waters of China, Australia, and East India—waters the maritime policing of which was essential to the safety of local trade—still the utmost adroitness and political strategy was needed to secure the ratification of the agreement by Parliament. The most noticeable feature of the debate that ensued upon the motion for its confirmation was the generally manifested desire for an independent navy. If the agreement had been of the character urged by the Admiralty—that is, if it had made the Australian contingent a squadron of the British fleet—there is not the least doubt but Sir Edmund Barton's Ministry would have been defeated. In the

conscious of her inability to stand alone, and she well knows that under no other guardianship would she have so much freedom at so slight a cost. She is therefore loyal, *but loyal to this state of affairs*. While it lasts she is ready to do voluntarily quite as much as would under the terms of any alliance be exacted compulsorily. She is proud of the Empire and of the part she plays in it, and is only too glad and willing when it is compatible with her own interest and safety to come to its assistance and to join hands with her mother and sisters in every effort to add to its glory, prestige, or power. Indeed, observation as to this is rendered superfluous by her conduct throughout the South African War. She is animated with a spirit like to that which nerved Canada to stand undaunted against the allurements, the threats, and the fiscal punishments of her domineering next-door neighbour. The Canadian had everything to gain from a material standpoint by coalescing with the United States. To contiguity, to an almost identity of tastes, manners, institutions, and even of dialect, and to many other natural affinities were added the enormous trade advantages to accrue from forming part of one immense free trade continent possessed of boundless wealth, of inexhaustible resources, and capable within itself of supplying every conceivable need of the inhabitants. Yet all the seductive and punitive arts of the United States were in vain. Canada could not be weaned from her allegiance. The United States could give much—she could also take much; but she could neither give nor take away the one thing that sterling people most valued—that unfettered political individuality which is to the self-governing Colonies the endearing characteristic of British sovereignty. With Australia, as with Canada, national identity stands before all things. Her loyalty and her independence are rooted in the same soil. They flourish and fade together.

In this connection it is worthy of note that Australia has never been louder in her cry for an independent army and navy, and never more clamorous in the assertion of her distinctive nationality, than at the very period when the patriotic fervour of the South African war blazed hottest; when her partizan enthusiasm was carrying her to a height of hysterical intolerance never reached in England, and which would almost have been deemed extravagant among the combatants themselves; and when she was cheerfully hurrying away the flower of her manhood for service in a cause in which she had absolutely no concern, and from which she could hope for no reward.

Again, it was in the eight years of Mr. Chamberlain's Colonial

Secretaryship, during which his wise and tactful administration did more than that of all of his predecessors to inspire confidence in that department, that an attempt was made to sever, and successfully made to weaken, the judicial link connecting us; and it was during the same period also that an Act was passed rendering millions of British subjects ineligible for residence on British soil.

But, after all, the Mother Country has no reason to be dissatisfied. It might perhaps have been pleasing to have found the Colonies more amenable to their absorption into a compact Empire. But she must remember that self-reliance and self-sufficiency are virtues of her own teaching. For over half a century her system of colonisation has been one of non-interference. As soon as newly acquired possessions passed from under her tutelage as Crown Colonies they were in so many words told to shift for themselves. To quote a very eminent historian: "Whole continents large as a second United States were hurriedly abandoned to the local Colonial Governments. They were equipped with constitutions modelled after our own, but they were informed, more or less distinctly, that they were as birds hatched in a nest whose parents would be charged with them only till they could provide for themselves, and the sooner they were ready for complete independence the better the Mother Country would be pleased. This was the colonial policy avowed in private by responsible statesmen, and half confessed in public."¹

But however actuated, whether by an enlightened negligence or by simple indifference, in the result this policy has borne fruits worthy of the highest statesmanship. By being overmindful of their parental authority our ancestors lost their American Colonies. By ignoring it those who came after them have founded the noblest Empire of history. The tangible hold upon the Colonies of the twentieth century may appear to be but little stronger than that upon those of the eighteenth that have passed away. The same crimson thread of kinship ran, and we rejoice to feel still runs, through both. That is much, but it is not enough. It snapped before the angry passions of 1776. It might do so again. But the Empire of Edward VII. is clutched in a grip unknown to George III. The Mother Country has long since ceased to meddle in the affairs of her Colonies: she has got rid of her pernicious habit of exploiting them for her own aggrandisement. They, on the other hand, have learned to trust and cleave to her, and, like the old wall which from supporting comes to be sustained by its clinging ivy, the Mother

¹ J. A. Froude, *Oceana*, pp. 6, 7.

Country now begins to lean upon them. This mutual reliance is its own cement. Its fixity is that of the arch; its keystone, affection and confidence. With these the real bond is the absence of all artificial binding. Without these what bond would suffice? How futile would red tape and parchment prove! Sufficient to gall, it would be powerless to hold.

These thoughts should give us pause. A union of hands might only mean a severance of hearts. The example of Ireland is in point, and is not encouraging. In the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary we have an illustration of how nations combining in their fancied mutual interests have from the very combination generated hostility. The fusion of the United States soon festered: it took forty years of bitter disputes, culminating in devastating civil war, to secure its integrity.

Australia's own Federation is pregnant of a like lesson. Her yoke was self-imposed, and that too after a very full knowledge and a very clear appreciation of all it involved. Yet so far from obliterating inter-State jealousies it has created in some quarters a bitter antagonism against Victoria, a State which occupies in the Commonwealth, though to an infinitely less degree, the same relative position that England would occupy in a consolidated Empire. It must also be borne in mind that the vaster the territory and the more scattered, the greater would be the diversity of interests and the consequent difficulty of avoiding friction.

When the Colonies wish for independence it cannot be denied them; but the wish will never arise so long as they are kept unconscious of any dependence. They are so to-day. As a sincere Imperialist I say, with all earnestness, long may they so remain.

So far I have confined myself to the question of direct political union. This does not necessarily, or indeed properly, include commercial union. It forms, no doubt, a main feature in most Federal systems. But it can exist apart, and modern history affords a familiar illustration of where in fact it did. The German Zollverein entered into in 1828 between Bavaria and Wurtemberg, and in which most of the other German States subsequently joined, was a purely fiscal combination running side by side with a political confederation. Each was distinct from the other, their very boundaries not being conterminous. Austria was included in the confederation, but not in the Zollverein.

A scheme of this kind has often been mooted for the British Empire. But the difficulties of accomplishing it have been in-

superable. It was introduced at the Premiers' Conference of 1902, but was almost immediately shelved.

Since then Mr. Chamberlain has come forward with certain proposals. His idea is to accomplish it by stages through a process of gradually increasing reciprocal preferences.

He is, however, met with what we lawyers call an objection *in limine*. Free trade Britain is incapable of granting a preference. Mr. Chamberlain's first move, therefore, is to alter her fiscal policy. In this Australia has little direct concern. But as a spectator she is keenly interested. For a quarter of a century she has been engaged in a similar controversy. All its aspects are familiar to her. Before Federation it was fought out in each of the States, protection winning laurels everywhere save in New South Wales, where for some years free trade was in the ascendant. Since Federation the full forces on either side have met in one fierce encounter, out of which protection emerged once more triumphant.

I ought perhaps before going further to explain that the expression "free trade" as used in Australia is somewhat of a misnomer. It does not mean the abolition of the Customs House officer. Singapore is, I believe, the only corner of the civilised world where that ubiquitous gentleman has not pushed his way. In new countries he is usually a necessity, where the sparsity of the population and the absence of accumulated wealth limit the means of direct taxation, and where this condition of affairs is ordinarily accompanied by a strong aversion to an income tax. Under the Federal Constitution he is a *sine qua non*. The Commonwealth Treasurer receives in the first instance all duties of customs and excise, but in pursuance of what was named the "Braddon blot" he has to return at least three-fourths to the States. This clause is to remain operative for ten years and longer should Parliament so provide. Its object was to secure a guarantee that the States would not be deprived of their one reliable source of revenue. Its effect is to compel the Federal Treasurer to raise four times as much as he otherwise should. In some instances the sums thus returned to the States are above and in others below what they themselves had obtained from the same sources; but on the whole this provision has led to an immense increase in the amount collected. Thus in 1899, the year prior to Federation, the total from all the States came to £7,402,888;¹ since it has averaged about £9,000,000.²

¹ T. A. Coghlan's *Seven Colonies of Australasia*, 1900.

² T. A. Coghlan's *Australia and New Zealand*, 1902-3.

The free trader has therefore to start with this concession to his opponent, that a substantial customs revenue is essential. Accordingly the distinction between the parties does not lie in the fact of duties or of no duties, but in the character of the duties. Thus the protectionist penalises what he would shut out, the free trader what he knows must come in. The protectionist frames his tariff to aid the manufacturer, the free trader to help the Treasurer; and as the protectionist has to fill both the factory and the Treasury purse, the former being much the deeper, it follows that his tariff results in infinitely greater taxation. Their ideals also differ. The eyes of the one are turned upon the town, his hopes resting upon its smoking chimney stacks; the other sadly surveys the broad acres of his country, reading blighted prospects in its neglected pastures and its vast mineral resources, still but partially explored.

Well, of these two parties, making up between them the entire political life of Australia, the protectionists, needless to say, heartily sympathise with Mr. Chamberlain in that portion of his Herculean task which consists of demolishing what they regard as the false god of British worship. Their motives, however, it must be said, are not purely altruistic. Their own opponents bend the knee before the same idol, and this once shattered their presiding genius would have fled.

But even in the ranks of the faithful themselves there are unbelievers. There are those among Australian free traders who, while pursuing the policy, laugh at the fetish, and who deem the fiscal issue to be merely one of expediency determinable by the conditions and circumstances of the hour. Personally I am one of these.

Free trade as an abstract proposition may be excellent. As an economic theory it is right to demonstration. Even nationally, though conceivably to some countries it might spell annihilation, it would at all events for one section of the British Isles prove the wisest and most wealth-endowing policy. But then England never has enjoyed free trade. The fulfilment of that doctrine needs at least two parties, and she has not yet succeeded in converting another nation to her way of thinking. But, as often happens, the title of the building was given to its foundations and it has since clung to the uncompleted structure. Hence the fallacy of much of the reasoning upon this subject. Great Britain's policy is assumed to be free trade, and then that policy is of course easily and triumphantly vindicated from the writings of every known economist. But, it is sometimes argued, be that so, whatever be the true

designation of Britain's policy, and whether it be rightly accepted as the whole or only as an instalment of Cobden's idea, this broad fact remains that since its adoption she has gone ahead by leaps and bounds. Well, in the language of Academic logic, I should call this the fallacy *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Great Britain admittedly has made great and immediate advances since 1846. But if these followed in time upon the new fiscal policy they likewise followed in time upon the discovery of gold in California and Australia, and upon the inventions of Arkwright and Watt and the consequent vast development in industrial machinery, steam navigation, railways, and telegraphs. These latter stimulating influences were no doubt diffused throughout the world, but, being influences upon trade, they were most effective where trade was strongest, and that was in Britain.

Sixty years ago the countries of Continental Europe were in a sorry plight. The Napoleonic wars had laid waste their lands and wrecked their cities. Their full energies were absorbed in recuperation. Industrial Germany, though living, slumbered—Bismarck and Moltke had not been. American commerce was yet in embryo.

Great Britain was the sole workshop of the world. She wanted raw materials and food, and she wanted them from without. Of these an abundance was there, but, luckily for her future prosperity, of nothing else. Of course it then suited her to throw open wide her doors—only those things could enter that were welcome. Now it is very different. Other nations have caught her up. America and Germany have imitated and out-classed her. To-day they choke her portals with their surplus products. No longer friends await beyond the gates, but insidious foes, thirsting to sap the foundations of her manufacturing—which may shortly be her only—strength. It was one thing to leave her doors unguarded when nought sought admittance but the sustaining food of her factories. It is quite another thing to do so when the dumping vampire is abroad.

Glance at her altered position. Instead of imports that formerly aided her industrial growth, she has become a prey to those that dwarf and enfeeble it; instead of exports that in passing out dropped their rich deposits of wages and profits, she is sending away coal and iron, her own very substance, thereby doing the double mischief of invigorating her rivals by the very process which debilitates herself. Each year these hastening ills gain ground.

In 1901 of manufactured goods she sold £18,500,000 less while

she bought £5,000,000 more than she did in 1900. In 1902 she sold £900,000 less and bought £1,500,000 more than in 1901.¹

Again, twenty-five years ago her exports contained 90 per cent. of manufactured goods, last year they contained only 80 per cent. Further, twenty-five years ago only about 10 per cent. of her imports were manufactures—now 20 per cent. are so.¹

Alongside of this the export of coal and iron—notably coal—is steadily on the increase. Comparing the last decennial period with that immediately preceding it, we find that the exports of coal have risen about £85,000,000, while those of cotton manufactures and yarns have fallen about £60,000,000; and while the exports of iron and machinery have in the same period risen about £34,000,000, those of manufactured woollens and worsteds have fallen £23,000,000. But for coal the total export would have shrunk £30,000,000.¹

Surely these figures place it beyond question that the present tendency of British trade is to deprive her of those things which it would be wisdom to keep, and to leave with her those things which it would be wisdom to send away.² On the other hand this very policy, once so beneficial and now so detrimental to the Mother Country, does in the opinion of Australian free traders fit in exactly with the requirements of their country.

Completely isolated and far removed from the scenes of the world's greatest activities, Australia is never likely to find an external market for her protected industrial products.

She is unwilling, even if she possessed the ability, to cater for the countless millions of alien—or, as she prefers to term them, inferior—races by which she is surrounded. Certainly, not one of her factories is devoted to their service; and her total export trade to the Archipelagos and Far East, though only amounting to about £1,000,000, is almost exclusively made up of gold, silver, and lead. With the Pacific States of the North American Continent her trade is practically *nil*, and although these communities are rapidly developing they are much more disposed to supply their industrial wants from the United States. As for the United States itself, it is preposterous for Australia to speculate upon finding a market there. The trend is all the other way. In 1902 Australia exported to that country £2,714,424, nearly all made up of gold,

¹ Calculations based on Board of Trade returns.

² It must be admitted that the Board of Trade returns for last year (1904) do not exhibit the same tendencies of trade, but no sound deductions can be based upon returns covering only one year.

tin, wool, sheepskins, and other primary products; but in the same year she imported from her £4,989,812, the vast bulk being manufactured.¹

Her chances of obtaining a footing in the dense manufacturing centres of Europe seem even more chimerical. The distance alone would hopelessly handicap her; and this, though the most obvious, is by no means the greatest of her drawbacks.

The Australian manufacturer is therefore confined to the home market. Yet there the demand is so limited that in most instances he cannot live without a liberal subsidy from the consumer.

This industrial charity is not necessarily an evil. It is a means to an end, and as such both protectionists and free traders equally acknowledge that human ingenuity has furnished statesmen with no more effective or facile method of moulding for good or ill the destinies of a nation. Further, unlike most nostrums from the political pharmacopœia, its action is not conjectural. Properly administered, it can be made to transform a farming into a manufacturing community, or even a manufacturing into a farming. This latter was in fact its operation in England prior to 1846. Everything, therefore, turns upon the notion we form of the industrial ideal a nation sets before itself. Thus Great Britain must be a manufacturer or nothing. As an agricultural community her national importance would shrink to her own puny geographical dimensions. Hence protection was bad in 1846 because it impeded, and protection would be good in 1905 because it would advance, the realisation of this ideal. Upon what lines, then, should Australia shape her future? Eventually she will indubitably become a manufacturer, but ought she to hasten that period? Like all forced growths, what would thereby be gained in time would be lost in some other qualities. It is no doubt conceivable that the necessities of a country might not permit of her waiting. In that case she, unfortunately, would have no option; she should then sacrifice the future to the present, just as the child of poor parents must often permanently enfeeble its frame by being obliged to earn a livelihood before Nature has completed her work. But what need has Australia to hurry? Her pastoral, mineral, and agricultural products are unbounded. They are sufficient to maintain twenty times her present population, and by exchange to supply them with the best manufactures of the world and at the cheapest rate. Surely her proper course is, before looking further ahead, to wax

¹ T. A. Coghlan's *Australia and New Zealand*, 1902-3.

as strong and populous as her capabilities allow upon the riches strewn around her and within easy reach, taking care that nothing is done which might hinder their accessibility. This certainly is not to be achieved by a system which invites settlers to congregate about the towns, while the lonely toilers on the land have their lot made still harder and more desolate by being mulct to find wages and profits for those already quite susceptible enough without any encouragement to urban attractions.

By the foregoing I hope to have justified the Australian free trader and to have shown that he may without inconsistency be a British protectionist.

But if the present movement were to stop at an alteration in the fiscal policy of the Mother Country it would not much affect Australia. That country's real concern only begins when reciprocal preference has to be considered. Yet as to that she is at heart singularly apathetic. She is sick to death of fiscalism. For four years the air had been thick with tariff talk. Parliament, press, platform, and public-house moved, lived, and had their being upon it. After eighteen months of wearisome labour, throughout which trade had been sadly dislocated, a long and complex tariff was brought forth. Its thirty-five pages of small print exhibit numerous traces of the bitter contentions and disturbing influences through which it passed. However, once law, all contestants called a truce. Fiscal peace became the cry; even Mr. Reid, the high priest of free trade, accepted office as Premier of a quasi-protectionist Ministry.

But, irrespective of this wave of fiscal lethargy, the proposed scheme of reciprocal preferences was of a nature calculated to embarrass both protectionists and free traders. It did not fit in with the recognised policy of either; it could have emanated from neither. The protectionist could not honestly reconcile his desire to shut out competition with giving facilities to the most dangerous competitor. The free trader could not hamper Germany and America without surrendering his doctrine of the cheapest market. But of the two Mr. Chamberlain's real friend should have been the free trader. With him at least he had much in common. Both wished to enlarge the area of free exchange; and while the Australian free trader would open his doors to the world, Mr. Chamberlain would open them to the Empire. Their difference was only one of degree. But Imperial free trade strikes at the root of a self-contained continent. It is fundamentally at variance with the protectionist creed.

How comes it, then, that all the expressions of sympathy we have heard appear to have arisen from that side? Because those upon it see how they can turn Mr. Chamberlain's proposals to their own—which are not Mr. Chamberlain's—purposes. The free trader stands aloof less from the proposals themselves than from the false complexion they are made to wear. It suits the protectionist to grant a preference. But how? By raising the barrier against the foreigner. Does that make for closer union? How can it when it leaves the dividing wall exactly as it was? The authors of this scheme never weary of declaring that their object is to instil new life into the pining factories of old England by throwing open to them the colonial markets. They picture, amid the plaudits of capitalist and artisan, the industrial hives of their dense cities bartering their products for those of a pastoral and mineral Australia. But in what way could higher Australian duties contribute to that end? Would they not rather have a retrograde operation? Surely it is obvious that the impetus they would give to the local manufacturer could not but retard the exports of the soil and at the same time render it still harder for the Lancashire or Birmingham merchant to retain a footing in the towns.

Not many months ago Mr. Deakin, then the Premier, now the leader of the protectionist party, stated he was prepared to meet Mr. Chamberlain by a 10 per cent. rise against the foreign importer. Since then he has grown less frank. In a Notice of Motion he has tabled in the Commonwealth Parliament his suggested preference is modified to one on "*British imports which compete solely with foreign imports.*" Speaking to the motion he said: "It is quite possible to re-adjust duties in a manner by which *no increase in prices but an increased volume of trade* is effected."

As I understand it, the fulfilment of Mr. Deakin's proposition needs three conditions: the present tariff must be adjusted in a manner (1) not to increase competition with the local manufacturer, (2) not to raise local prices, and (3) to benefit the British importer. Now, if you are not to increase competition with the local manufacturer you cannot *lower* the duties on *imports of local manufacture*, and if you are not to raise prices you cannot make these *duties higher*. Such items, therefore, upon the existing dutiable list must not be touched. What then remains? Clearly nothing but Revenue Duties. The manufacturer is, of course, indifferent to any manipulation with these, but what of the Treasurer? The necessities of the various States make a definite demand upon him, a demand which under the Constitution he must meet through customs and

excise. His hands are accordingly pretty closely tied as to amount, but why not lower these duties against the Mother Country and supply the deficiency by raising them against foreign countries? That would satisfy, at all events, the first two conditions. Yes, but what of the third? How would it benefit the British importer? What does he send upon which Revenue duties are collectible and in which at the same time there is foreign competition? I know of nothing—at all events, I am assured there is nothing worth mentioning. Accordingly Mr. Deakin's proposition falls to the ground. The truth is the Mother Country desires an outlet in Australia for goods which the Australian wishes to make for himself. These are protected, and it is only in respect of protected goods that a preference is sought or would be worth obtaining. Now this can be granted in two ways: either by raising protective duties against foreign nations, or by lowering protective duties against Great Britain. I propose briefly to consider these alternative methods.

First, then, by raising the duties. This presents two aspects, the British and the Australian. In reference to the British several matters must be considered.

Australia imported in 1902 £22,938,000 from foreign countries.¹ A higher duty against these countries would presumably transfer some of this trade. The major portion would be, however, beyond the reach of tariff influence. It is made up either of commodities peculiar to the exporting country, and which therefore cannot be displaced, or of commodities already on the free list. Thus France exports annually about £600,000 worth to Australia. This comprises wines, brandies, silks, &c., none of which can be obtained elsewhere. Consequently while higher duties might raise the prices they could not transfer the trade.

The same observation applies to the United States exports of kerosene, timber, and tobacco, and the balance of that country's exports is largely made up of articles on the free list—that is, of machinery, agricultural implements, fencing wire, and similar requisites of local industry which it is imperative must be purchased where they can be had cheapest. At least 60 per cent. of the United States total imports are of the above class.¹

The greatest havoc would be wrought among the imports from Germany. These in 1902 amounted to £3,658,000, and were in a great measure articles similar to those turned out from British workshops.¹

¹ T. A. Coghlan's *Australia and New Zealand*, 1902-3, and calculations based upon his figures.

Applying these considerations to the figures and making a very rough computation, which with the utmost diffidence I submit, I have estimated that not more than about 25 per cent. of the Australian foreign import trade is subject to tariff displacement. And as this would represent the maximum effect of the most adverse tariff it is evident that if my calculation is at all approximately correct a rise of 10 per cent. would create a scarcely perceptible diversion. Yet even of this Great Britain would only secure a small proportion; the greater part would pass to the local manufacturer, who would get—and who alone would get—any direct advantage from the higher duties; then some would be diverted to the outlying parts of the Empire, while of the residue she would only be capable of supplying a fraction.

Nor is it open to her, at all events upon the proposals so far made, to better her position. The initial 10 per cent., being the price of certain concessions at the British ports, would not, it is only reasonable to suppose, be raised without further concessions being granted; but Mr. Chamberlain has all through been most emphatic that his scheme does not involve, as his opponents endeavour to make out, the gradual creeping up of duties. The first step must therefore be the last—it bears no principle of expansion.

I must next claim your attention while I make a few observations upon the Australian aspect of a preference by raising duties.

We have seen that its primary effect would be to draw from within a portion of what had hitherto come from without. To that extent there would presumably be a shrinkage of imports, but as a nation's imports and exports must, when taken all round and in the long run, balance, it follows that if the volume of exports were to swell that of imports could not contract. But would there be an augmentation of exports? These may, omitting what are minor and spasmodic, be classified into mineral and pastoral products. Wheat ought, perhaps, to be mentioned, as that is one of the commodities in respect of which the Mother Country proposes to differentiate in favour of the Colonies; but the Australian surplus of cereals is so small and so uncertain that it cannot properly be regarded in the treatment of broad issues. Last year her total shipments of bread stuffs did not reach 4 per cent. of what the Mother Country required, and at no time has her wheat crop exceeded $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the world's growth. Indeed, it is usually barely sufficient to feed her own inhabitants, and in the years

1886, 1889, 1896, and 1897 it would have left them hungry.¹ Of minerals, gold is by far the most remunerative; but as this has a conventional value and is saleable everywhere, the channels through which it flows are not susceptible of tariff obstruction. It may therefore be eliminated from our inquiry. Of silver, copper, tin, lead, and other minerals Australia gives every indication of holding enormous stores. But these things are now and for many generations promise to be greedily snatched up throughout the world. A tariff discrimination might change their destination but could not lessen their export. In any event it is not pretended that these would be included in any preference arrangement. It is, however, in her pastoral products that Australia does the largest, steadiest, and most lucrative business. Of these, wool is the largest, but of that, as it happens, the British Empire possesses a superabundance. Every year the United Kingdom actually re-exports a considerable quantity of what she receives. On the other hand, it is eagerly sought for throughout the Continent of Europe, so much so that Germany and France have set up agencies in Australia for its purchase in advance each season.

From this rapid analysis you will not be surprised to learn that statistics disclose a steady rise in the Australian exports to foreign countries coinciding with an equally steady fall in the exports to Great Britain.² I ought, however, though it is not perhaps strictly relevant to my argument, to point out that this feature in the trade is not solely due to Australian goods becoming more marketable in foreign countries. That is the prominent cause, but there are others. Originally all the cargoes were shipped by the Cape and unloaded in England, from whence they were re-exported to their various destinations. The opening of the Suez Canal, by placing the centre of distribution in the Mediterranean, cut down in this respect the statistical return of British imports. Next, the Merchandise Marks Act, by revealing to purchasers the land of origin of many goods hitherto sold as British, led to direct communication, which, once established, has since been fostered by the subsidised lines of the Messageries and North German Lloyd Companies.

¹ T. A. Coghlan's *Australia and New Zealand*, 1902-3, and calculations based upon his figures.

² Taking a period of ten years and comparing 1891 with 1901 we find on the statistics furnished by Mr. Coghlan's annual volume that the exports to the United Kingdom decreased by £303,087, while the exports to foreign countries increased by £4,671,964.

On the whole, the Australian export trade has little to hope for from British preference. The proposals so far put before the country would only affect, and that not very materially, wheat, an article which in any event she had better keep for herself. Nor is there any preference which could render her much permanent service.¹ In what she can export, her best customers are foreign countries. The Empire has as a rule more than enough of that class of goods of which Australia possesses or is likely to possess a surplus. To facilitate their entry would therefore be something akin to cheapening the transit of coals to Newcastle, at the same time that indirectly it might have the disastrous consequence of leading to foreign retaliation. As to this it is only necessary to consider Germany. America scarcely dare assume an aggressive attitude. Australia buys a great deal from her, and as Canada is quite capable of filling at least 80 per cent. of the orders with which she is now favoured, fear of losing a valuable customer would stay her hand. Then with other foreign nations Australian trade is so small or so non-competitive that it would not be worth their while to enter upon the dangerous game of reprisals.

But from Germany there is much to apprehend. Canada, no doubt, risked it; but it must be remembered that Canada exports to Germany only about £500,000, as against £22,000,000 to the United Kingdom,² and also that there is nothing purchased by the former which is not readily marketable in the latter or in her possessions. At worst, then, retaliation would in her case mean a change, but not a loss of custom. But with Australia it is otherwise. Germany takes from that country annually about £2,500,000,³ five-sixths of which she admits free; besides which there are commodities such as wool and sheepskins, which are more or less a drug within the Empire, and upon which if Germany were to shut her doors an injury might be done to Australian trade beyond the power of the Mother Country to repair.

To sum up, then, this branch of my argument, I maintain that any such fiscal preference as the Australian protectionist could consistently give would result in a scarcely appreciable gain to the United Kingdom or her possessions, while it would mean a diminution in the volume of Australian trade, with the probable loss of her most profitable foreign customer.

¹ A preference in respect of her wines would perhaps form an exception; but then there are special considerations applicable to that.

² *Statistical Year Book of Canada*, 1903.

³ In 1902 the actual figures were, according to Coghlan, £2,658,060.

What Australia wants is not a larger market but a larger output. This is to be had through cheaper living, cheaper labour, cheaper implements of mining and of husbandry, and by a readier flow of capital to the land; this most assuredly *is not* to be had from a policy which by enhancing on every available occasion protective duties tends more and more to the concentration of men and money in the subsidised employments of the towns.

I shall now very briefly examine the question on the basis of lower protective duties. That involves the ascendancy of the free trade party, a contingency unfortunately, I regret to say, somewhat remote. The straight-out issue was put to the electors in 1901, and resulted in the return of fifty-nine protectionists and fifty-two free traders.¹

Since then, I am afraid, the former have gained ground. Fortune has smiled upon them in many respects. First the Constitution Act itself makes a substantial customs revenue imperative. This, although neither logically nor economically incompatible with free trade, yet gives rise to distinctions not always easy for the mass of voters to appreciate. Many convinced free traders feel they have no longer any option, and that by the very terms of their constitution they must bow to the inevitable and become protectionists. Then the reactionary cry of fiscal peace tells more strongly against the free traders, since their policy involves a more radical alteration in the tariff. But of all causes tending to strengthen the protectionist in Australia the utterances of Messrs. Balfour and Chamberlain have done most. Thousands based their fiscal faith on no higher or more critical grounds than that its truth and merits were acknowledged by British political thinkers. It is of little use for these eminent statesmen to keep on refining as to the connotation of terms. Their dialectical skill may be admirable and even the distinctions they draw may be just and sound, but to the ordinary man in the street they are protectionists, inasmuch as they defend the positions they have taken up by arguments always condemned by free traders.

Still free trade is destined to have its revival. It had in Canada. After long waiting Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power in 1896, and the recent elections have given him a fresh lease of life with a large accession to his ranks. It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a pronounced Cobdenite, who started the policy of colonial preference. He did so by reducing the duties. The necessities of revenue

¹ Mr. G. H. Reid's estimate made in his speech upon the address in reply, *Hansard Debates (Commonwealth of Australia)*, vol. i. p. 93.

cramped his action, but if he could not abolish all hindrances to exchange he took an onward step towards making it free within the Empire; nor ought it to detract from his bold statesmanship that with it was mixed the desire to get even with the United States.

It can only be on similar lines and through the same party that Australia is by any commercial contrivance to be brought nearer to the Mother Country. True, Mr. Reid has so far held back, but, as I have already observed, the whole idea is in conflict with his general principles. It is even more so with those of his opponents, but having no axe to grind Mr. Reid spoke out as he felt. *With either party some compromise is essential*, and the question is, will it not be easier to induce free trade Australia to surrender its ideal of the cheapest market than protectionist Australia to sacrifice its manufactures?

The latter is a hopeless task; however generous his asseverations of Imperial patriotism, the inviolability of the local manufacturer must be for ever with the protectionist an article of faith. But the free trader rejoices in a more elastic orthodoxy. He may deplore England's fiscal degeneracy, but her conduct is not binding on his conscience; half a loaf is better than no bread. The markets of the Empire are far short of the markets of the world, but they are infinitely broader than the markets of Australia.

For my own part I shall not disguise that I am a believer in free trade for Australia and in protection for Great Britain. The only preferential arrangement I should welcome would be one based upon the respective establishment of these two opposite policies. That, too, was the notion with which Mr. Chamberlain set out; it is, in my humble judgment, a pity he did not stick to it. He had, it must be confessed, a most difficult hand to play. The same cards were not trumps in both countries; arguments for the erection of a fiscal barrier here were not exactly appropriate for the demolition of fiscal barriers elsewhere. Again, as his opponents taunted him with not having the support of the Colonies, it was hard for him to be over-nice in exposing the true character of the support he did receive. In the result, however, he has not merely paralysed the advocacy, but he has considerably thinned the ranks of those who might have been his staunch friends. Victory is not yet beyond his reach, but it must be won on altered tactics. He must disavow his sinister allies, and, throwing the immense weight of his ability and influence into the scale-

arm Mr. Reid with a following sufficient to enable him to carry a preferential scheme on free trade lines.

The main objections I have hitherto dwelt upon would then vanish. The commercial gain to the Mother Country would no longer be confined to the elusive one of what could be taken from the foreign importer. Her goods would, in accordance with their merits, have the opportunity of supplanting those of spoon-fed local manufacture, to the mutual advantage of both nations; and the capital thus taken from the exotic industries of cities like Melbourne would fructify an hundredfold in the healthier atmosphere of the open. A manufacturing England and a pastoral, agricultural, and mineral Australia would then become attainable. Moreover, the danger of retaliation would sink to a minimum. Germany would have nothing to complain of, since her trade relations with Australia would not have been legislatively altered, and might, in fact, be improved, inasmuch as the aim of the Imperial free trader would be, while always striving to discriminate in favour of the Motherland, to keep cutting down duties against all nations. At the same time it is not conceivable that a point should ever be reached at which the Mother Country would cease to have a preference. Protection, once firmly planted, seldom dies; it may be pruned, but not eradicated.

But even upon free trade lines reciprocal preference offers fewer inducements to Australia than to any other of the self-governing Colonies.

Taking them all round the prosperity of the Colonies is linked to the soil—to its mineral stores, to its surface potentialities. What they need is a larger output. That is to be obtained by lowering internal prices. Reciprocal preference, not as such but in so far as it was an advance towards free trade, would tend in that direction, and to that extent it would confer a benefit upon Australia in common with the rest, but further it would not go.

South Africa is in much the same position; her principal pastoral product is wool, and the observations already made as to that are applicable to her. She also exports diamonds, ostrich feathers, and other rarities which, though naturally liable to economic fluctuation, are by the devices of monopolists impressed with a fixed value; the outward trade would accordingly be very little affected by preferential treatment.

But the Mother Country can, even though she has no commercial equivalent to offer, very fairly lay claim to the South African markets for her own people. She has bespoken and paid for them

in advance with the blood of 30,000 of her children and over 200 millions of her money.

Of all the self-governing Colonies New Zealand presents the simplest and the strongest case for fiscal preference. Though included in Australasia, her climatic, economic, and trade conditions are strikingly divergent from those of the neighbouring continent. Unlike it, her principal exports are of perishable products, such as frozen meat. Unlike it, too, what she has to sell the Empire badly wants, so that almost her entire business is done within it. In 1902 only £616,000 out of a total merchandise export of £11,600,000 found its way beyond the borders.¹ No wonder Mr. Seddon so speedily followed Sir Wilfrid Laurier's lead. He had nothing to lose, and he could, if necessary, afford to lose much as the price of a British tax on foreign meat.

Canada's case is peculiar. Her natural commercial ally is her next-door neighbour, but political considerations step in. Up to 1864 she dealt pretty exclusively with the United States; but in that year the latter country, seeking to starve her into a national coalition, denounced the existing reciprocity treaty.

Canada felt she was doomed, but heroically stuck to her colours. Then in 1897 Sir Wilfrid Laurier, forestalling the operation of the impending Dingley tariff, made the since famous preferential treaty with the Motherland.

It is often contended that neither the exclusion by the United States nor the facilitation to Great Britain caused any material alteration in the course of trade between the three countries. That opens up a most interesting controversy, but one which is outside the scope of this address. I cannot, however, refrain from observing that, whatever the causation, since 1897 British trade with Canada has grown, whilst that with the United States has, in proportion to the general advance, declined. But the point is that the United States has done her worst; Canada has nothing more to fear from her; Germany she has also defied, and given back blow for blow; and, foreign aggression being now removed from her apprehension, the problem is one of easy solution. Reciprocal preference, in my opinion, opens up for Canada a road to untold wealth. Wheat is her riches, wheat the Empire craves for, wheat pours into it from all quarters of the globe. To dam these alien tributaries, to divert their flow into an ever-broadening Canadian stream, would transform that vast dominion from

¹ T. A. Coghlan's *Australia and New Zealand*, 1902-3.

North to South and from East to West as with the touch of Midas.

When I set about writing this Paper I little dreamt it would prove so prolific of tempting themes. I have, I confess, made a few digressions. I should wish to make another now, and say something of preference in the light of inter-colonial trade relations. But I must not tarry. I cannot, however, refrain from taking a brief glance at the general effect of the suggested policy upon the external trade of the Mother Country.

In 1902 she sold within the Empire £109,029,000 worth, and outside of it £174,895,000.¹ The former, though less in the gross, probably yielded more in profits. It was mainly composed of highly finished articles from her factories, the price obtained being to a very large extent distributed in wages and profits.

The latter comprised some manufactured goods and some crude materials. The manufactured goods chiefly consisted of partially completed articles to be further dealt with, the materials for which had in the first instance to be paid for. It will be at once evident that in the price obtained for these wages and profits bore but a small proportion to the outlay. There was also included, no doubt, a certain quantity of high-class finished machinery; but this was comparatively trifling, and in any event that is a trade not to be encouraged, inasmuch as the very purpose of the purchasers is to arm themselves against the vendor. It is like selling offensive weapons to one's enemy. But even apart from these qualifications, the gross colonial purchases of British completed manufactures do in fact exceed those of the foreigner. Last year the former amounted to £46,500,000, while the latter only came to £41,000,000.¹ The crude materials comprise coal, pig-iron, and such. The export of these is somewhat analogous to the conversion into cash of the furniture and fittings necessary for the carrying on of one's ordinary business. They constitute the very framework of the British workshop. They are exhaustible, and when gone so is her occupation, and they represent nothing in the turn-over. It is as if a nation were to pull down her own factories in order to supply to her rivals the materials for building theirs.

Notwithstanding, therefore, that his actual orders are less the colonial customer is both more profitable and more desirable. He creates a more healthy and enduring trade.

In the matter of imports also the Mother Country derives a

¹ Board of Trade Returns.

very much greater proportionate advantage from her Colonies. Viewing it broadly, imported raw materials and unfinished articles are beneficial, while imported finished articles are detrimental to her. The Colonies send a very small percentage of the latter, foreign countries a very large.

Looking, therefore, at the quality rather than the quantity of trade, it is clear that the Mother Country's best customers are within the Empire. It is also clear that reciprocal preferences would increase her trade with them. At the same time she cannot afford to lose her other customers. Indeed, a self-contained Empire is impossible. It produces something of everything, but enough of only a few things. Thus, if an impassable wall were erected round it, we would, for instance, have too much wool and too many factories, while we would go short of bread, the staple of life, and of cotton, the staple of industry. In this respect our Empire, huge though it be, is less fortunate than the United States, whose productions, though not so multiform, are yet sufficient both in variety and quantity for the general needs of mankind.

But there is no reason why a preferential scheme should not be devised which, while benefiting the Colonies, would still secure those portions of foreign trade which it is advisable to retain. Retaliation, however much to be feared in reference to some of her possessions, may as regards the Mother Country herself be put entirely out of the question. A blow of the kind would rebound with double force upon those who gave it. And at most what would it come to? An exclusion from the most favoured nation clause. But what of that? This clause may be the pride of diplomatists, but it is the ridicule of business men. It leaves her at the mercy of foreign negotiators, who concede nothing to Great Britain and who permit her to get only the crumbs let fall while they are struggling for the loaf. Far better to be in a position to bargain on her own account.

It has been strongly objected that the proposed duties on wheat and meat would raise the price of these primary essentials of life. Not necessarily so. The importer very frequently pays all, and always pays some, of the duty. But if it did, the amount would be exceedingly small, it would only last while the Canadian and New Zealand supply was catching up with the demand, and in the meanwhile it could be compensated for by the reduction of the duties on tea, coffee, and sugar—items which play almost quite as important a part in the domestic weekly bills.

I have now finished. I have endeavoured to establish the following propositions :

- (1) That closer political union of any kind is not advisable ;
- (2) That commercial union is both feasible and desirable ;
- (3) That any colonial preference given to the Mother Country on the basis of higher duties against foreign importers would prove of little advantage to her, and be a distinct injury to the Colonies ;
- (4) That a colonial preference given by lowering the duties against British imports would increase the prosperity of the Mother Country and of each one of the Colonies.

Let me conclude by adding that such last-mentioned system would have its sentimental no less than its commercial value. Customers may easily ripen into friends, and an undisturbed course of trade intimacy between the Colonies and foreign countries might in time lead to a transfer of the affections, and thereby to the destruction of the real tissues which give shape and solidity to the Imperial body. In my opinion, if we would further consolidate the Empire, we must, while avoiding everything heroic or sudden, seek gradually, imperceptibly, and unceasingly to wean its members from foreign and win them to home influences. Much in this direction has in the past been accomplished by this Institute. Much has also been done by the South African War, and much can always be done by such statesmen as Mr Chamberlain, who not only know how to make occasions breed enthusiasms, but also how to fan these enthusiasms to a fusing heat. But these cementing influences will, even if not strengthened, be all the better held in place by the "sordid bonds" of commercial interests.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. WALTER H. JAMES, K.C. (Agent-General for Western Australia) : Having on many previous occasions listened to Mr. Harney, I was quite certain that whatever propositions he put before you would be wrapped up in such honeyed words that he would carry you along with him, unless you watched him very closely to the desired conclusion, but in the morning you would be wondering by what steps you had arrived at that conclusion. In the address there are so many matters of a controversial nature, so many statements made by him, and so many deductions drawn with which I entirely

disagree, that I do not know exactly where to start. But there was one matter to which I will first draw attention, one which as a native of Australia myself I like less than almost any other in the paper, and that is where Mr. Harney says :

“ She is fully conscious of her inability to stand alone, and she well knows that under no other guardianship would she have so much freedom at so slight a cost. She is therefore loyal, *but loyal to this state of affairs*. While it lasts she is ready to do voluntarily quite as much as would under the terms of any alliance be exacted compulsorily. She is proud of the Empire and of the part she plays in it, and is only too glad and willing, when it is compatible with her own interest and safety, to come to its assistance.”

Now on the next page of his address he goes on to point out how, in the course of the South African campaign, Australia was more British than the British and more aggressively Jingo than you yourselves, and says “she was cheerfully hurrying away the flower of her manhood for service in a cause in which she had absolutely no concern and from which she could hope for no reward.” As to the first part of the case, whilst I express the opinion most confidently that the present is not an opportune time to consider the question of political union, I do hope we shall not commit ourselves to the extent of saying that political union of any kind is not advisable. It is well, I think, in all these matters we should move slowly. We shall no doubt make a great number of mistakes before we are able to bring to a successfully working issue the principle of preferential trade. If that should be successfully established it will lead the way bit by bit towards a system of closer union. Perhaps when you have settled all questions of devolution in the old country, we shall be able to think of some system which will bring these various parts together in some common union which will secure for us common operation for common objects. Mr. Harney agrees that preferential trade is feasible, and in this I agree with him most entirely, but then he says this cannot be accomplished without free trade in Australia and protection in the old country. I myself fail to see how, if we have free trade in Australia, we can have any preference there at all. But under protection there is no tariff wall so high as to exclude the products of other countries. In Australia our tariff on the whole is not high ; it is not a protectionist tariff, but a revenue tariff. If it were closely examined you would find that while that

tariff is sufficiently high to enable Australian manufacturers to control domestic manufactures it does not to any serious extent interfere with importations from the more developed manufacturing countries. In Australia, therefore, there is a large overflow from the outside. Is nothing to be gained by our diverting this overflow into one channel, that channel being created by raising the tariff wall on either side of its centre and giving this opening to British manufacturers? But even so, all the imports which come to Australia from other parts of the world would not come entirely from the old country. There are products from France and elsewhere which cannot be produced in the old country, but we do say that there are a great number of articles that come to Australia from foreign countries that could and should be produced in the old country, if a market were created for their consumption. But whatever may be the volume of trade to-day, Australia is not for all time staying where she is. It is not so much because we find certain inroads have been made on British trade to Australia that we want preferential trade, but because these inroads are just beginning and we desire to see them stopped. I am a firm believer in preferential trade, and I cannot imagine how in connection with any preference you can have two more desirable partners than a country which produces raw products and a country which manufactures them into goods. Mr. Harney admits the case applies to Canada, but if Canada why not to Australia? Australia produces wheat perhaps to a larger extent than Mr. Harney (for the time being) remembers. In Australia and New Zealand the production in 1908 was 82,000,000 bushels, whilst in Canada for the same year the production was 81,000,000. Moreover, we have been exporting wheat from Australia for upwards of twenty years. There are a great number of people who overlook that fact. In addition we are sending wool, frozen meat, butter, and other dairy products; in fact we send all the primary productions, and the development of those productions is leading to that development of the soil which Mr. Harney says can only be obtained if we have Australian free trade. To use the words of Mr. Deakin, preferential trade would under our present fiscal system mean

"that with an advantage over the foreigner Australia would be settled; our population and production would be multiplied, and although apparently the advantage would be entirely with the primary producer, it must not be forgotten that our manufacturers would gain enormously by the

increased Home market provided for its wares, and that the Home market could only be increased by increasing the number of people on the soil."

Now in Australia, although so far the protectionists have been most active in its advocacy, there are a great number of free traders who support preferential trade. Mr. Reid himself admitted that the majority of Australians pronounced themselves in favour of the abstract principle of preference. He believed that the majority were anxious to do something to help the Mother Country. To show further the sympathies of Mr. Reid and to indicate his opinion that Australian free trade is not essential, I would quote this statement of his: "He was thoroughly in favour of a Conference. If the British people were in favour of a preferential system, his objections disappeared. If they said preference was a good thing, he was prepared to agree that it would be so." I wish Mr. Harney had kept to his conclusion that preferential trade is desirable and feasible, and I should then have had the greatest pleasure in supporting his conclusion, and not only that but in adding to the reasons by which he arrived at it. But disagreeing with him in his strong statement that that end can only be obtained by the method he suggests, I cannot help pointing out that if advances had been made in Canada and in New Zealand by preferential tariffs against foreigners, why in the name of experience should not the same benefits flow in the case of Australia if the same method be adopted? Mr. Harney referred to the Postal Act, and on that point I desire to say that Australia has nothing whatever to gain directly by the clause in that Act which strikes at black labour. She has no big shipping companies, and the companies which carry on her coasting trade are mostly controlled by shareholders in this country. The clause was in fact inserted as a manifestation of an aggressive British spirit, Australia believing that the sooner all shipping beneath the British flag was manned by white people of the British race the better, and she thought that if she could give any little aid towards that end she would be discharging a duty to the Empire. No one, I say, can accuse her of being actuated by sordid motives in this matter. I notice that Sir Edward Hutton is here to-night. He has been in close contact with Australia and Australians for some years past, and I should like him to say whether he thinks there is in Australia that—I won't say hostile—but that unfriendly feeling which would incline Australia to use the old country and her people in the way some people think she is doing. I believe they are very much what Englishmen would be

under the same conditions, and on that point the opinion of such an Englishman as Sir Edward would be valuable.

Major-Gen. Sir EDWARD HUTTON, K.C.M.G., C.B. : It is with great pleasure, though at considerable personal inconvenience, that I came here to-night. The particular matter which brought me here was this sentence in the Paper : " Australia has now no enemies, and, thanks to her geographical situation, she is, if left to pick her own quarrels, long unlikely to have any." If that were true, my mission to Australia three years ago, and the fact of my having served the Commonwealth Government for the last three years in order to completely reorganise their military system and to establish the military forces of that great continent upon a defined and sound defensive basis, would be time thrown away. I am distinctly at issue with the statement that Australia has no enemies. Mr. Harney has himself informed you of the effect of recent legislation of the Commonwealth restricting emigration, and barring Australia to all except certain favoured races, for which I, as a soldier, have of course no responsibility whatever. The effect however of that legislation has been, I think, that there may arise in future a possibility of Australia having enemies from among those races whom she declines to receive. Australia is also, as we know, from her geographical position, coterminous with Holland and the German Empire in New Guinea, and with France in New Caledonia. By recent legislation she has labelled our allies the Japanese, that great people by land and water, as unworthy of being received into her favoured land. It may therefore be justly supposed that there will in the future be at least the possibility of Australia having enemies. I certainly think that, from her geographical position, isolated as she is from all other portions of the Empire, destined as she is to dominate the Pacific if she grows as other Anglo-Saxon communities have grown in the past, her future policy may easily bring her into conflict with her neighbours. I think therefore, from her geographical position, the necessity of her being in a sound condition of military defence not only on her own account but as an important adjunct and portion of the Empire, is paramount. I am therefore somewhat at issue with Mr. Harney in that regard. I claim to know a little of Australia, because during the last twelve years I have been intimately connected with Australia and Australians, and during the last three years there is no portion of Australia, except the Northern Territory in the neighbourhood of Port Darwin, which I have not personally visited. I thoroughly agree with what Mr. Harney has said as

regards the attitude of the large majority of Australians towards Imperial Federation. Quite apart from any personal views I may have on the subject, I can only assure you, and through you the British public, that Mr. Harney has stated what is the absolute fact—Imperial Federation *per se* does not commend itself to Australian public opinion as we find it at the present moment. I will read a passage from the speech of the present Prime Minister of the Commonwealth made in May 1896 when Premier of New South Wales which states in clearest terms the opinion of Australia generally upon the subject :

"My belief in the future of the British Empire is not derived from schemes of this or that kind of Imperial Federation, but upon the kinship of the peoples which make up the British race.

"Just as the sons who go from the parental home might still be an abiding strength of union and fellowship to the parent, so might the Colonies, if allowed to remain as they are, become as strong a bulwark as if they had a complex Act of Parliament—called Imperial Federation, which might smother their generous alliance, chill their affectionate sympathy, and sow seeds of distrust and quarrel."

The correctness of Mr. Reid's view was curiously confirmed when, three short years after this speech, a response was made to the demands of the Empire in South Africa which showed in the most convincing manner the feeling of intense patriotism and love for the old country which existed. The same deep feeling of sympathy and love for the old country permeates every corner of the Commonwealth at the present moment. Let me in corroboration of what the Prime Minister said in '96 read to you what he said only two short months ago :

I do not wish to disparage any new methods of strengthening the tie which binds us to the British Empire, but I rejoice in this, that perhaps without method, perhaps without wisdom, perhaps by some neutral phenomenon as a mighty force . . . there has arisen in the very blood of every part of the Empire a feeling of kinship which forges for us links far stronger than those of the finest steel, and which will last longer than life itself. If the flag is insulted, if the rights of the country are invaded, the children of Britannia from all the scattered places which they occupy on the face of the globe will need no mother's cry to bring them to her side."

Those are the sentiments and those are the feelings now existing in Australia. I adjure you not to believe all you read in the press, and not to regard too seriously the expressions of opinion and feeling which often reach England as echoes from Australia. No matter

what Government I have served, and I have served three of diverse political opinion, first of all Mr. Barton's; then the Labour Government under Mr. Watson, and finally Mr. Reid's, I assure you as regards loyalty to the Crown and affection to the Institutes and Institutions of this country, Australia takes foremost place among the nations composing our world-wide Empire. As regards Australian troops, I can vouch from personal knowledge and experience for their gallantry before the enemy and for their loyalty in the cause of the Empire and the King. I fully agree with Mr. Reid, that in this elementary stage of the development of Australia it is inadvisable to forge indissoluble ties. Allow Australia and Canada for the present to evolve their own destinies, and be assured those words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in that magnificent speech in the Canadian House of Commons in March 1890 will be verified, and that the whole Empire as a Sisterhood of Nations will gain in strength and power day by day in a manner which no forced ties such as those of Imperial Federation could possibly give. Mr. Harney divided his subject into two parts, one which he called the Zollverein or "customs union," and the other the Kriegsverein or "Union for War." The question, I think, arises as to how our Colonies can best conduce towards a satisfactory "Union for War" in the future. Australia within the last three years has accepted a most complete military system based upon a clearly defined policy and upon certain strategical considerations. This system we soldiers believe (and I speak for many of the most prominent Generals of the day) is the soundest solution of national defence which has yet been practically worked out. If this be the case, as I believe it is, Australia has done her share in the evolution of a military system of defence which shall fulfil the conditions imposed by our vast Empire and the demands of modern Anglo-Saxon Constitutional Government. Australia has certainly in this particular done her share and acted her part so far as military defence is concerned.

MISS C. DE THIERRY (New Zealand): Mr. Harney's Paper has been of the greatest interest to me, because in it I have heard expressed a phase of Australian thought which I think is passing away. I will deal with the Paper only from the Imperial point of view, on which I nearly always write. The subject of the Paper is described as "Imperialism from an Australian Standpoint." The standpoint is there, no doubt, but what I rather miss is the Imperialism. This is not because Imperialism is not felt in Australia as well as in other parts of the Empire. Mr. Harney has himself quoted the

aid which Australia rendered in the South African War, although he says the cause was one in which she had absolutely no concern. But had she not? It was surely a sign of the strength of her Imperialism and of all those forces which in time will cement the Empire. It was interesting from the fact that Australia took a wide point of view, for she saw that the retention of South Africa was necessary to the permanence of the Empire, because of the fact that Cape Town is on the road to Australia. But that was not the first time Australia, as we know, had shown her Imperialism by sending or offering contingents. Mr. Harney says nature stands in the way of federation, but what has nature to do with the federation of Australia? Federation is something quite independent of natural conditions. It is invariably the result of pressure from without, and not of pressure from within. Does anybody suppose there would have been a federation of Canada if there had not been an aggressive Power on her frontier? It is curious that some communities should have the idea that international complications are a European production. The United States has learnt differently within the last ten years. Some forty years ago, Japan felt as Australia felt a few years ago. She did not want any connection with the outside world, being satisfied with things as they were; but she found she could not rest there. It is said the obstacles to federation are insurmountable, but is not the British Empire itself the greatest monument of British genius for achieving the impossible? The federation of Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway, the expansion of South Africa, were all impossible! Everything achieved has been impossible until it has been accomplished. For a nation as well as for an Empire, harmony between policy, defence, and trade are essential. Mr. Harney has discussed trade, but not policy and defence. Australia, he says, will not pick quarrels. But you don't need to pick quarrels in this world. They are thrust upon you. That is what I think is the weak point of his argument. Unity of policy, defence, and trade, are what we are aiming for in what we call Imperialism. The Navy and Mercantile Marine rest on trade, and that is why Mr. Chamberlain has concentrated on trade, that being the first thing which must be done. The Zollverein, as we know, was the preliminary to political federation in Germany. When the Mother Country is free trade and the Colonies protectionist, they are pulling in different directions, there is no common principle. But when a common principle of trade is once realised, there can be a common trade policy, and then we can evolve a political union,

or it may be preceded by a union which will enable us to present a united front to our enemies in the matter of defence.

MR. BOUCHIER F. HAWKSLEY : I am indebted to the hospitality of the son of the well-known Australian, Sir George Verdon, for the pleasure of being here to-night. I had no intention of speaking, but I felt as I heard the Paper of the ex-Senator that really it was necessary to enter a protest against what I consider to be in many respects very vicious doctrine. I am glad to see from your applause you are waking up. I have the misfortune not to be a Colonist, but the good fortune to be an Englishman. With regard to the speech of the ex-Senator we are very glad to hear the view of the Colonies on matters which apply particularly to the Colonies, but when we get the Colonies coming here to tell us free trade is best for Australia, but our business is to be protectionists, I am reminded of the old saying about teaching your grandmother how to suck eggs. We take the liberty of thinking we know what is best for ourselves. I am sorry to say I am old enough to recollect the time when that well-known actor Mr. Sothorn used to play Lord Dundreary, and one of the questions which Lord Dundreary put to brother Sam was, "Why does the dog wag his tail?" "Well," the reply was, "I don't know, but I suppose it was because the tail can't wag the dog." Very well, are we, the Mother Country—which represents the dog—to be wagged by the tail—the Colonies? I claim the liberty to follow my own views. I did not certainly come here to be told I am to be a protectionist at the dictation of Australia, which is what we heard in the latter part of the address. I am glad the Agent-General for Western Australia protested against much of the address. All I say to you Englishmen and Colonists is—don't allow such a strain to be put on the component parts of the Empire; the present relations are those of sentiment, affection, and goodwill. God forbid I should say a word to prevent the most hearty and patriotic union between us, but these relations constitute a silken cord which is to keep together the Mother Country and the Colonies. It is time to consider where we are when we are lectured up and down the country as to what we are to do to retain our relations with the Colonies. Our relations are strong. Yet, God bless my soul! it is the South African War that is trotted out on every occasion when something is wanted by the Colonies from the Mother Country, or, perhaps I should put it, when the Mother Country is asked to give up something for the Colonies. As a lawyer I am inclined to remind you there is such a thing as a statute of limitation. It is

about time we had done with the South African War as a reason for saying the Mother Country must bow down to the Colonies, though the Mother Country will never say one word in depreciation of the gratitude which she feels for the services rendered by the Colonies in her hour of need. The gallant General reminded us that the Japanese would not very much appreciate the legislation of the Australian Colonies. Quite so, but I am not going to preach to the Australian Colonies whether they should change their policy any more than I am going to let the Colonies preach to me because I think it right to have Chinese labour in the Transvaal. There is a gentleman in New Zealand, Mr. Seddon. He says he is going to dictate to the Transvaal. That is the sort of thing we shall have if we have anything but a bond of union which is a silken bond. Remember, as time goes on the little island of Japan will be the dominant power in the East as the little island of England is in the West. Let Australia remember that, if one may proffer a word of warning and she will not be offended. I say let us be as we are, bound by those sentiments and feelings alone which have helped to colour that map red and which have in the past been of so much advantage to us all.

HON. H. B. LEFROY, C.M.G.: It must be my aim, I perceive, to endeavour to throw a little oil on the troubled waters. First of all, I must say I think we are very much obliged to Mr. Harney for the great trouble he has taken in preparing his admirable Paper. I cannot agree that his views are the views of an Australian Imperialist. I think possibly he might have entitled the lecture "Imperialism from an Irishman's point of view." Of course many of you are aware that Mr. Harney is an Irishman who has spent some years in Australia, where he has adorned his profession as a barrister, and we must all admire the flowers he has culled in the garden of rhetoric. There is much in what he has told us with which we shall all agree, but at the same time I don't think any lecture could be more open to criticism. Imperialism is ripe and mature I might almost say throughout the Empire, and Australia is entirely Imperialistic. I assure you that when the toast of "King and Empire" is proposed at an Australian gathering it is always received with a fervour and enthusiasm equal to that with which it was received at the dinner to-night. But what many of us wish is that the feelings and ties of sentiment should be made more materialistic than they are at the present time. Australia is formed out of the people who have sprung from the old Mother Country—that is why Australia is Imperialist. It will remain so.

She has no desire to dictate to Great Britain what course she should adopt, but will at all times be pleased to assist with her advice if called upon to do so; and I believe myself in regard to Imperial matters that the advice of Australians, matured at the other end of the world by travel and beneath another clime, is just as useful as advice by those who have been matured in these Isles. Australians are just as British, just as loyal, just as Imperial, as those in the Mother Country itself. Long may it remain so, and in my opinion the strength and future of the Empire depend on its remaining so. One of the greatest factors towards continuing this Imperial feeling, this feeling of loyalty to the Crown, would be for Australia to adopt an active immigration policy and draw an increase of population as far as possible from the Home of the race.

DR. ALFRED HILLIER: A little more than a year ago I had the privilege of reading a Paper before this Institute on a subject very closely akin to that of to-night. I have listened to this Paper therefore with very close interest, and although I confess I don't agree with all the opinions expressed, I do personally feel indebted to Mr. Harney for his thoughtful and industrious study of a very difficult problem. So far from feeling as Mr. Hawkesley appears to feel, that he has said anything which English members of this Institute can resent, I feel that he has merely exercised a privilege of a visitor or member of this Institute to express his views on Imperial questions with that latitude which it is always the desire of the Institute to encourage. English members of the Institute have very little hesitation about criticising Colonial affairs, and on the other hand I am only too delighted to hear any suggestions which our colonial friends may have to make with regard to the Mother Country, and in so far as the whole of the Imperial question is one in which we are all equally interested, I think all sides of that question should be discussed. We have had distinguished Colonists, among them Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who most strongly in the past advocated the adoption of some form of preferential treatment, and we have had Colonial Premiers in London, urging such a scheme for consideration of the people of this country; surely then the time has come when we may discuss every phase and branch of the subject. At the same time I wish to point out that Mr. Harney takes a somewhat gloomy view of the prospects of federation. He says: it is "a poet's dream." Let us for the sake of argument admit that, but I do not see why even on that ground it is to be rejected as absolutely impracticable for all time, and I cordially agree with those speakers who believe that the first practical step

in the direction of a closer union is a careful consideration, elaboration, and adoption of some scheme of preferential treatment of trade between the Colonies and Mother Country. I am therefore very glad the Government has come to the conclusion that the wisest thing to do is to summon another Colonial Conference in London, to invite still further suggestions from the Premiers of our different Colonies, and to consider with them whether some scheme mutually advantageous to us all, both from a commercial and imperial point of view, cannot be devised.

SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G. : Mr. Harney has given us a very fair as well as a very comprehensive and valuable contribution to the question of "Imperialism from an Australian standpoint." It is well for us in England to have the opportunity of hearing what those of our fellow countrymen who are beyond the seas think on such a subject as that which we have been discussing. It is impossible in the limited time at our disposal on these occasions to allude to the whole of the questions dealt with in such a Paper, and I shall confine myself therefore to one especially which is elaborated to some extent at the beginning of it, viz. Imperial Federation. Many of you know that I have long taken a very decided course on that particular question. I quite admit that the opinions of anyone who has had Mr. Harney's experience in Australia are entitled to considerable weight, but at the same time I think some of us may claim the right to demur to his conclusion "that closer political union is not advisable." I think he derives that view from a somewhat limited survey of the question. As a strong advocate of Imperial Federation I must protest against his interpreting the meaning of that term in the way he has done. More than once he used the expression "subordination." Subordination indeed ! why, it is utterly wrong to use such a phrase in this connection. According to my theory it would be an absolute equal union and partnership in which every part of the Empire would be fairly, properly, and equitably represented. There are two sides to every question. Men change as well as time, one generation ignores what a succeeding one accepts. All history proves it. I cannot help appealing to it with regard to the British Constitution itself, its foundation and subsequent development. Mr. Harney has spoken with reference to some fifty or sixty years ago ; but I would venture to go back to the changes which have taken place during the last few hundred years in our Constitution. Such men as those bright, pioneering, political stars, Stephen Langton and Simon de Montfort, who in the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards laid the foundation and

pointed the way to the elaboration and remarkable developments of the Constitution under which we live at the present day. This is my argument in favour of that which may come to pass in the future, for I feel sure there will be other Stephen Langtons and Simon de Montforts who will hereafter arise and point the way, and carry out a more perfect system of political organisation between the Mother Country and her Colonies. Time is on our side. If a thing is right to do, it will be done. This being my conviction, I hold the undying belief that in the course of time the principle of Imperial Federation will be recognised by the whole Empire and be ultimately accomplished.

The CHAIRMAN (His Grace the Duke of Argyll, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.): I beg now to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Harney for his very interesting lecture. I remember having heard of a Whig social party entertainer who said he invited a Tory or two if they only looked somewhat ashamed of themselves. It is seldom peers and senators are allowed to talk about fiscal matters at all. When they do, I suppose they ought to look somewhat ashamed of themselves. But I don't think Mr. Harney looks ashamed of himself in any degree. These discussions are extremely interesting, and they become more interesting if they draw a little fire now and then. I have myself wondered a little at the marvellous amount of fire that is drawn by this fiscal question. After all, the Colonies have been offering us preference hand over hand. They have not dictated, but left the matter of a British Preference Tariff in favour of the Empire's autonomous States entirely to ourselves. Anything we do would not, I suppose, be irrevocable, and could be withdrawn if, after a time, it was found to be harmful, and, for my own part, I don't see why people should make such a "devil of a fuss" over the matter. It is an experiment that can easily be tried, and as easily relinquished if found unsuitable.

Mr. HARNEY: I am truly thankful to you for the way in which you have received the motion. It seems I certainly did succeed in throwing among you "the apple of discord," but, as I said at the outset, I hoped my remarks might provoke a discussion more fruitful than themselves. I cannot even attempt to touch on many of the criticisms that have been passed on my address. There were nice compliments, many of them ending with a "but" which in this connection should, I often think, be spelt with two t's. Mr. Hawkesley aroused one, of course, by the use of the word "vicious" and said many things capable of answers argumentative, humorous, or severe. He came, he told us, to enjoy the hospitality

of a friend. With him, perhaps I may be allowed to say, the dinner was the principal and the lecture the incident, while with most of us the dinner was the incident and the lecture the main purpose; I can therefore only accept his criticisms in the same humorous light as he himself places his object in coming to this meeting. In regard to the chief propositions, I have been entirely misunderstood by some speakers, though not by Dr. Hillier and Sir Frederick Young. I never said Australian people were wanting in loyalty, or that there was no such thing as Imperialism there, nor did I use expressions which would justify Miss de Thierry in saying she looked in vain for Imperialism. It is true she did not see it, because my Imperialism is an invisible bond. You do not see the ties which bind the domestic circle. Would Miss de Thierry hold that there is no union between members of a family who do not happen to be encased in bricks and mortar? I say the solidarity of the Empire is to be found in the affectionate cement that binds the persons composing it. In my view, there is a danger in adjusting an artificial grip which, by lessening the need for the exertion of the natural forces, might ultimately paralyse them. It has been asked, "How can you call yourself an economic free trader and yet advocate protection here and free trade in Australia?" Well, the free trade is hard to define, but I should say it is the absence of legislative interference and the free play of economic laws in regulating the flow of trade. It is unrestrained barter; all admit you have not free trade if you raise the price by duties. Well, if it is fiscally heretical to penalise the consumer by raising prices, how does it become orthodox to penalise the producer by lowering the prices? In both cases the principle is the same. Duties at the home ports artificially interfere with the consumer. Duties at the foreign port and no duties at the home port artificially interfere with the producer—by creating dumping. Both are equally opposed to economic free trade. That being so, the fiscal policy of Great Britain or of Australia ought to be a mere question of expediency.

A vote of thanks was given to the Duke of Argyll for presiding.

FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE FOURTH Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, February 14, 1905, when a Paper on "Problems and Perils of Education in South Africa" was read by P. A. Barnett, M.A., H.M.I.

The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., a member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 16 Fellows had been elected, viz. 4 Resident and 12 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

William Baker Anderson, John E. Brock, Isaac Davidson, Robert H. Taylor, A.M.Inst.C.E., M.I.M.E.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

Alfred H. Barnes (Cape Colony), Ernest A. Belcher, B.A. (Natal), Charles G. Cecil Bell, J.P. (British Honduras), Charles V. Bellamy, M.Inst.C.E. (Lagos), Wm. Anstey Giles, M.B., C.M. (South Australia), Leonard G. Haydon, M.B., C.M. (Natal), Sidney N. Innes (South Australia), John Peyton Lambert (Lagos), Montague L. Liddard (Northern Nigeria), Maung T. Lwin (Burma), Arthur Wm. Routledge (British North Borneo), Frank Turner (Transvaal).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN called upon Mr. P. A. Barnett to read his Paper on

PROBLEMS AND PERILS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IT might perhaps appear from the title of my Paper that I have fallen into an error to which untravelled folk in England are very prone. They look at the map of South Africa, forget to make allowance for difference of scale, and think of the distance from

Bloemfontein to Maritzburg or from Durban to Johannesburg as about the same as from Birmingham to London. Just so you might suspect of me that although I had spent weary days enough in South African trains and carts to have mastered some primitive facts of the geography of South Africa, I had not yet realised that different parts of the sub-continent are ruled by such varying economical and social conditions that it is hard to speak safely in general terms of South African education.

There are differences, truly, and in one South African colony a given problem may be more vexatious than in the others, as indeed I shall point out; but the main difficulties spring out of conditions common to them all, and in some cases can be shown to be merely local variations of problems facing all civilised communities alike. I must be permitted to deal in the main with Natal, of which for two years I had intimate and active experience, and what I say must be taken with this necessary qualification.

One great task with which all off-shoots of a venerable motherland are alike concerned was treated by a "sure hand" when Dr. Parkin described the operation of the Rhodes Educational Trust.¹ The greatest achievements of England are the uprightness, efficiency, and elasticity of its free institutions, the sanity and dignity and equableness of the traditional English life; but in the colonies, which have their own share of these blessings, there is necessarily more ferment and instability than in the old country. Individuals have more ups and downs, social and political principles are less well-defined, institutions are more "on their trial" than with us. Nothing is finished, nothing *is*; everything is *becoming*.

Now the depositaries of future political and social force are the young people, and it is therefore of incalculable moment that able young men and women of English origin, who have been bred across the seas and whose duty it will be to lead or leaven their fellows, should in the motherland feel themselves members of those disinterested public institutions which conserve and embody the high English tradition. One does not feel less respect for the manful energy and trained ingenuity that build bridges and organise great businesses because one feels more for the profound and sympathetic study of the past that engendered us, and of the human mind and spirit. The king and the philosopher are both necessary; and every true man must in his measure be both king and philosopher, man of action and student. Plato and Mr. Rhodes both saw this, and each formulated it in his own way.

¹ *Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute*, November 8, 1904.

Mr. Rhodes went one better than Plato, for he contrived a working scheme to make his kings into philosophers.

I heard it said once, though not in public, that the sole justification which people could give to Oxford and Cambridge "education" was its "picturesqueness." Well, picturesqueness is no small part of the liveableness of life, and the disinterested picturesqueness of ancient learning and seats of learning is deeply essential to the full spiritual and practical efficiency of national life.

This is the first need of colonial education; and though the colonial father may not state his sense of it as I do, he often feels it sincerely. He sends his son to an English University, his daughter to an English school, not so much to teach them how to build bridges or practise a profession successfully, as to place them in the stream of the traditional thought and life of England.

An eminent American man of letters has just pointed out how the growth of American thought and literature was long arrested at Puritanism, at the point from which English thought and literature went on developing; and how America's more recent efforts have been directed to flow, as they should, in the one common expanding flood. If America, with its mighty political history and noble educational foundations, feels the need of communion with its English mother, how much keener must be the need of the rawer and more uncouth societies that have been established during the last hundred years.

The instinct which sends the young colonist for a spell to England is a sound one; but sounder still is the endeavour to bring the nobler institutions characteristic of England to the colonies.

South Africa is not singularly well off in such institutions; it is poor in universities, and not adequately provided with the best kind of public schools. It is true that academical life owes more than can be calculated to the University of the Cape of Good Hope, which has, in its higher work, done a great deal to establish and maintain a respectable standard of sound learning. But the Cape University is merely an examining body, and like all such bodies, like its prototype the older University of London, can concern itself with little more than what the student can "get up" for examination; can but poorly stimulate originality; can test only such things as may be set forth in an examination room against time; must maintain itself by maintaining, rather than by raising, a standard; and fails signally and inevitably to give life to studies by the personal contact of the teachers who award and the pupils who sit at their feet. Such an institution perpetuates the type of

an examination to prepare for which the teacher and the pupil are confederates in a game of skill (as difficult as bridge), against the university and the examiner. In higher education, then, the prime need of South Africa is local teaching universities, making their own awards to their own pupils, under statutes stringent enough to safeguard awards against carelessness or malfeasance; maintaining a high level of general education, but also generously providing for advanced work in studies of special local moment.

One very bad effect of the excessive centralisation and domineering ascendancy of the Cape University is its multiplication of externalised school examinations. The South African, the South African Dutchman especially, has a quite pathetic respect for florid diplomas. It thus comes about that over the length and breadth of South Africa thousands of little children are being coached and crammed for a "School Elementary" examination which is tested by papers simultaneously produced at every centre. Like the meaner local examinations of this country, this device was perhaps necessary for a time in order to set up something like a mark to aim at; but anyone who knows the real continuous life of a school will know also that it cramps the better teachers, keeps the best children down to an average level, and leaves the least bright untended. The poor parent often looks on the certificate as a satisfactory final goal and a proof of completed education, while the abler teachers complain to no purpose that they are "crammers" and little more.

The Natal Education Department, long before I had anything to do with it, determinedly discountenanced this sort of thing; and more recently it has declined to have any official responsibility for a "School Higher" examination, which is another stage of the same unholy process.

Local universities would do a great deal to remove these stones of offence. Even if centralised school examinations were devised in each state, they would be in proportion less harmful than the Cape octopus, as on a smaller scale; and it would be strange if the teachers were unable to establish their right to have an effective voice in determining not only their curriculum, but also which of their pupils were fit for university work (that is, should matriculate), and which were not. The University of the Cape of Good Hope stands out for a high level of general education, and in the midst of ardently commercial and industrial communities and through a series of political cataclysms it has done work to this end truly beyond all praise; but its very possession of the academic

citadel, its prestige as the chief custodian of sound learning in South Africa, call for a large delegation of humbler but not less important duties to other bodies in other states.

A first great step towards the formation of local universities has been taken in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony by the establishment of a great Technical Institute in Johannesburg, with a strong Mining Faculty as the first local institution, to be developed both at Johannesburg and Bloemfontein into a brace of properly equipped teaching universities as funds are found and occasion permits. The first effective steps in this direction are largely due to the strenuous missionary and organising efforts of Professor Hele-Shaw, himself long an active partner in the great movement of the last thirty years which has given England at least eight well-equipped Universities or University Colleges. The grave danger of the process in England lies in the tendency to hurry on the University course by making "Matriculation" too easy for people too young to profit by it, and therefore to lower the general standard of education before the age proper for specialisation; a real danger this, and one that goes far to justify the caution with which the Cape University approaches the consideration of innovations. If only the Cape University would *teach* as well as *examine*, its conservatism would command a more general approval.

The highest available academical teaching and original work, both in letters and in physical science, are needs which nothing but local provision can ever adequately supply. We must hope that the enlightenment of the several legislatures and the public spirit of wealthy men will do for British South Africa what has been done by similar agencies in Canada and the United States. In the meantime, and for many long years to come, there is much to say in what is certainly implicit, though not worked out, in Mr. Rhodes's original idea. It is well to keep colonial youths in the colonies until they have become familiar with the traditions and institutions of their own states, and then to send them to the older country from which these things derive their dignity and strength, and where they may be seen and felt in operation with some of their honourable old trappings still about them.

In the next lower stage academically, but all the nearer therefore to men's business and bosoms, are the secondary schools, in respect of which, considering its population, South Africa is by no means badly off. In truth, the belief of South Africans in the efficacy of education is remarkable and even pathetic. Here are many parents who, having achieved substantial prosperity, desire

their children to be better able than they are themselves to enjoy its best gifts, who want access for them to that sadly mishandled and misunderstood thing, "culture." These many, having had little schooling themselves, are inclined to attach too much importance to school and to expect too much from it; education to them means solely school and lessons and certificates; the powerful effects of local atmosphere and institutions they hardly comprehend.

Within the reach of the people in the larger towns of South Africa there are generally secondary schools at least as good as English Grammar Schools; often better indeed than our country grammar schools, because their curricula have not been debased by grants for this or that disparate subject. Many of them are subsidised by Government. Natal, for instance, has two great public schools under the exclusive control of its Education Department, and several others nearly approaching the English type of "public school," which are self-supporting, some proprietary, some diocesan.

The inspection of non-Government secondary schools in British South Africa has the same difficulties and disadvantages as have become familiar to us in England. All organisation implies some degree of centralisation, some multiplication of machinery, and people naturally fear the constraint implied. They shrink too humanly from the compilation of returns and statistics and from official inquisition. Moreover, Government inspection of secondary schools in the colonies, as elsewhere, has been mistaken to imply the same procedure and restrictions as those through which the English primary system, all the world over, is honestly struggling from worse things to better.

On the other hand, to those who feel that the training of the youth of a country affects profoundly the national fortunes, it is certain that nothing but the criticism and approval of a responsible public authority can secure the efficiency and progress of public education, in whatever grade; and that no school, public or private, doing good work should shrink from careful inspection at the hands of experienced judges. To be sure, the difficulty of finding in the colonies these same experienced judges is no small one. It is one of our special local problems, but it is of such grave importance that there should be no hesitation in making provision for overcoming it a first charge on the education budget. The need for this is particularly pressing in the South African colonies, because on the one hand there is a real danger that all education may be demoralised by the excessive examinational activity of a non-teaching university at a great distance from many of the places

affected ; and on the other hand because it is imperative in a young society that the liberal discipline should be conserved, while due allowance is made for local opportunities and needs. It is most necessary in the colonies to use every means, especially differentiation and specialisation of inspection, to stimulate the growth and improvement of schools that try to cover a wider curriculum than that which is possible in the ordinary primary area.

A very remarkable contribution was made to our materials for dealing with this question in a letter from Mr. E. B. Sargant printed in the *Times* of April 23, 1903. For the growth and organisation of education in South Africa Mr. Sargant has done more than can ever be put formally to his credit. To thousands of people in South Africa he has given a courage and hope which machinery alone, however perfect, could never inspire. This he has done by his magnanimous confidence in the missionary value of an education designed to make Greater England greater still through the spread of noble traditions of disinterested government ; and in times of sore distress and difficulty he has cheerfully worked out the system on which the new colonies will develop hereafter.

Mr. Sargant looks at the history of colleges and universities in England, and reminds us that one sprang from another by successive migrations. Part of a College or Higher School left the parent house to found elsewhere another house, at first in actual organic connexion with the parent but ultimately united to it only by common bonds of similar pursuits and discipline. He asks that the great English public schools, those especially whose own history ran on these lines, should take up the missionary task again, and bring to the new colonies as much of the old organisation and traditions as can be transplanted. To effect this he would have selected members of staff and selected scholars established in South Africa, to form themselves into a centre from which others might in time detach themselves in order to carry on the same work at other places.

Of course such a plan bristles with difficulties which it is easy to point out, and which Mr. Sargant knows well. The main one arises from the lack of cohesion and definiteness of corporate aim. One great body alone, the Church of Rome, is sufficiently homogeneous, and sufficiently conscious of a clear temporal purpose, to make its educational mission attain measurable and comprehensible objects. Successive steps of school distribution were taken by great churchmen like William of Wykeham for the ends of the Church ;

and the Roman Catholic Church, continuing the great tradition, is covering South Africa, as other places, with a steadily growing and highly organised educational system through the operations of the teaching Orders.

The doubter's part is always easy, and anyone may object to Mr. Sargant's plan that he has neither masters nor boys nor the school wherewith to start his great mission. I am myself sanguine enough to think that, if money could be found, the project could be carried through. We have no teaching orders, and masters must have careers and provision for their households; and we cannot expect that parents will remove their boys from public schools in England to serve even as Imperial missionaries. But liberal scholarships and first-rate salaries would go far to make a colonial school really and rightly attractive to pupils and to teachers. Will another Rhodes help England to another conquest?

It must be remembered that in the colonies it is much harder than in England to draw a sharp line between primary and secondary education. In the colonies the lines of class demarcation are generally fainter than in the mother-country. As in the East a street fig-seller of yesterday may be a Pasha to-morrow, so in the colonies it is even now easier for a poor man to become rich than in countries where Possession has secured ninety-nine points of the Law. Besides, so many men now rich were themselves poor a few years ago, that they have not had time to have their new rank patented. So you may find in a British colony a Prime Minister's son at the "elementary" school side by side with his white gardener's son even in a big town, though time is changing this also. Up country, indeed, there is probably no other school than that provided by Government or subsidised by it. What are we to do here to put schools within reach of everyone reasonably able to profit by them? If parents are not "entitled" to such provision, if as the short-sighted economist says they "ought to pay for such provision as a luxury," the statesman knows that even reckoned in money the loss involved in a lack of secondary schools is a very serious matter. This pinch is keenly felt in many up-country places where parents of fair means and good education have a right sense of their obligations to their children; and the South African country school tends towards an old Scotch type rather than anything we know familiarly in England. But this is not a type that accords easily with the modern primary curriculum, laden as it is with "subjects" unknown to the old Scotch dominie; so that we get in South Africa a very perplexing hybrid which is very hard to manipulate. The difficulty

is not lessened by the use of many country schools, designed on the primary plan, as boarding schools: a type common enough among both English and Dutch in South Africa, and the natural result of the sparseness of population.

Another device for promoting education is familiar to South Africans under the name of Farm Schools. These too suggest problems and perils all their own. A farm school may consist of three or four children taught by a tutor or governess domiciled at a farm, on a syllabus prescribed from head-quarters. They are examined periodically by a Government inspector, usually at a centre where pupils from several outlying farms can be collected for the purpose, and a substantial grant is paid towards the salary of each tutor or governess according to the progress which the children are judged to have made. The plan has obvious drawbacks. Unless the inspector is very careful, it may result in cramming and in payment for results of comparatively small value; and it is very hard to make inspection frequent enough over so wide an area to be helpful as well as judicial. Yet the system has encouraged education all over South Africa in a way often truly remarkable, and many men and women of high attainments have learnt from faithful farm tutors what has best served them in life. Natal alone has one hundred and forty-nine farm schools; fifteen years ago it had only three.

But one may easily imagine how unlikely it is that at such places the teaching available should be of the highest quality. There are indeed many truly fine teachers on up-country farms; and sometimes you feel that here, a hundred miles away from anything like a town, is being done work not less enduring nor even less admirable in a technical sense, than that which is being done elsewhere by highly "certificated" teachers armed with the most expensive appliances. I should go even farther, and say that, if we allow for the lack of the social stimulus of numbers, the finest results of education might be achieved on desolate farms in the distant veldt. But the good teacher is hard to get on the farms; and the farm-taught child is often in very indifferent hands. Not rarely the teacher is someone who for his soul's sake has to be kept as far as may be from strong waters; someone whom his family and friends have sent to the colonies as to a reformatory settlement. Not, you will say, the right kind of teacher for young children. No; but often, this failing apart, the poor wastrel is skilful and devoted, and, if the besetting temptation is avoided, acceptable and efficient.

An inspector once told me of a remarkable disciplinary measure

which he brought to bear effectually on one of these curious compounds of skill and sottishness. Riding to a farm centre on high ground one very cold day, my friend saw a pair of boot-soles looking at him from a wayside ditch. He dismounted to make sure that there was nothing behind them, and found that they were part of a very drunken man who was torpid and nearly insensible with liquor and frost. More than that, the man was a farm tutor due to present his pupils for examination six or seven miles away. His inspector roused him, fastened his wrist to the stirrup, and trotted him till he brought him to the rendezvous streaming with perspiration, but alert and in his right mind.

But of all the problems with which South African education has to deal the most serious are bound up with the race question ; and the perils which threaten us from this quarter are graver than any with which my official experience has yet acquainted me.

Let us consider it in relation to Natal. In Natal there are, roughly, a million blacks, a hundred thousand whites, and the same number of Indians. There is also a very large half-breed population, some, like the Griquas, a new race with specific characteristics, some the progeny of debased whites and corrupted blacks, slowly, but very steadily, increasing. The half-breeds are technically known in Natal as "coloured," though amongst them are many St. Helenans and Mauritians as black as the Indians.

It is necessary in Natal, owing in the main to the not unfounded antipathy of the races, to provide separate schools for each race. The provision is nothing like what it should be, for, in the larger towns, first of all the Europeans demand protection from contact with the coloured, the Kaffirs, and the Indians ; next the coloured must be protected from contact with the Kaffirs and Indians ; and to crown the complication the Kaffirs and Indians despise one another, and can rarely be taught together with any profit, if only because of vital differences of intellectual, tribal, and general habits.

The coloured people, though only half articulate, ask for education. Some, like the St. Helenans and Mauritians, are often very intelligent and industrious, and are capable of a good deal of improvement. Their entirely reasonable prayers—for prayers they are—that they should have schools and teaching have been met inadequately. This is due to causes which Government cannot do much to control, though little has been done to guide public opinion even by sympathetic people. And when the coloured folk, unprovided for separately, demand access to the ordinary

European schools, it is a matter of daily difficulty to decide whether they shall or shall not be admitted. European parents resent the association of their children with the coloured children, often on grounds quite honestly and fairly taken; for the level of coloured morality, for which depraved Europeans are largely responsible, is too frequently deplorably and dangerously low.

We may perhaps forgive public opinion for chafing at the expense entailed by the provision of schools for coloured children if we look at the finance involved. Whereas, in Natal, the average cost to Government during the year ending June 30, 1904, in respect of teaching, stationery, and apparatus alone for each coloured child in school was £7 1s. 0d., for each European child it was £5 18s. 1½d. On the other hand, whereas the total ordinary expenditure on the European children was £66,482, on the coloured children it was only £2,006; so that there is excessive expenditure per coloured child at least partly because of the smaller number of the individuals participating. Moreover, whereas Europeans contributed in school fees the sum of £11,221, the coloured folk contributed only £184. The problem, then, involved here, is how to provide adequate and separate education for the "respectable" coloured folk who can profit by it and pay as much for it directly as the white folk; and how to satisfy unwilling public opinion—which in Natal insists on fee-paying—by providing education fit for the poorer coloured children whose parents can pay little directly into the Treasury. School fees, however, are so low that a much larger number of coloured children than are at present being educated would attend schools if there were schools for them to attend.

It is a notable fact that over this type of South African the Roman Catholic Church is acquiring an increasing influence. What the State and other religious bodies are doing for it only very sparingly the Roman Catholic Church is doing as generously and as steadily as all available means permit; and I am satisfied that this activity will produce deep and lasting effect on the future of the whole of the sub-continent, over which the coloured races will spread increasingly.

Here is an interesting illustration of the solicitude with which this question of proportionate numbers is considered in South Africa. The Superintendent-General of Education for Cape Colony in his last published report notes with satisfaction that during the last year the ratio of white children has increased by 2·21 per cent. For many years this ratio has, he points out, been

on the downward trend ; and the figures are eloquent. (It should be noted that "coloured" here includes *all* shades not European.) The actual figures are these :

—	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
Ratio per cent. of White pupils	42·00	40·58	39·77	38·11	36·88	39·09
Ratio per cent. of Coloured pupils	58·00	59·42	60·23	61·89	63·12	60·91

The excess of coloured children over white is now 38,660, but in 1902 it was 38,967.

In Cape Colony the pervasion of colour is a supremely serious social and political fact because the franchise is given to all colours on attainable terms ; and if its withdrawal is to come about, something like a political cataclysm would seem to be inevitable. In Natal the conditions conferring the franchise on non-Europeans are so rarely fulfilled that for all practical purposes it may be said that the franchise is confined to Europeans.

There are large families of half-castes in Natal, the progeny of Ogle, Fynn, Dunn, Englishmen who lived the life of the native Zulus, married many Zulu wives, and held delegated powers from Zulu kings. They were recognised as chiefs two generations ago by the British Government, and were exceedingly important people. Their folk are to be numbered by hundreds, and will soon be thousands. They sometimes, but as yet not very often, intermarry with the aborigines ; mostly they marry Ogles, Fynns, or Dunns. They are a poor breed, intellectually and morally, doomed to corruption and degradation wherever they are in intimate contact with Europeans, but living and increasing in indolence so long as they are protected from the low European's exploitation and poisonous depravity. They respond poorly to the ordinary procedure of the school, being even indisposed to bestir themselves in games. In Natal they speak English at school, but drop into Zulu as soon as they are by themselves. They despise the natives, but freely find their way to native beer-drinks and other barbarous gatherings. They are loyal to British rule, willing to undertake military service, anxious to improve. But the Natal Government has, so far, done little to give them the only help likely to make them progressive and useful, a vigorous manual and agricultural training. So far as one is able to foresee, the fate of these poor

people will be a very sad one. They will multiply in increasing deterioration; they will be kept alive by shamefaced philanthropy; they will cover an extending area of corruption, lowering the national efficiency.

If it is hard to be sanguine about the education of the half-breeds of Natal, the state of Indian education is still more depressing. Natal is the only South African state which has any great mass of Indians to manage, because Natal has for many years imported under indenture low-caste Indians as labourers on the sugar and tea estates, and as domestic servants; permitting also a better class of Bombay Indian, who calls himself unwarrantably an "Arab," to follow in their train and settle anywhere in the Colony where he can pick up the small trades and absorb an enormous share of the profit of store-keeping. The indentured Indian also, on the expiration of his term, almost invariably stays in the country.

Here, again, the Government has done something, but sadly little. It has a few Indian schools of its own, and it subsidises mission schools. Its last ascertained average annual expenditure per Indian child in the schools is £1 19s. 8½d. But there are only 2,782 Indian children in all Natal receiving any kind of education in any kind of school; that is, about one child in eight. Here, too, it is hard to get on to the right lines. The education is miserably inadequate, being almost exclusively bookish, such as it is, and just enough to keep up a constant supply of quick-witted rascals for small predacious or parasitical callings.

On some of the tea and sugar plantations the conditions of life are unspeakable. The coolie barracks are often nests of foulness of all kinds. The people live in piggeries; and the few mission schools, the sole civilising agencies at work, labour under a hopeless weight. It is certain that in spite of ineradicable race antipathy, which is indeed a natural and healthy safeguard against contamination, few European people outside the small number that directly profit by this helotry would tolerate the wickedness that is rife—if they only saw, and smelt, and touched it.

The education of the native, too, is full of portentous difficulties and dangers. Natal expended last year per child in the native schools, which are all of the "aided" type, £1 1s. 7¾d. per head, that is, £7,578 14s. 3d. altogether, including the cost of inspection, which has not been reckoned in the other cases quoted.

The problems involved in the civilising of the Zulu or Kaffir are

by no means such as can be solved by the operations of the schools, either alone or mainly. In Natal, at all events, an *impasse* has been reached because of a singularly unhappy endeavour to combine native law with European law and to enforce respect for both by European sanctions which with barbarians are ineffectual. This is in some measure the result of a chaotic public opinion, illustrated by the expenditure of public money on schools which many a magistrate urges the natives *not* to use. The Natal Government has no native schools of its own, but under certain conditions subsidises the mission schools. More money is legally available for this purpose than is usually spent, but the teaching of even rough handicrafts to the natives is all but impossible by reason of the jealousy of European artisans. Thus is wasted the best, the only profitable and practicable means of haling the native out of his shiftlessness and vicious indolence; and we are multiplying a race of dangerous creatures who might, if tended, be improved and turned to national advantage.

I have left for the last in my list the difficulty which impressed me during my two years in Natal more than any of the other anxieties that beset the path of educational reform; but one which to a large extent is remediable if people will only be persuaded to look the thing in the face.

It is an appalling fact that in the great majority of Natal homes the place of the Kindergarten teacher is occupied by a Kaffir boy or girl, who may be vicious, and who is probably stupid. Most little white Natal children, the heirs of our noble and consecrated language, speak an infantile Kaffir better than they speak English, and in preference to it. Not only are there English parents who are not ashamed to tell you that little Tommy or Polly can understand and speak only this miserable jargon, but there are English fathers and mothers who boast that they never allow their Kaffir servants to speak to themselves or to their children in English. A more deliberately wrong-headed and mischievous practice it would be hard for empirical stupidity to invent. At the beginning of school life in Natal little English children have often to be taught, not only to speak English, but to understand it when they hear it. They talk and think in Kaffir so long and at an age so delicate and susceptible that for the rest of their lives they escape the effects only with the greatest difficulty. Their development is often permanently arrested, and the mischief becomes inveterate because they must needs go on spending their adolescent and adult

lives in an atmosphere pervaded by Kaffirdom. They do not, like the Anglo-Indian child, quit the lower association and have done with it. Cases have been reported to me of pupils well trained in good European schools reverting to their infantile associations with the farm Kaffirs on returning home, and losing all the cultivation and intellectual alertness which they brought from school. A corresponding moral deterioration is almost inevitable.

The use of the Kaffir boy or girl drudge as nurse or kindergartner brings other evils in its train. The things about which the Kaffir talks, innocently enough in respect of his own stage of development, are not the things which we would have our little ones habitually hear; and the traditional secular practices of the black folk are sometimes ineffably foul. These things being so, although the difficulty of securing decent white help in the up-bringing of European children in Natal is enormous, the dangers of Kaffir tutelage are so great that it should be employed by no one who by hook or crook can avoid it.

It must be confessed that the difficulties of education in British South Africa are very serious. The position, it seems to me, needs the boldest treatment. It is true that the country is young; but no allowance will therefore be extended to it by economic law, for it has to meet the competition of older nations that have grown great by systematic and unstinted sacrifices to educate their children. It is true that the country is young; but it has complicated racial dangers to face, to which it will succumb before it can mature unless it adopts remedies founded on the conviction that the best must be made of each race for its own sake. It will else certainly corrupt the rest.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Hon. Sir ALBERT HIME, K.C.M.G.: We are all greatly indebted to Mr. Barnett for his admirable Paper and for the clear insight he has given us into the problems and perils which beset education in South Africa. Natal owes a debt of gratitude to him for placing the educational system of that Colony on a sound basis, and for having done much to abolish the pernicious system of cramming which unfortunately was in existence, and had been for many years in existence, throughout South Africa. In anything which I say now concerning this Paper, I must be understood to

refer solely to the Colony of Natal, with which I was associated for about thirty years in various capacities. I am afraid you will go away feeling somewhat depressed as to the state of education in Natal and in South Africa. No doubt it is capable of great improvement, but I should have liked Mr. Barnett to explain to you the enormous strides which have been made in education during recent years. Those strides have been due first to the splendid scheme of education devised and put into effect by one whom you know very well—a former Governor of Natal, Sir Henry Bulwer, who is one of your Vice-Presidents. He inaugurated a scheme which has had far-reaching results. Secondly, the advance is due to the able manner in which the scheme was carried out by Mr. Robert Russell, who for some forty years was Superintendent of Education, and by the noble band of workers who so faithfully assisted him. Thirdly, it is due in large measure to the increase of the European population and also to the increase in what may be regarded as the moneyed classes, those who could afford to leave their children at school longer than others who had not the means at their disposal. I may claim to speak with a certain amount of authority, because I was a member of the first Council of Education appointed in Natal in 1878 with a view to carrying out the scheme devised by Sir Henry Bulwer. Mr. Barnett seems to impress on us that the great want in South Africa is local teaching universities; in fact, that that would be a panacea for all the ills to which education is heir. I quite agree that a local teaching university would be of inestimable value, but at the same time I do not concur in thinking that Natal is able to afford at the present time a teaching university on its own account. The European population is too small. When you consider that the European population—English, Dutch, German, and Norwegian—totals under 100,000—less than the population of Plymouth, of Southampton, of Brighton, of Preston, of Hull—you can readily understand that such a population, widely scattered and for the most part not in affluent circumstances, would not be able to support such an institution at the present time. What I think we must aim at in South Africa is an inter-colonial, inter-state teaching university; that is, a teaching university which would serve for the whole of the States and Colonies of South Africa, including the Transvaal, the Orange River, Natal, and Cape Colony. That is the most we could expect at the present time. The Natal Government alone cannot afford to support one; we want such men as Mr. Rhodes, who would be prepared to endow a university of that description. At the first

start, then, I think it will have to be a university for all the Colonies of South Africa. To show that the education of Natal, at least, is not so bad as you have been led to believe from Mr. Barnett's statement, I will read one paragraph from his own report, dated October, 1904, just before he left the Colony, in which he says: "Speaking generally, the condition of education in Natal is, in many respects, most satisfactory. For ordinary primary and secondary work, it has good machinery and organisation. As the means increase these also can be increased without serious dislocation of any of the component parts. Meantime" (this is the fly in the ointment) "the country has only half the number of schools that it really needs." Well, Rome was not built in a day; no more was the education of any Colony or country brought to perfection in a month or a year. What I want to impress upon you is that a great deal has been done, and on that score alone I would like Mr. Barnett to have been a little more explicit and to have given credit to the Government of Natal for what it has done. Just to show the difficulty with which the Government has to contend, I may mention that when I was first on the Council of Education the great difficulty was that the parents were unwilling to allow their children to remain long enough at school to receive anything in the shape of secondary or higher education. Those parents were living strenuous lives, they were working all day; they wanted their boys to help them, and they considered that if their boys were well grounded in primary education it was all that was necessary for them in the ordinary business of life. There was a hard-and-fast line drawn between primary and secondary schools, and as soon as the boys had finished their primary education the parents took them away to work at whatever business the parents were engaged in. These difficulties are being overcome. Time and money are required. It is only by means of a European population, which has better means at its disposal, which has higher aspirations, and which considers that a boy's education is not completed at the primary school—only by such means can we overcome the difficulties in connection with higher education in South Africa, and especially in Natal. I think Mr. Barnett will tell you that the great aim of the Natal Government has been to bring education to every boy's door; if it cannot be done by means of the regular school, either a Government or an aided school, it is done by means of farm schools. They may not be the best that could be desired; at the same time it is the wish and aim of the Government to bring education to every boy's door in the

best way it can afford. I do not say anything with regard to the education of Indians, because that is a matter of time and one which the Government has under its consideration. The Government does its best, and means to do its best. I may say I am not here in any way as a supporter of the Government, because I have severed my connection with Natal; but I do wish to give the Government credit for its endeavour in the direction of educating not only the Indian, but the native, and I believe the Government is doing its best in the matter. It is overcoming the difficulties in connection with Indian education which are very numerous, one of which is that the Indians do not care about it, and do not want it, and, unless we have compulsory education, the Indians will not be educated to the same extent as the English children are. With regard to their dwellings, Mr. Barnett said some hard things. He spoke of the helotry with which they are treated. I do not know whether he has been in India; but if he has, he would know that the dwellings of the Indians in Natal are quite as good as, if not better than, the dwellings of similar classes of Indians in India itself. I venture to say that they are more healthy. The Chairman, who has been in India, will be able to say whether Indian dwellings for the poorer classes are all that could be desired. I believe they are simply mud hovels covered with reed or thatch. In Natal they erect their own dwellings on the sugar estates as they think will be best for themselves, and when they have finished their term of indenture and may erect any dwellings they please, the huts they then put up are not as good as those they put up when working under indenture on the sugar plantations. Then Mr. Barnett spoke about native education and especially the difficulties with regard to the education of coloured people. I do not know what he includes under the head "Coloured." In the last census in Natal the population is included under the heads of Europeans, Natives, Indians, and Asiatics, coloured and others, and out of a total of about one million natives, there are only 6,686 put down under the head of "Coloured and Others." I do not know whether the half-caste tribes of Fynns, Ogles, Dunns, and others are included as natives or coloured. For these coloured people there are two schools, solely supported by Government, and seven aided schools. That, I think, is a fair commencement at any rate. I believe firmly that the wish and intention of the Government is to do everything it can for all classes and races of the community in Natal. The difficulties are being manfully faced by the Government, and I believe they will in due course be overcome. As regards the

natives I think Mr. Barnett will endorse my statement that it is now the desire, whatever may have been the jealousy of European artisans in the past, to give the natives the only education which will be of material advantage to them to start with; that is, a good, sound industrial education; because to train the natives industrially and make them good useful citizens, is far more important than to give them a higher education. There are no openings whatever for natives so educated. To make him a rough handicraftsman, able to do carpenter's work, to lay bricks, and the like, will do more to civilise him than any amount of other education that could possibly be given to him. As regards the Kindergarten education which children of Europeans are obtaining by means of native nurse-boys, I entirely agree with Mr. Barnett; it is a melancholy thing, but has been practically almost a necessity. The Europeans were not able to afford female domestic servants; even when they were able to afford them, their experience was not altogether satisfactory. As a rule, the female domestic servant has been but a very short time in Natal before she wants to get married—small blame to her. But that is one of the great difficulties with which the European people have to contend in the bringing up of their children. It is not now so great as when first I went there, for now, owing to the large Indian population, which is steadily spreading over the whole Colony, there are few households which have not their Indian woman, "ayah," to look after the children of the family. Of course there are still a large number who use Kaffir nurse-boys, and a more reprehensible practice it would be impossible to conceive. I hope time will remedy this evil. My main object has been to try and remove from the minds of people here the somewhat gloomy views which I fear they would otherwise take away with regard to education in South Africa, more especially in Natal. I believe the people of South Africa have, according to their means, done everything humanly possible to improve education facilities for Europeans and the general population of South Africa.

Professor JOHN ADAMS, M.A., D.Sc.: What Mr. Barnett says about the university question is, I think, absolutely true. It would be impossible to have an independent university in each of the States, but on the other hand there is nothing whatever to hinder each State having its university. We are far too much accustomed now to consider a university, and in fact any educational institution, as a building. We are apt to forget the meaning of the word "university," which has nothing to do with buildings. It means a body of men. "*Universitas vestra*" was originally addressed to any

corporation, say a municipality, and meant no more than "all of you." The university was never stronger than in the days when it had no buildings whatever, and when the students were taught in the professors' houses. The same thing could be applied in South Africa. Why should there not be run up shanties in different parts of the country where you could have capable men, however temporary the buildings, first-rate young professors sent from the central college in Cape Town? You may call it university extension if you like; I am not afraid of the sneer. What I should like is first-rate men sent throughout the country to do the work required and to prevent this cramming system of which we in this country feel the evil at the present moment. Further, a university need not be the theoretical institution we are so apt to think it is. Colonists are supposed to be dead against the old university ideals, and that is why, I suppose, Mr. Barnett lays so much stress on the culture aspect of the question. Neither culture nor utility must be neglected in the newer universities, and there is evidence that our Colonies have confidence in university teaching. It is highly encouraging to find, for example, in Canada that theory as given in a university is regarded as of equal importance to any practical work which may be done in the workshop or elsewhere. In the McGill University one of the professors lately told me that the Canadian Pacific Railway had now arranged to have the theoretical work and practical work of the higher officers in their service carried on at the university; in other words, they felt the value of theory so much that they turned for the training of practical men to these "theoretical" universities.

THE BISHOP OF MASHONALAND: I congratulate the reader of the Paper on one rather important fact, and that is that he has not, like an intellectual spider, drawn us into a huge cobweb of awful statistics, but has brought out clearly to a terminus primary general principles. If we have a principle to work upon we shall know where we are; and though we may differ from one another we shall bring our differences to bear on the general principle and then find some workable theory on which to proceed. I was especially pleased to hear that he is extremely keen about the industrial side of education. I myself am an old schoolmaster and inspector, and I know a little about schools and examinations. I have had thirty years' experience in the Colonies, and as I have gone up and down England and visited school after school, and talked to parents, teachers, professors, and visited the old universities, I have more and more come to the conclusion that before very long you will

have to introduce into your educational system more thorough technical and industrial ideas and theories. I have great sympathy with what has fallen from the last speaker, and should be the last to discount the value of a literary and classical education ; but I do say that in face of the requirements of the world (I am not speaking about getting richer), we are bound to make our education more scientific, more technical, and more industrial than it hitherto has been. I am very thankful to hear what Mr. Barnett said in reference to the education of the coloured people. I have great sympathy with any man who takes even an extravagant view on the native education question, because I do believe we ought to be ashamed of ourselves if we are not improving everybody, whether white or black, man, woman or child, who has not attained such a high level as we claim for ourselves. I have spoken again and again on the need of giving industrial education to the natives, and I say that all our common school education, whether to white or black, in England, Australia, South Africa, or elsewhere, would be all the better if it were put upon an industrial basis. You are taxing the native more and more every year. I have no objection to making him pay for good government. I was one who years ago advocated that native taxation should be greater than it then was, but I said then, and I say now, that every person who pays taxes has a right to share in the distribution of those taxes. If you tax natives £2 a head where some time ago you were only taxing them 10s. a head, is it not a fair thing that a good proportion should be spent upon their industrial training and in making them efficient citizens ? When we look at these degraded races we must look to them, not only as they are now, but think of the possibilities of the future, and we must not deny the grand principles which have made England what it is, and Englishmen and Englishwomen what they are. I may say that in Rhodesia all the education in my mission schools is on an industrial basis. There we are training girls as well as boys. I am anxious that all boys who are in domestic service shall be replaced by girls who have been properly trained in house-work, and indeed in field-work as well, for there is nothing derogatory in a native woman doing suitable work in the fields and gardens. But I do hope that before long every native house-boy will be supplanted by a native girl, who will thereby be trained in good European households to become a worthy wife.

Mr. C. GILBERTSON: The introductory remarks of the Paper, referring to the aspirations of parents in Natal, apply equally to New Zealand (where I was a resident for eighteen years), because

the sons and daughters of prosperous parents are constantly sent to Britain "so as to place them in the stream of the traditional thought and life of England." Unfortunately many who come here to follow a definite idea of improvement in professional, commercial, or technical avocations are in the same position as a visitor in our National Collections, because the opportunities of obtaining knowledge, though plentiful, are much wasted owing to the want of a guiding hand. I would remind you of the University Extension movement inaugurated thirty years ago, as it is eminently suitable for our visitors from the Colonies, who usually have energy and aptitude, and come here with a definite purpose, although sometimes an indefinite method. If, while following their avocation by day, they were to attend the evening lectures of the University Extension and test their ability at the periodical examinations, some of the young people would discover they were capable of following a more arduous course of training, and all of them would be brought into contact with responsible authorities, who could guide them in the acquisition of knowledge. I hope some method may be found for making more widely known the University Extension movement, or any other scheme which will provide an answer to the question, "How can we carry English traditions to the Colonies?" Let our young visitors from the Colonies be the bearers; they will return to their native country more fully equipped, with greater power to become useful members of their community, and stronger supporters of the Empire.

The CHAIRMAN (The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.): I am not surprised that this interesting, suggestive, and admirable Paper should have originated a most useful discussion, but the satisfaction with which I listened to Sir Albert Hime and the Bishop of Mashonaland was considerably tinged with regret when I remembered that Natal had lost, I am afraid for ever, the debating ability of Sir Albert Hime, and that the up-to-date constitution which is likely to be given to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony will probably not permit the Bishop to sit in the legislature. Mr. Barnett has chosen a most important subject. Education in South Africa is indeed a momentous question. We all hope and expect to see South Africa develop into a prosperous, homogeneous white population living in peace and treating with justice the surrounding races. Whether this be so or not depends on many things, and one of the principal of these is the spread of education. The boys of to-day will to-morrow be the masters of South Africa, and surely their education, even at

great expense to the State, is only a wise insurance. The first essential is prosperity. Make a people prosperous and they will be contented, and if they are contented they will be loyal and united. Education and mixed marriages will then do the rest. Let English and Dutch boys be educated side by side and they will grow up friends, and traces of the late war will be thus effaced and racial jealousies and antipathies eradicated. It is fortunate for us that we have at this time so able, wise, and conciliatory a Director of Public Instruction in the person of Mr. Sargant. Mr. Barnett has referred to one of his schemes, according to which our leading public schools are to send forth leading scholars and teachers as missionaries of education. It is a very fine, but I fear a Utopian idea, and I am myself more inclined to the practical plan of Mr. Rhodes whereby boys born and educated in South Africa should be sent to Oxford and Cambridge, and there inhale the ozone of culture and grand traditions with which the atmosphere of those ancient seats of learning is impregnated. I believe these men, returning to their country, are more likely to be useful missionaries of education among their kith and kin if only they will lend themselves to the great work. So far as I could understand, the schemes for primary and secondary education as regards the white population are in the way of being met in South Africa, but the great want is a teaching university. And here I must express my concurrence with Sir Albert Hime in thinking it will be better to have one great central university for the whole of South Africa—better to extend and develop the existing University of Cape Town than to have several minor universities whose degrees and examination tests would command little weight and confer but scanty dignity. I am told money is the want, and I almost rubbed my eyes when I heard that moneyed men in South Africa were few. I thought there were many millionaires in South Africa. Well, I have been confusing South Africa perhaps with Park Lane and Piccadilly. But there are millionaires, if not in South Africa, at least of South Africa. We hear of them, some of us have met them and have the privilege to know them. There may possibly be one in this room, and if so I hope he will show his gratitude to the country where he won his wealth by following the example of Mr. Rhodes. But the really difficult question is the education of the native population, and here I am inclined to think, judging from the experience of India and Ceylon, it would be best to leave the education of the native races in the hands of the mission societies, subsidised by Government, especially in view to industrial education. That is principally how education is carried on in

Ceylon with the happiest effects, and the manner in which natives of all religions send their children to these schools is something remarkable. There is no religious question, for although there is no conscience clause, attendance is compulsory only during the hours of secular education. But in South Africa also the religious question has been met in a way which might well—if in saying so I am not treading on controversial ground—be adopted in the United Kingdom. The growing native population is the crux; for, however rapidly the prosperous homogeneous white population may grow, the native population will always be immeasurably larger; and if it remains steeped in ignorance and barbarism it must be a constant menace and danger to the white population. Holding these views it was with great satisfaction that I read in the *Times* the other day a synopsis of the report of the Commission on Native Affairs which dealt with this point.

Under the heading "Christianity and morals," the Commission expresses the conviction that one great element for the civilisation of natives should be found in Christianity. It further considers that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in native schools. Education, the report states, has been beneficial to the natives of South Africa. Its effect upon them has been to increase their capacity for usefulness and their earning power. It is therefore recommended that the Government grants-in-aid to native elementary education be continued, that special encouragement and support by way of grants-in-aid be given to schools and institutions providing efficient industrial training, that a central native college be established, aided by the various States, for the training of native teachers in order to afford opportunities of higher education to native students.

I think if all the vexed questions of South Africa were treated in the same judicial and enlightened spirit the prospects of the country would be very bright indeed. I have now to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Barnett for his able, interesting, and suggestive Paper.

Mr. BARNETT: I thank you very much for your goodness in passing this vote of thanks for my Paper, which has roused I will not say angry passions but a certain amount of controversy. I think it was a little ungrateful of Sir Albert Hime, if I may say so, to grumble at me because I did not come before you bearing the precious Blue Book with which he had provided himself. I came to tell you, not about the education of Natal, but about the problems and perils of South African education. I am sure you cannot think I am not aware of the immense amount of good work that has been done, nor could he, if he had read my address

have accused me of not being fully grateful and not admitting quite frankly the amount of good already effected, and the number of organisations in which that good is materialised. He could not have expected me to give an account of all the admirable work and of all the excellent men whose names are associated with South African education. I have always felt, whether Sir Albert Hime read my Blue Books or not (I am now convinced he never did), that I could count upon his sincere sympathy so far as it would go, though it did not always come to providing the exact amount of money I demanded. The advance in South African education is undoubted, but it is an advance common to all British peoples. What I am concerned about now is to point out, not the advance made and the good work you can see, but the particular dangers which threaten to submerge that good work unless it is properly safeguarded. In relation to the question of the teaching university I think I said that what was required was a large delegation of the humbler duties to a less august institution than the Cape University. Of course a university is assuredly not a series of buildings, nor even necessarily a full provision of many faculties; and the way to begin will be by founding small institutions, properly equipped with limited faculties, to be developed as time goes on into properly organised universities. Such a beginning has already been made in the Transvaal. The pre-occupation which I think the Chairman seems to have felt in favour of a university which should maintain a standard and keep examinations going is surely an instance of what is so common in this country and elsewhere—a desire to maintain a standard rather than to promote education. It is the rock on which we are continually splitting in England itself. It is the principle which kept London University what it was for so long a time, and prevented the formation of a teaching university; and precisely the same series of considerations are at work in defence of the Cape organisation, which is entirely an examining body, the solicitude for the education of distant States must be measured by the amount of fees paid into its coffers. There is no doubt, as Sir Albert Hime said, that the Government of Natal has done its best, so far as funds permitted, to bring education to the door of every boy, and I may add every girl. There is nothing in the Paper which went to conceal that, and I think in detailing to you the many stages in which education expressed itself in South Africa and Natal particularly I left nothing out of the credit due to those who had done so much to establish this very satisfactory state of things. In one point I beg

leave to differ from Sir Albert Hime, as regards Indian education. He said the Indians do not care about education and do not want it. But they do want it. What they want, I admit, is very often what is not fitted for them. They are particularly attracted by a literary training, and have an extraordinary predilection for arithmetic. Their real need is such training as will make them useful artificers and not force them into petty and predacious and parasitical trades. In respect of the dwellings of the Indians on the estates it is no argument to use against me that in their own country they live in places as bad. I have not been to India and I do not wish to go—certainly not if I am to see such things there. If the state of things described is bad in Natal, the only inference I ask you to draw is that it is bad also in India. In Natal, however, these people are directly imported and exploited by a limited number of Europeans for their selfish purposes. Their importation and use is profitable in Natal, and the people who profit by it are doing much less than their duty, and the State which permits such things is conniving at its own deterioration and destruction. I cannot admit further that the difficulties that I have detailed in respect to native education are being faced, as Sir Albert Hime claims, manfully. I think they are being faced very unwillingly. Troublesome people will continually be at the Government in order to get the Government to do something for these hordes of people who are perishing for want of some systematic training in the coarser crafts. I entirely agree that it is an error to endeavour to create what is called the educated native. I have known no case in which that effort has been successful. What should be done is to train natives in such coarse trades as wagon making, wall building, rough house building, horticulture, and so forth. Yet at this moment, or certainly three months ago, the Natal Government, although it expended a considerable amount in grants, did not provide a single hoe or hammer for the native population. I beg now to move a cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman for his kind conduct of this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN : In thanking you for this vote I wish to remove a possible misapprehension. Sir Albert Hime appealed to me as to whether the natives in India did not generally live in the same condition as those in Natal. I am not acquainted with Natal, but if the natives of Natal live in piggeries then the condition of the natives of India is quite different. It is true their buildings are flimsy and their clothing scanty, but that is as much a matter of convenience as anything else.

THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Thirty-seventh Annual General Meeting of Fellows was held in the Library of the Institute on Tuesday, February 21, 1905. Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President, presided.

Amongst those present were the following :—

MESSRS. H. H. BEAUCHAMP, WILLIAM BELL, C. V. BELLAMY, H. F. BILLINGHURST, J. E. BROCK, SIR HENRY E. G. BULWER, G.C.M.G., MESSRS. T. R. CLOUGHER, C. KINLOCH COOKE, C. COWEN, CAPT. A. J. CROSBY, MESSRS. W. S. CUFF, F. H. DANGAR, J. E. DAWSON, FRED DUTTON, H. F. EATON, F. W. GIBSON, J. GOODLIFFE, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN, K.C.S.I., C.B., MESSRS. R. COTTLE GREEN, W. SEBRIGHT GREEN, COMMANDER G. P. HEATH, R.N., MESSRS. C. A. HEUSSLER, C. A. HIRTZEL, SIR FRANCIS LOVELL, C.M.G., MESSRS. S. VAUGHAN MORGAN, R. D'OYLY NOBLE, SIR MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O., MR. JOHN H. PARKER, COLONEL SIR J. ROPER PARKINGTON, MR. A. R. PEIRSON, MAJOR-GENERAL C. W. ROBINSON, C.B., MR. W. V. ROBINSON, C.M.G., CAPT. W. P. ROCHE, MESSRS. T. PURVIS RUSSELL, HENRY SAMUEL, CAPT. G. C. SCONCE, MESSRS. CHARLES SIDEX, W. A. STOUGHTON, SIR E. NOEL WALKER, K.C.M.G., MESSRS. H. DE R. WALKER, W. S. WETHERELL, PETER WOOD, J. S. O'HALLORAN, C.M.G. (SECRETARY).

The Secretary read the notice convening the Meeting.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The Chairman nominated Mr. S. Vaughan Morgan on behalf of the Council, and Mr. John Goodliffe on behalf of the Fellows, as scrutineers for the ballot for the election of the Council under Rule 62, and the ballot was declared open for half an hour.

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter :

12 De Vere Gardens, Kensington, W. :
February 15, 1905.

“Dear Mr. O'Halloran,—As I am leaving for Australia next month I beg to tender my resignation as a Councillor of the Royal Colonial Institute. I appreciate the honour which has been conferred upon me during my term of office as Agent-General for

Western Australia, and should I be able to advance the interests of the Institute in Australia I shall look upon it as a pleasure to do so. Kindly present my compliments to the members of the Council, and express my regrets at not being able to attend any of the recent meetings owing to absence from London.

" Believe me,

" Yours very truly,

" H. B. LEFROY."

J. S. O'Halloran, Esq., C.M.G.,
Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute.

Under these circumstances the Council recommend that in the place of Mr. Lefroy the Fellows should elect Mr. Walter H. James, K.C., who succeeds him in the position of Agent-General for Western Australia, and who, besides being a Fellow of the Institute, is in every way well qualified for the position to which we recommend he should be elected.

It was agreed that the Report and Statement of Accounts be taken as read.

REPORT.

The Council have much pleasure in presenting to the Fellows their Thirty-seventh Annual Report.

The number of candidates elected during the past year comprised 61 Resident and 255 Non-Resident Fellows, or a total of 316, as compared with 67 Resident and 259 Non-Resident, being a total of 326, in 1903. On December 31, 1904, the list included 1,484 Resident, 2,977 Non-Resident, and 11 Honorary Fellows, or 4,472 in all, of whom 1,238 have compounded for the annual subscription and qualified as Life Fellows.

The Honorary Treasurer's Statement of Accounts is appended, and shows that the loan of £35,020, which was raised in 1886 for the acquirement of the freehold of the Institute, had been reduced on December 31 to £4,780 12s.

The table on p. 158 indicates the number of Fellows and the annual income in each year since the foundation of the Institute in 1868.

Date	No. of Fellows	Annual income (exclusive of Building and Conversazione Funds, but inclusive of Life Compositions and Entrance Fees)		
		£	s.	d.
To June 11, 1869	174	1,224	14	5
" 1870	275	549	10	8
" 1871	210	503	16	4
" 1872	271	478	10	4
" 1873	349	1,022	9	1
" 1874	420	906	12	11
" 1875	551	1,038	15	8
" 1876	627	1,132	3	3
" 1877	717	1,222	18	3
" 1878	796	1,330	13	11
" 1879	981	1,752	18	2
" 1880	1,131	2,141	8	10
" 1881	1,376	2,459	15	6
" 1882	1,613	3,236	8	3
" 1883	1,959	3,647	10	0
" 1884	2,306	4,539	0	10
" 1885	2,587	5,220	19	0
" 1886	2,880	6,258	11	0
To Dec. 31, 1886	3,005	6,581	2	5
" 1887	3,125	6,034	3	0
" 1888	3,221	6,406	11	5
" 1889	3,562	7,738	7	11
" 1890	3,667	6,919	7	6
" 1891	3,782	7,362	2	10
" 1892	3,775	6,966	12	4
" 1893	3,749	6,458	18	6
" 1894	3,757	6,691	19	0
" 1895	3,767	6,854	2	11
" 1896	3,929	7,315	5	9
" 1897	4,133	7,588	15	7
" 1898	4,139	7,114	4	2
" 1899	4,153	7,053	10	2
" 1900	4,208	7,142	8	3
" 1901	4,228	7,154	1	9
" 1902	4,407	*8,042	5	1
" 1903	4,460	7,740	4	9
" 1904	4,472	7,628	15	8

The obituary of 1904 comprises ninety-seven names, as given below, including H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G., G.C.M.G., an Honorary Life Fellow; Field Marshal Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., a Vice-President; and Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President and one of the original founders of the Institute in 1868:—

Captain G. H. F. Abadie, C.M.G. (Northern Nigeria), G. Murray Alexander, F.R.I.B.A. (Cape Colony), Charles H. Allen, John Howard Angas, J.P. (South Australia, in which State he was renowned for his beneficence), J. A. Bam

* Coronation year.

(Cape Colony), Charles J. Barclay (Tasmania), Charles Barter, D.C.L. (Natal), Frederick Battley, J.P. (New Zealand), Brigadier-General E. G. H. Bingham, R.A. (late of Victoria), Richard B. Blaize (Lagos), Major Wm. R. Blythe (New Zealand), Frederick W. Bompas (Transvaal), George J. Bridges (Gold Coast Colony), John Harris Browne (South Australia), Thomas Brydone, J.P. (New Zealand), John D. Burnie (Victoria), Bryan C. Burstall (Victoria), Field Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G., G.C.M.G., Mark W. Carr, M.Inst.C.E. (Natal), Alexander Carrick (New Zealand), Alister T. R. Clarke, C.E. (British North Borneo), Hon. Henry Copeland (Agent-General for New South Wales), Benjamin Cowderoy (formerly Hon. Corresponding Secretary, Victoria), Robert Crosbie, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), James M. Currie (late of British Honduras), G. H. Deacon (Cape Colony), Hugh Dixon, jun. (New South Wales), Hon. John Douglas, C.M.G. (Thursday Island), Thomas E. Elder (late of South Australia), John Frame (Lagos), John Galsworthy, Alfred C. Garrick (late of New South Wales), John Harley (British Honduras), Alexander T. Harvey (New South Wales), Richmond Henty (Victoria), S. G. Grantham Hill (late of Queensland), Cecil Holliday (Natal), Major James F. Houstoun, Charles H. Inglis (New Zealand), J. W. Dale Jameson (Rhodesia), Owen F. Jones (late of New Zealand), David R. Kemp, J. E. Kerr, Hon. Philip G. King, M.L.C. (New South Wales), A. Halley Knight (late of Victoria), John Lascelles (late of Victoria), Richard Lloyd-Jones (Gold Coast Colony), Claude H. Long, M.A., Sidney H. Long (Transvaal), Edward A. Lovell, M.A., D.C.L. (Lagos), Wm. Bray Lyle (late of Natal), Patrick K. McCaughan (Victoria), Lachlan A. Macpherson, David G. Mantell (Ceylon), James R. Mosse, M.Inst.C.E. (a Councillor from 1888 to 1895), Henry W. Newman, M.L.A. (New South Wales), Field Marshal Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E. (a Vice-President), Francis Oldfield (Orange River Colony), John M. Peacock (Cape Colony), John Pigdon (Victoria), George Price (British Honduras), William H. Price (Gold Coast Colony), B. T. Profit (Northern Nigeria), Hon. Robert Reid, M.L.C. (Victoria), Rev. W. J. B. Richards, D.D., T. Langdon Roberts, Alfred G. Robertson (Cape Colony), Sir D. Palmer Ross, C.M.G., M.D. (British Guiana), Thomas Russell, C.M.G. (late of New Zealand), George W. Salier (Tasmania), Lieut.-Colonel Hon. Frederick Schermbrucker, M.L.A. (Cape Colony), Sir Walter J. Sendall, G.C.M.G., Norman A. Sinclair, W. H. Warre Smith (Transvaal), C. W. Sneyd-Kinnersley, C.M.G. (Straits Settlements), J. Archibald Stirling (late of South Australia), Robert A. Stock (South Australia), Walter Swain, E. B. A. Taylor, C.M.G. (late of the Bahamas), Hugh L. Taylor (late of Victoria), J. Lewis Thomas, Andrew Tobin (Victoria), William A. Tobin (Victoria), Wm. P. Trimmingham (Hon. Corresponding Secretary, Barbados), Sir Joseph W. Trutch, K.C.M.G. (late of British Columbia), Charles W. Tuke (Rhodesia), J. M. Vermont, C.M.G. (Straits Settlements), Douglas W. Wales, Patrick G. Weddel, Fred Whitham (Cape Colony), Edward Wienholt (late of Queensland), W. H. Willans, Walter E. Williams, W. D. Wood (New Zealand), Richard R. Woolcott, J.P. (Victoria), Leopold Yates (late of New South Wales), Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G. (a Vice-President).

Vacancies on the Council have arisen through the death of Field Marshal Sir Henry W. Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E., and Sir James A. Youl, K.C.M.G., Vice-Presidents. They have been filled up *ad interim*, and subject to confirmation by the Fellows under the provisions of Rule 6, by the appointment of the Duke of Marlborough, K.G., and the Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G. The following retire in conformity with Rule 7, and are eligible for re-election: Vice-Presidents: The Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T.,

G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., the Earl of Cranbrook, G.C.S.I., the Earl of Onslow, G.C.M.G., the Earl of Rosebery, K.G., K.T., and Sir Henry E. G. Bulwer, G.C.M.G. Councillors:—Sir Thomas E. Fuller, K.C.M.G., Sir Hubert E. H. Jerningham, K.C.M.G., Sir Neville Lubbock, K.C.M.G., Sir E. Montague Nelson, K.C.M.G., Hon. H. B. Lefroy, C.M.G., and Mr. Frederick Dutton.

The annual dinner took place at the Whitehall Rooms on April 29, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was a highly successful gathering.

The Annual Conversazione was held at the Natural History Museum, Cromwell Road, on June 22, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and was attended by more than 2,000 guests.

The following Papers have been read and discussed since the date of the last Annual Report:—

Ordinary Meetings.

“Ceylon from 1896 to 1908.” John Ferguson, C.M.G., M.L.C.

“Notes on some Canadian Questions of the Day.” J. G. Colmer, C.M.G.

“The Development of West Africa by Railways.” Fred. Shelford, B.Sc. (Lond.), M. Inst.C.E.

“West African Negroland.” Lady Lugard.

“The Commercial Possibilities of the Sudan.” W. W. A. FitzGerald.

“The Rhodes Scholarships.” G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., LL.D.

“The Navy and the Empire.” H. F. Wyatt.

“Imperialism from an Australian Standpoint.” E. A. Harney (Ex-Senator Australian Commonwealth).

Afternoon Meetings.

“The East Africa and Uganda Protectorates.” J. Cathcart Wason, M.P.

“Federation and the Mercantile Marine.” E. Powys Cobb.

“Women and the Colonies.” Mrs. Archibald R. Colquhoun.

“Newfoundland, the Ancient Colony.” Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C.M.G.

“The Wealth of Canada as an Agricultural Country.” W. Staley Spark.

"Present-day Administration of Uganda." Lieut.-Colonel James Hayes Sadler, C.B.

One of the chief uses of the Institute is to afford information to all inquirers on subjects relating to the Colonies and India, and a well-organised system for the discharge of this important function, the efficiency of which has been tested by a lengthened experience, is continuously availed of, not only by the Fellows but by the general public.

The additions to the Library number 1,848 volumes, 1,841 pamphlets and parts, 62 maps, 176 photographs of towns and scenery in various parts of the Empire, and 48,959 newspapers. These acquisitions comprise many rare and valuable works, as well as official publications, directories, handbooks, and all the current literature regarding the British Colonies and India. The large number of applications to consult the Library which have been received from scholastic institutions, educational bodies, and private individuals, is a gratifying sign of the increased attention which is being given to, and the greater amount of interest being taken in, questions affecting the history, trade, resources, and administration of all parts of the Empire. For some time past, the want of a representative collection of the legal publications of the Colonies and India has been much felt, especially by barristers and others visiting England in connection with Privy Council cases, and steps have therefore been taken to add to the Library not only the various legal handbooks and works of reference, but, what is more important, a complete set of the Law Reports of those parts of the Empire where such Reports are issued. Owing to the valuable co-operation of the Colonial Governments and the Law Societies, the Law Reports of the following States and Colonies are now available for reference purposes: South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Quebec, British Columbia, Manitoba, the North West Territories (Canada), the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Jamaica, British Guiana, and Cyprus. It is hoped that the collection, which, as the only one of its kind in existence, will be of much service to legal practitioners generally, will be completed at an early date. Another interesting addition to the Library is a set of the Public Seals, and in many instances the arms or badges, in a coloured form, of the various States, Provinces, and Colonies, which will prove of great service for reference purposes. The Council are indebted to those who have assisted in obtaining the above valuable collections, as well as to a large number of donors (a list of whom

is appended), for their co-operation in the work of building up a great national collection of literature in which all parts of the Empire beyond the seas are represented. On December 31, 1904, the Library contained 57,889 volumes and pamphlets (all relating to the Colonies and India), and 827 files of newspapers.

The Council observed with satisfaction the announcement of the Prime Minister as to the urgent necessity for a Conference with representatives of the Colonies and India for the full and unfettered discussion of commercial relations, defence, and other questions of common concern. It is obvious that the free interchange of opinion at such conferences must be of value in elucidating many problems that have an important bearing on Imperial consolidation.

The Council have repeatedly represented the hardships of the levy, within the Empire, of double income-tax on the same income, and are strongly of opinion that the subject should be brought under consideration at the next Colonial Conference. The existing system undoubtedly gives rise to widespread irritation and is a serious obstacle to the investment of the surplus capital of the Mother Country in British possessions beyond the seas. In reply to a memorial from the Council dated April 15, 1896, urging the exemption from income-tax in this country of income earned in any part of the Empire elsewhere than in the United Kingdom in all cases in which it can be shown that such income has already been charged with income-tax in that part of the Empire, wherever it may be, where such income is earned, the Chancellor of the Exchequer affirmed that "for this purpose it would be necessary to consider as a whole the fiscal relations and the burdens of the different parts of the Empire." The Treasury estimates that to grant the concession asked for would involve a loss to the Imperial revenue of £500,000; but it has been pointed out that the apparent loss would probably be more than counterbalanced by additions to the revenue in other directions resulting from increased trade and the stimulus which the relief asked for would give to the investment of capital in the Colonies. Even, however, if this were not so, the sum named is small as compared with the political advantages which the Empire as a whole would gain from the removal of this grievance, and the Council are convinced that the time has now arrived when this question should be seriously considered by His Majesty's Government, and they are glad to observe, as an initial step in the desired direction, that among the amendments made in the Finance Bill of 1904 in its progress through committee is one

extending the relief from income-tax granted in respect of life assurance premiums (which had hitherto been confined to policies effected with home offices) to insurances with companies established in any British possession, on the ground that thrift in the shape of provident insurance is as much to be encouraged if practised through the agency of a colonial as of a home life office.

The question of diffusing and popularising, both in the schools of the United Kingdom and the Colonies, a more general and intelligent acquaintance with the whole of the British realm, has for many years past engaged the earnest attention of the Council, who have offered prizes for essays, encouraged the compilation of suitable text-books, supported the work of the Geographical Association, and from time to time addressed the principals of colleges and schools as well as other educational authorities and examining bodies with a view to enlisting their good offices in a cause which is obviously of national moment. The desirability of establishing colonial scholarships at the home Universities on a large scale was, as far back as 1888, taken into consideration by the Council, who were unfortunately unable to give practical effect to any such scheme because of the difficulty of providing the necessary funds.

The entrance upon a University career at Oxford of a carefully selected body of students from all parts of the Empire, and the United States as well, is a practical outcome of the munificent bequest by the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes—the most noteworthy gift to education of modern times—which cannot fail to exercise a far-reaching influence in strengthening the bond between the Mother Country and those great communities beyond the seas. The generous offer of Mr. Alfred Beit to endow a Professorship of Colonial History at Oxford, and provide funds for the formation of a Colonial Library, will materially assist in efficiently carrying out the objects of Mr. Rhodes' bequest.

An interesting development in promoting mutual knowledge of the Empire among the rising generation, and which is capable of indefinite expansion, has recently been brought about through the preparation by a Committee, acting under the authority of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, of a syllabus of a course of illustrated lectures on the United Kingdom, primarily for delivery in the schools of the Eastern Colonies, by whom the expense has been borne. It is part of the same scheme to introduce into the schools of this country, by means of similar slides and lectures, visual instruction relating to different parts of the Colonial Empire. The preparation of the lectures and the general superintendence

of the scheme have been entrusted to Mr. H. J. Mackinder, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, who, in an address at the Whitehall Rooms in December last, described and illustrated the movement to a representative audience, over which the Secretary of State presided.

Recent years have witnessed a great development of the resources of Canada, with an increase of population and material progress, which the sentiment of affection for the Mother Country directs into one common channel for the advancement of the strength and prosperity of the Empire. The construction of a National Transcontinental Railway, which has now been authorised, will open up to settlement a large area of fertile and productive land which at present is without railway facilities.

The Council have offered their congratulations to His Majesty's Government on the satisfactory arrangements that have been come to in the Anglo-French Convention as regards the Newfoundland Fisheries question. It affords them special gratification because as far back as the year 1875 they appointed a Committee for the express purpose of collecting information and drawing up a report, in which a conviction was expressed that the time had arrived when national policy imperatively demanded that this important question should be finally settled, so that British subjects should no longer be deprived of the unrestricted right of fishing in their own waters and colonising and developing the resources of their own territory.

A marked improvement in the seasons throughout Australia has led to a gradual recovery from the effects of an unprecedentedly severe and protracted drought, which for a while retarded the development of the pastoral and agricultural industries of that great island continent.

In South Africa the authorities have laboured under exceptional difficulties in organising the administration of the new Colonies on a firm basis after a destructive war, and at the same time developing their mineral and other resources. There are indications, however, that better times are in store, the gold output of the Transvaal and Rhodesia showing a steady increase, while a liberal provision for the extension of railway communication promises materially to contribute to the return of prosperity.

The efforts that are being made, with every prospect of success, to promote the growth of cotton in West Africa and many other British possessions have the earnest sympathy of the Council.

The Brussels Sugar Convention, which was agreed to in March

1902, came into operation on September 1, 1903. It is too soon to estimate what its ultimate effect may be, but, so far, its consequence seems to be the maintenance of the cane sugar production within the Empire, which was in jeopardy from the effects of the bounty on beet sugar.

Official returns of the trade of India furnish gratifying evidence of industrial progress in that great Empire, though unfortunately the ravages of plague are still present. The favourable character of the seasons is indicated by abundant harvests and an export of grain which has only once been exceeded. The appointment to the Council of H.E. the Viceroy of a member in charge of the new Department of Commerce and Industry will, it is anticipated, bring into closer touch the various experts and departments concerned.

A mission to Tibet, which was conducted by Colonel (now Sir) Frank Younghusband with admirable tact and skill, has extended British influence to Lhasa and paved the way for trade developments.

The Postmaster-General has announced his intention of taking the necessary measures for the establishment of a cash-on-delivery system between the Mother Country and the Colonies with a view to prevent the loss of a portion of our trade through the greater facilities of postage from those Colonies to foreign countries, and at the same time encourage the exchange of commodities between this country and the Colonies—an experiment the result of which will be awaited with much interest. It appears to the Council that a reduction might advantageously be made in the postage of English magazines and periodicals, as such a concession would be greatly appreciated in the Colonies, and the more widespread distribution of such literature would aid in fostering the Imperial sentiment.

In conclusion, the Council congratulate the Fellows on the steady progress of the Institute and the success which has attended its endeavours to disseminate among the people of the Mother Country a better knowledge of the conditions and resources of the King's Dominions beyond the seas, and draw more closely together in ties of mutual sympathy the members of a vast and scattered community as citizens of one great and all-embracing Empire.

By Order of the Council,

J. S. O'HALLORAN,

Secretary.

January 17, 1905.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDING

RECEIPTS.		£ s. d.		
Bank Balance as per last Account	£1,675 16 1			
Cash in hands of Secretary	11 12 0			
		1,687	8	1
8 Life Subscriptions of £20	160 0 0			
59 Life Subscriptions of £10 and under to complete	589 2 0			
61 Entrance Fees of £3	183 0 0			
244 " " £1. 1s.	256 4 0			
27 " " £1. 19s. to complete	52 13 0			
141 Arrears of Subscriptions	161 9 0			
1,294 Subscriptions of £2 for 1904	2,588 0 0			
1,503 " £1. 1s. for 1904	1,578 3 0			
9 " £1 or less to complete	5 8 0			
258 " 19s. to complete	245 2 0			
44 " £2 for 1905, in advance ...	88 0 0			
93 " £1. 1s. for 1905, in advance	97 13 0			
2 " " 1906, "	2 2 0			
		6,006	16	0
Annual Dinner, received in connection with	294 0 0			
Conversazione, ditto	187 17 6			
Rent for one year to December 25, 1904 (less Property Tax)	1,145 0 0			
Insurance repaid	7 7 0			
Proceeds of Sale of Papers, &c.	65 14 6			
Interest on Deposit	18 10 5			
Journal	385 7 9			

£9,798 1 3

Examined and found correct.

F. H. DANGAR }
H. F. BILLINGHURST } *Hon. Auditors.*

January 23, 1905.

AND PAYMENTS

DECEMBER 31, 1904.

PAYMENTS.			£	s.	d.
Salaries and Wages.....			2,043	18	4
Proceedings—Printing, &c.			290	10	8
Journal—					
Printing.....	£404	12	7		
Postage	168	3	0		
			572	15	7
Printing, ordinary			77	10	9
Postages, ordinary			206	15	0
Advertising Meetings			26	7	1
Meetings, Expenses of			205	11	9
Reporting Meetings			32	11	0
Stationery.....			145	9	0
Newspapers			124	15	3
Library—					
Books	£111	4	8		
Binding	58	13	3		
Maps	1	17	0		
			171	14	11
Fuel, Light, &c.			147	15	8
Building—Furniture and Repairs			101	8	1
" Reconstruction of Drainage System			195	4	6
Guests' Dinner Fund			59	8	2
Rates and Taxes			386	7	11
Fire Insurance.....			26	18	0
Law Charges			4	14	6
Telephone.....			17	0	0
Annual Dinner.....			321	10	9
Conversazione—					
Refreshments	£145	16	4		
Electric Lighting, &c.	56	17	11		
Floral Decorations	20	0	0		
Music	47	5	0		
Printing	15	12	2		
Fittings, Furniture, &c.	22	0	0		
Attendance, &c.	26	1	9		
			333	13	2
Gratuity			100	0	0
Miscellaneous			70	6	2
Subscriptions paid in error refunded			9	1	0
Payments on Account of Mortgage—					
Interest	£239	15	7		
Principal.....	2,939	12	10		
			3,179	8	5
			8,850	15	8
Balance at Bank.....	£936	8	8		
" in hands of Hon. Treasurer	6	0	0		
" " Secretary.....	5	1	11		
			947	5	7
			£9,798	1	3

M. F. OMMANNEY,

Honorary Treasurer.

January 2, 1905.

ASSETS AND LIABILITIES, DECEMBER 31, 1904.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.	ASSETS.	£	s.	d.
To Sundry Accounts	515	15	9	By Subscriptions outstanding £546.11s., estimated at	136	12	9
" Balance of Loan for Purchase of Site and to pay off Debentures on security of Mortgage 4,780 12 0	4,780	12	0	" Property of the Institute—			
	5,296	7	9	Building (cost price)	£20,428	3	5
Balance in favour of Assets	56,902	4	1	Furniture	£1,812	16	7
				Less Depreciation, say $7\frac{1}{2}\%$	135	19	3
				" Books, &c., value estimated at	1,676	17	4
				" Cost of Freehold	30,594	13	6
					30,520	0	0
				Balance at Bank	£336	3	9
				" in hands of Hon. Treasurer	6	0	0
				" " Secretary	5	1	11
					947	5	7
					£62,198	11	10

January 2, 1905.

M. F. OMMANNEY,
Hon. Treasurer

Examined and found correct. A list of the Fellows in arrear on the 31st December, 1904, has—in conformity with Rule 22a—been laid before the Honorary Auditors by the Honorary Treasurer, showing an amount due to the Institute of £546.11s., and the above Statement of Assets is contingent on this sum producing £136. 12s. 9d.

January 23, 1905.

F. H. DANGAR } Hon. Auditors.
H. F. BILLINGHURST }

LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY—1904.



- Aborigines' Protection Society
Adelaide University (South Australia)
Admiralty, The
African Commerce, Proprietors of
African Review, Proprietors of
African Society, The
African Standard (Mombasa), Proprietors of
African World, Proprietors of
Agbebi, Rev. Majola
Agricultural Reporter (Barbados), Proprietors of
Alcan, Felix
Alldridge, T. J. (Sierra Leone)
Allen, George
Allen, Rev. W. O. B.
American Colonisation Society (Washington)
American Geographical Society (New York)
Anglo-African Argus, Proprietors of
Annual Review Publishing Co. (Canada)
Anthropological Institute
Antigua Standard, Proprietors of
Arbuthnot & MacMillan, Messrs. (Canada)
Argosy (British Guiana), Proprietors of
Armidale Express (N.S. Wales), Proprietors of
Arnold, Edward
Ashburton Mail (New Zealand), Proprietors of
Aspinall, A. E.
Assam, Chief Commissioner of
Atchley, C., I.S.O.
Atkinson, J. M. (Hong Kong)
Aubry, Dr. Pierre
Auckland Star, Proprietors of
Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science
Australasian (Melbourne), Proprietors of
Australasian Chamber of Commerce in London
Australasian Hardware and Machinery, Proprietors of
Australasian Insurance and Banking Record, Proprietors of
Australasian Journal of Pharmacy, Proprietors of
Australasian Medical Gazette, Proprietors of
Australian Club (Melbourne)
Australian Field (Sydney), Proprietors of
Australian Journal of Education (Proprietors of)
Australian Mining Standard (Sydney), Proprietors of
Australian Museum (Sydney), Trustees of
Australian Mutual Provident Society (Sydney)
Australian Stock Exchange Intelligence, Proprietors of
Australian Trading World, Proprietors of
Authors' Association
Automobile Club Journal, Proprietors of
Bahamas, Government of the
Baillière, Tindall & Cox, Messrs.
Bale, Son & Danielsson, Messrs. John
Ballarat Star, Proprietors of
Balme, Messrs. C., & Co.
Bank of Australasia
Bank of Nova Scotia
Bankers' Institute of Australasia
Barbados Globe, Proprietors of
Barbados, Government of
Barbier, Louis de
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia

- Beaufort Courier (Cape Colony), Proprietors of
 Beetham, George
 Bedford Enterprise (Cape Colony), Proprietors of
 Beira Post, Proprietors of
 Bell, J. J. (Canada)
 Bendigo Advertiser (Victoria), Proprietors of
 Bengal, Asiatic Society of
 Bengal Chamber of Commerce
 Bengal, Secretary to Government
 Bennett, Hon. W. Hart (Falkland Islands)
 Bermuda, Government of
 Bermuda Colonist, Proprietors of
 Bibaud, Miss Adèle (Canada)
 Bijoux, J. O. (Mauritius)
 Bioves, Achille
 Black, Messrs. A. & C.
 Blackie & Son, Messrs.
 Bloemfontein Post (Orange River Colony), Proprietors of
 Blok, John (Ceylon)
 Board of Trade
 Boillot, Robert J.
 Bombay, Government of
 Boosé, James R.
 Boston Public Library
 Bowles, T. G., M.P.
 Brassey, Hon. T. A.
 Brassey, Rt. Hon. Lord, K.C.B.
 Briggs, Rev. William (Canada)
 Brisbane Chamber of Commerce
 Brisbane Courier (Queensland), Proprietors of
 Bristol Public Libraries
 Britannia, Proprietors of
 British and South African Export Gazette, Proprietors of
 British Australasian, Proprietors of
 British Central Africa, H.M.'s Commissioner
 British Columbia, Government of
 British Columbia, Agent - General for
 British Columbia Department of Agriculture
 British Columbia, Law Society of
 British Columbia Mining Exchange, Proprietors of
 British Columbia Review, Proprietors of
 British Empire League
 British Guiana, Government of
 British Guiana Board of Agriculture
 British Guiana Chamber of Commerce
 British Guiana Immigration Department
 British Guiana Institute of Mines and Forests
 British Honduras, Government of
 British Museum, Trustees of
 British New Guinea, Lieut.-Governor of
 British North Borneo, Governor of
 British South Africa Co.
 British Trade Journal, Proprietors of
 British Trade Review, Proprietors of
 British Women's Emigration Association
 Brooks & Co., Messrs. W. (New South Wales)
 Bruce-Joy, A.
 Budget (New Plymouth, New Zealand), Proprietors of
 Bulawayo Chronicle, Proprietors of
 Bulawayo Public Library
 Burchell, H. C. (Newfoundland)
 Bureau of Statistics, Washington, U.S.A.
 Burma, Government of
 Burton, A. R. E.
 Buskin, G. (Canada)
 Cambridge University Press
 Canada, Government of
 Canada, Commissioner of Emigration for
 Canada, Department of Agriculture and Statistics
 Canada, Department of Labour
 Canada, Department of the Interior
 Canada, Department of Militia and Defence
 Canada, Department of Trade and Commerce
 Canada, Geological Survey of
 Canada, High Commissioner for
 Canada Lancet (Toronto), Proprietors of the
 Canada, Library of Parliament
 Canada, Permanent Mortgage Corporation
 Canada, Royal Society of
 Canadian Bankers' Association (Toronto)
 Canadian Forestry Association
 Canadian Institute
 Canadian Legal Publishing Co. (Toronto)
 Canadian Magazine (Toronto), Proprietors of
 Canadian Manufacturers' Association

- Canadian Military Institute
 Canterbury Agricultural and Pastoral Association (New Zealand)
 Canterbury College (New Zealand)
 Canterbury Times (New Zealand), Proprietors of
 Cantlie, Dr. James
 Cape Argus, Proprietors of
 Cape Church Monthly, Proprietors of
 Cape Daily Telegraph, Proprietors of
 Cape Mercury, Proprietors of
 Cape of Good Hope, Government of
 Cape of Good Hope, Department of Agriculture
 Cape of Good Hope Government Biologist
 Cape of Good Hope University
 Cape Times, Proprietors of
 Cape Town Chamber of Commerce
 Capitalist, Proprietors of
 Capricornian (Queensland), Proprietors of
 Carmichael, R. S.
 Carmody, Prof. P. (Trinidad)
 Cassell & Co., Messrs.
 Castaldi, E. (Malta)
 Central African Times (Blantyre, B.C.A.), Proprietors of
 Central Provinces of India, Government of the
 Central South African Railways, General Manager of
 Ceylon, Collector of Customs
 Ceylon, Government of
 Ceylon Independent, Proprietors of
 Ceylon, Medical College
 Ceylon Observer, Proprietors of
 Ceylon, Postmaster-General
 Ceylon Standard, Proprietors of
 Ceylon, Surveyor-General
 Ceylon, Times of, Proprietors of
 Chalmers, Dr. A. J. (Ceylon)
 Charlottetown Herald (P.E.I.), Proprietors of
 Chemist and Druggist of Australasia, Proprietors of
 Chidell, E. F.
 China Mail (Hong Kong), Proprietors of
 Christchurch Press (New Zealand), Proprietors of
 Christian Literature Society (Ceylon)
 Chronicle (South Australia), Proprietors of
 Church Missionary Society
 Church Notes (Jamaica), Editor of
 Citizen, Proprietors of
 Clarion (British Honduras) Proprietors of
 Clark, J. Murray, K.C. (Canada)
 Clarke, Henry
 Clarke & Co., Messrs. James
 Clay & Sons, Messrs. C. J.
 Clougher, Thomas R.
 Clowes & Sons, Messrs. William
 Coghlan, T. A. (New South Wales)
 Cold Storage, Proprietors of
 Colliery Guardian, Proprietors of
 Colombo Museum (Ceylon)
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 Greytown Gazette (Natal), Proprietors of
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 Hyderabad, Resident at
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 Imperial Trades Directory of South Africa, Proprietors of
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 sioners
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 Table Talk (Melbourne), Proprietors of
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 Tramway and Railway World, Pro-
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 Turks and Caicos Islands, The Com-
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 Tyneside Geographical Society
 Uganda, H.M. Commissioner
 Umtata Herald (Cape Colony), Pro-
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 culture
 United States, Department of State
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 Velayouthum, M. R. (Ceylon)
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 Walsh, John E. (Canada)
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 mania)
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 Weedon, Warren (Queensland)
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Purchase	386	375	11,836	—	—
Total	1,348	1,841	43,959	62	176

The Hon. Treasurer, Sir MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O. : The Report of the Council and the accounts attached to it place the financial position of the Institute so fully and clearly before you that it leaves me really very little to say. At all events it relieves me of the necessity of any prolonged trespass on your patience, or any attempt at elaborate analysis of the figures, and I will confine myself to inviting attention in the briefest possible terms to a few of the more salient and prominent features of the accounts. The statement of receipts and payments really calls for very little comment. It presents you with the usual information as regards our sources of income, which are of course mainly the life subscriptions, the entrance fees, and the subscriptions of our Fellows, and in addition there is also a not inconsiderable sum we derive from the rent of that part of our premises we do not ourselves require. On the payment side you will find the details of the working expenses, so to speak, of the Institute, the cost of running our Journal, the two yearly dissipations—the annual dinner and the conversazione, and the other usual details. The outcome of all this is that our income this year amounts to

£7,628, which is a little below the income of last year. The difference is entirely due to the rather smaller amount of life subscriptions received this year, and these life subscriptions are, of course, and always must be, a fluctuating and uncertain quantity. The number of our Fellows is, this year, 4,472—that is to say, that in spite of the very regrettable list of losses by death, our numbers show some small increase on those of last year. But I think perhaps the statement of assets and liabilities is even a more interesting document for the Fellows. Our total assets amount to £62,198, and the whole of our liabilities to only £5,296, showing the very satisfactory balance of assets over liabilities of no less than £56,902. The Fellows may regard that balance with the greatest satisfaction because, while our liabilities are of course completely stated, our assets are estimated upon what I think I may call a most moderate and conservative basis. I do not say anything about over-due subscriptions, which have been written down at a very moderate figure, but the main items of our assets—namely, our property in this Institute and the value of our library—are certainly not, in any sense, overstated. The building and freehold are both taken at their absolute cost price, no allowance having been made for the increase in value which has taken place of recent years. The increase in the value of our library, which, under the excellent administration of our librarian, is becoming every year more fully appreciated as a means of providing information for all interested in Colonial questions, is estimated simply on the basis of books paid for, and no account is taken of the large number of donations which we receive during the year and the value of which is considerable. Therefore I think I am justified in saying our assets are certainly not overstated. But there is one figure in this statement which appeals to me, and I think will also appeal to you in a striking manner, and that is the figure relating to our debt. I would remind you that the debt was incurred for the purpose of acquiring the freehold of this admirable site and for erecting this handsome and commodious building. The total cost of the two was something like £50,000, of which £15,000 was provided either by donations or from the accumulated surpluses of past years, and £35,020 was borrowed in the year 1886 to make up the amount. It seems to me to have been a somewhat bold policy on the part of the then Council to saddle the Institute with the comparatively large burden of debt at a time when our income was some 20 per cent. less than now and the number of our Fellows barely one half. But that policy has, I think, been most abundantly justified by the

event; for to-day there remains unpaid out of that debt only the trifling sum of £4,780, and your Council hope that in the course of 1906 the whole of the remaining sum will have been paid off, and that we shall find ourselves the unencumbered possessors of our own freehold. I think you will agree that to have extinguished this debt in twenty years is an achievement of which your Council have every right to be proud. The Institute owes its present satisfactory position in this and other respects very largely to the courage, the intelligent foresight, and the business capacity of the Council which watched over the first twenty years of its existence. Very many of the Council, I am sorry to say, are no longer with us, but our esteemed Chairman to-day, Sir Frederick Young, has been associated with this Institute from the first. He has most ungrudgingly devoted himself to its best interests; he has never spared himself in his efforts to promote its well being and progress, and it must be, I am sure, a source of immense gratification to him to-day to realise the very large measure of success that has attended the efforts of himself and his colleagues towards attaining that high standard of imperial usefulness which they set themselves as their aim and object when they founded this Institute. For myself, I think I am fully justified in repeating to-day those congratulations to the Fellows which it has been my good fortune to be able to offer them on many previous occasions. I congratulate you very sincerely not only upon the satisfactory accounts for the year 1904, which I am able to place before you, but also upon the secure and permanent position which the Institute has succeeded in securing to itself in the public estimation, not only in this country, but everywhere throughout His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a matter of great pleasure and gratification to me that I am able on this occasion to preside over the meeting of this Institute. It is pretty well known that I was one of its original members and that since its foundation, thirty-six years ago, I have devoted no little time and energy to its development. I am, of course, very proud to think that the Institute occupies such a powerful position at the present day. I would like also to thank my friend, Sir Montagu Ommanney, for his kind allusion to myself personally. Before alluding to the Report I have the pleasant duty of informing you of a gracious act on the part of our Patron, His Majesty the King, in signing, with his own hand, the Coronation portrait of himself which occupies a conspicuous place in the council room and the value of which is of course very much enhanced by His Majesty having so kindly consented to place his signature to

it. This is an honour done to the Institute which will be much appreciated by every one of the Fellows throughout His Majesty's dominions. In this connection I have to announce that during last week the Council received two gifts of more than usual interest, one a fine medallion portrait by Woolner of W. C. Wentworth, the Australian Statesman, which has been presented by Mr. F. H. Dangar; and the other, for which we are indebted to Sir Hubert Jerningham and Mr. S. Vaughan Morgan, a medallion by the same artist representing Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, late Secretary of State for the Colonies, as he was in 1879—the latter a most admirable likeness. A bust in bronze of the late Mr. Cecil Rhodes has also been generously promised by Sir James Blyth. I am glad to be able to congratulate you on the fact that the number of Fellows and the annual income of the Institute are well maintained, and in fact perusal of the table in the Report will show you how steady and satisfactory in these respects has been the progress of the Institute since its foundation. We have also to congratulate ourselves on the fact, as mentioned by our Honorary Treasurer, that the debt has been reduced to so comparatively small an amount, which we sincerely hope in the course of next year will be wholly liquidated. You are aware that for some years we have let a part of the Institute building to the Admiralty; its lease of twenty-one years expires in the middle of next year, and the Council are already considering what can best be done in that matter. It is mentioned in the Report that on the occasion of the annual Dinner the Chair was taken by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Lyttelton, a circumstance which shows, as previous gatherings of the kind have shown, that the Institute enjoys the confidence of those who are directly engaged in the administration of the affairs of the Empire, and this of course is a matter of no small importance to us. The character of the papers read at the ordinary meetings has been well maintained. Those of us who attend these meetings pretty regularly have occasion to remark time after time that they are sufficiently attractive to bring together a large roomful of people interested in various part of the Empire, and that these are not necessarily always the same people. One of the chief functions of the Institute is to afford information to enquirers on subjects relating to the Colonies and to India. It is indeed a great satisfaction to us to see that the Institute is increasingly made use of in this direction year by year. It is one of those features of the Institute of which I feel especially proud. From my excellent friend Mr. O'Halloran, downwards, we have a staff that is always able and willing to give

every information that comes within our province, not only to Fellows, but even to others who are not so connected with the Institute. I always feel considerable pride in drawing attention to the Library, which contains an invaluable collection of works on all questions connected with the Colonies. In this respect we claim it to be the best Library in all the King's dominions. We have here information that is not always accessible at some of the best Libraries in the whole Kingdom, and certainly not in the Provinces. The Report next alludes to the proposed Colonial Conference, and the Council cordially believe that the free interchange of opinion at such conferences must be of great value. The Council have repeatedly drawn attention to the hardship of the levy of double income-tax within the Empire, and they will not fail to persist in their representations in this matter until some relaxation has been obtained. We note with satisfaction that the Death Duties Reciprocity Bill¹ has passed the Legislature of New South Wales, and that thus a long-standing obstacle to the investment of capital in the State will be removed as soon as the necessary Order in Council has been obtained. The Report also alludes to the question of diffusing a more general and intelligent knowledge of the Empire. This is a matter which has for many years engaged the attention of the Council. In this connection I would draw attention to an interesting development which has recently been brought about through the preparation by a Committee under the authority of the Secretary of State of a syllabus of a course of lectures on the United Kingdom primarily for delivery in the schools of the Eastern Colonies. About the value of this method of visual instruction I think there cannot be two opinions, for the eye is the great educator. The Council rejoice to hear that recent years have witnessed a great development of the resources of Canada, and that there has been a marked improvement in the seasons throughout Australia, and they have offered their congratulations to the Government on the satisfactory arrangements concluded as regards the Newfoundland fisheries question. The latter is a matter of special gratification to them, because so far back as thirty years ago they drew Report expressing the opinion that the time had even then at when the existing state of things should be put an end to. ence is also made in the Report to the state of affairs in South and West Africa, and also to Tibet, and I may mention that the distinguished head of the Mission, Sir Frank Younghusband, is a Fellow of this Institute. In conclusion I would

¹ The Stamp Duties (Deductions) Act, 1904, N.S.W.

say that a perusal of the Report will show how varied and important are the matters which have engaged the attention of the Council during the past year, and I trust that what they have done will meet with the approval of the Fellows. I now move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Mr. P. F. WOOD: I have great pleasure in seconding the Motion. At the same time I desire to take the opportunity of testifying to the up-to-date manner in which this Institute is managed. It reflects, I think, credit on all concerned. I come into the Institute from time to time, and always find the officials themselves most ready to help in every possible way they can. In spite of the fact that there are over 4,000 Members, I could wish that there was an even larger number, and I think that there ought to be. Since I joined the Institute I have been extremely pleased, and I can certainly assure those who are not already Members that the Council give a very good return for what we give them. I believe there is a song that the Cambridge undergrads often sing, a line of which says: "We have not got the whole world yet, but we are getting them one by one," and so I may say that I do trust that many more gentlemen will join and avail themselves of this magnificent Library and of all the other advantages which are so liberally put at the disposal of the Fellows. I congratulate the Council on the work they have done, and hope the Institute will be more and more successful as time goes on.

Captain G. P. HEATH, R.N.: I am glad to see that the question of the double income-tax is still engaging the attention of the Council. On many of us the present arrangement bears very hardly. During the Boer War I was paying 2s. 4d. income-tax on the same money. You are perhaps aware that I had some correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the matter some two years ago, but I did not get much sympathy. It was probably a bad time to bring forward anything of the kind; anyhow all the satisfaction I got was a copy of the reply sent to the Royal Colonial Institute some eight years ago. I would remind you that the position of things now is very different. Moreover, the Income-Tax Act under which the money is collected is some sixty years old and entirely out of keeping with the conditions that exist now between the Mother Country and the Colonies. If you once pay a tax on your income in any part of the Empire I contend that that ought to be sufficient, and I hope that now we have a more sympathetic Chancellor of the Exchequer something may be done to give us relief.

Mr. CHARLES COWEN : I am one of the very few gentlemen in this room who can look back to the days when this Institute used to meet in the little room of the Society of Arts, in fact in any place where could be found shelter for the time being. It was a little peripatetic thing, not much recognised by the public, and not, as to-day, an Institution exercising an influence, not simply in our Colonies, but on the Imperial Government itself. My old friend at the table, Mr. Goodliffe, can look back with me to the days when the Royal Colonial Institute was little thought of in South Africa, and now we look forward to the action of the Institute as a body of light and leading in the Councils of this country for the benefit of every part of the Empire. It is an Institution recognised throughout all the Colonies, as well as in South Africa, as one which comes to the front and does its best in the interests of any Colony which requires assistance for the time being. The fact that the Institute has been established for so many years, and has done so much, marks a period in the history of our Colonies. Sometimes when I want information at the British Museum, I find I cannot get exactly what I require, but I come here and find concentrated under this roof the most valuable collection of works I believe in the United Kingdom ; for here you get the history of every Colony, and can touch every point, whether of history or of law. This is a very important thing for anyone belonging to the Colonies who comes to this country and who has work to do for the benefit of his Colony. I certainly think that every Colonist who comes to this country should take a pride in this Institute, and to do his best to sustain the hands of the Council in making it what the Council wish it to be. I trust the next development will be the provision of a hall for the Institute large enough to hold all its various meetings, instead of our having to go to another place, as we now do. I feel sure I echo the sentiments of every member when I express the hope that, when the lease is about to run out of the portion of the premises now occupied by the Admiralty, the Council may be able to tell us something of its intentions concerning the provision of a hall for our gatherings.

Mr. F. DUTTON : I am very glad the subject of the double income-tax has again been raised, because as you know that is a question in which the Council has always taken a great interest. It is a grievance which we hope we may one day be able to remove, but I am afraid we can only effect our object by persistent effort. We must all recognise that the Treasury occupies, in military parlance, a strongly fortified position, so that one can hardly hope

to capture even an outlying work except by very persistent attack. The only point to which I would draw your attention now is what I gather to be perhaps the most practical argument the Treasury has brought forward in refusing so far to remedy this grievance, and that is that the concession would involve a loss to the Imperial Revenue of some £500,000. I think a good many Fellows would agree with me that that, after all, is not such a serious loss for the Treasury to face; for undoubtedly this is a serious grievance which is deeply felt and resented by a large number of people. All of us who have been brought into business contact with various parts of the Empire must be aware that this is a question seriously affecting the investment of capital, for people do not care to invest capital where they have to submit to taxation in this double form, especially when it becomes a matter for consideration whether they should invest capital there or somewhere else where they have not this burden to bear. Moreover, this is an important matter even from the Treasury point of view. We hear a great deal nowadays about developing the trade relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies. Now the investment of capital and the development of our large Colonies must tend to increase the opportunities of trading, and of course in that sense would indirectly bring a considerable return to the Imperial Exchequer, and not only so, but promote the employment of labour in this country. It is therefore of some importance that we should take what opportunities present themselves of keeping this question alive. I hope that the officials of the Treasury will indeed look a little more sympathetically at the question, instead of always trying to find excuses for refusing the boon. Another point of considerable importance, although not mentioned in the Report, is the seriously disorganised condition into which the mail services to Australia have been thrown. Everybody who is engaged in business in Australia must have experienced within the last few days the great inconvenience of having the services thrown out of gear. Hitherto there has been a regular weekly service, and everybody has grown accustomed to it, but now that one of the branches has been stopped, for reasons with which personally I feel absolutely no sympathy, we experience the great inconvenience of being thrown back either upon an irregular service or upon the service that is only fortnightly. It is only right, I think, without wishing in any way to impute blame to any particular body, that attention should be drawn to this matter at the gathering of this Institute, engaged as so many of us are in business relations with the Colonies, and that

we should express a hope that some common sense may be imported into this matter, and at an early day the regular service be resumed.

Mr. H. F. BILLINGHURST: It is no doubt known to you all that relief from income tax has for long been granted in respect of Life Insurance Premiums, on insurances effected with Companies established in this country. Of late years some of the Colonial Companies, notably Canadian and Australian, have established agencies in this City, and they found that a similar concession was not extended in the case of premiums effected with them. The matter was agitated by the Colonial Companies for a long time. It was difficult to get the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Treasury to move, but I am happy now to be able to draw your attention to the fact, as mentioned in the Report, that by the Finance Act of last Session the concession has now been extended to companies established in any British possession. This, I think, will be a matter of satisfaction to all interested in this subject.

The Report and statements of accounts were then adopted.

The CHAIRMAN: I have to announce that the Council are re-elected as proposed on the ballot papers as reported by the scrutineers.

President.

H.R.H. The PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., G.C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.

H.R.H. PRINCE CHRISTIAN, K.G., G.C.V.O.	EARL OF MINTO, G.C.M.G.
DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.	EARL OF ONSLOW, G.C.M.G.
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G.	EARL OF ROSEBERRY, K.G., K.T.
DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, K.G.	LORD BRASSEY, K.C.B.
MARQUESS OF LINLITHGOW, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.	LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, G.C.M.G.
EARL OF ABERDEEN, G.C.M.G.	RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE, K.C.M.G.
EARL OF CRANBROOK, G.C.S.I.	SIR HENRY E. G. BULWER, G.C.M.G.
EARL OF DUNRAVEN, K.P., C.M.G.	HON. SIR ROBERT G. W. HERBERT, G.C.B.
EARL GREY, G.C.M.G.	SIR CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G.
EARL OF JERSEY, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.	SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

Councillors.

ADMIRAL SIR NATHANIEL BOWDEN- SMITH, K.C.B.	SIR THOMAS E. FULLER, K.C.M.G.
THE HON. T. A. BRASSEY.	SIR JAMES F. GARRICK, K.C.M.G.
ALLAN CAMPBELL, Esq.	MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY GREEN, K.C.S.I., C.B.
F. H. DANGAR, Esq.	ALFRED P. HILLIER, Esq., B.A., M.D.
FREDERICK DUTTON, Esq.	WALTER H. JAMES, Esq., K.C.
LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. BEVAN EDWARDS, K.C.M.G., C.B.	SIR HUBERT E. H. JERNINGHAM, K.C.M.G.

Councillors.—cont.

WILLIAM KESWICK, Esq., M.P.
 LIEUT.-GENERAL R. W. LOWRY, C.B.
 SIR NEVILLE LUBBOCK, K.C.M.G.
 SIR GEORGE S. MACKENZIE, K.C.M.G.,
 C.B.
 S. VAUGHAN MORGAN, Esq.
 SIR E. MONTAGUE NELSON, K.C.M.G.
 G. R. PARKIN, Esq., C.M.G., M.A., LL.D.

SIR WESTBY B. PERCEVAL, K.C.M.G.
 LIONEL PHILIPS, Esq.
 RIGHT HON. SIR J. WEST RIDGEWAY,
 G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
 MAJOR-GENERAL C. W. ROBINSON,
 C.B.
 SIR CHARLES E. F. STIRLING, BART.

Honorary Treasurer.

SIR MONTAGU F. OMMANNEY, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O.

The CHAIRMAN: It is now my duty to move "That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Honorary Treasurer, Sir Montagu F. Ommanney, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O.; the Honorary Corresponding Secretaries in the various Colonies; and the Honorary Auditors, Mr. F. H. Dangar and Mr. H. F. Billinghamurst, for their services during the past year."

As to our Honorary Treasurer, I need not tell you how admirably he has discharged his duties. It is not a case of merely perfunctory performance of duty. He signs every cheque and attends to every matter connected with the duties of his office, and I think that is a great deal to be able to say of a man occupying his high position in the public service. I trust we shall be able long to retain his services as Treasurer of this Institute. We have no fewer than fifty-three Honorary Corresponding Secretaries representing this Institute in various parts of the Empire. They are in constant communication with head-quarters, and they have rendered to this Institute most excellent service in a variety of ways. I think also we owe our hearty thanks to the Honorary Auditors for the way they have discharged their duties.

The Motion, seconded by Captain A. J. Crosby, was agreed to.

Mr. F. H. DANGAR: On behalf of Mr. Billinghamurst and myself I wish to thank you for the resolution. You have heard from our able Treasurer such a full statement of our position that I need not detain you. You have heard that during the year we paid off nearly £8,000, and that we hope in the course of 1906 to liquidate the whole of the debt on the Institute. The amount estimated from outstanding subscriptions will no doubt be realised; indeed, Mr. Chamberlain informs me that amongst our 1,800 resident Fellows there are only twenty-one at this moment who have not paid for the past year. In this building we have a splendid asset, worth more than £50,000—an asset which of course we never expect to have to realise.

Mr. H. DE R. WALKER moved : " That the thanks of the Fellows be accorded to the Council for their services to the Institute during the past year, and to the Chairman of this Meeting for presiding." We have heard of the trying time the Council had in the old days when they undertook their responsible duties. Though perhaps their duties may not be so trying at the present moment, we must all feel grateful to them for the work they do, and we have to thank them now in particular for their very interesting report. The Resolution also thanks Sir Frederick Young for his services in the chair this afternoon, and on behalf of the Fellows I think we should like to associate ourselves with every word that Sir Montagu Ommanney has spoken with regard to him. We congratulate Sir Frederick on the many years of strenuous work which he has devoted to Imperial service, and hope that he may be spared for many years to render further services to King and country.

Mr. R. COTTLE GREEN seconded the Motion, which was carried.

Mr. JOHN GOODLIFFE : Before we separate I wish to propose a vote of thanks to those to whom many thanks are due—I mean the Secretary and Staff of this Institute. We are all greatly indebted to them for their unvarying attention and courtesy, and the proposal is one to which I am sure you will give your warm assent.

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. Sebright Green and adopted. The Secretary responded.

The CHAIRMAN : On behalf of the Council I wish to thank you for the resolution you have just passed, and personally I have to thank Mr. Walker for his kind words in regard to myself. As I have already reminded you, I have devoted many years of my life to the advancement of the cause of this Institute—a body which I have always felt was doing a work for the national good, and as long as health and strength remain I shall continue to give it my best support. May I say I am just as earnest now as I was twenty or thirty years ago, when the Institute was in a very different position ? Attention has already been called to the numbers of Fellows whom we have lost by death, but there are two (Vice-Presidents) whom we especially mourn. There is my old friend Sir James Youl, who lived to a great age, and who was one of the founders of the Institute. The other is Field-Marshal Sir Henry Norman, who for many years was a Vice-President and active member of the Council. As long as health and strength permitted he attended the meetings of the Council, and we deplore the loss of that distinguished man as much as does every part of the Empire.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

AN AFTERNOON MEETING was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, February 28, 1905, when Mr. Hubert Reade read a Paper on "English Schools and Colonial Education: how can they be Linked?" Sir Thomas E. Fuller, K.C.M.G., presided.

The CHAIRMAN thought they might congratulate themselves, after having heard so much and for so long a time on fiscal reciprocity, that they were to spend an afternoon in talking about educational and intellectual reciprocity as a means of binding together the different members of the Empire. He had lately been reading about Greek colonisation. It was a wonderful story of the manner in which the intellectual life of Greece was carried to every Colony and returned by those Colonies, so that there was a sympathetic intellectual intercourse through the whole of Greece from the very first period of the establishment of such Colonies. The sacred fire which burnt in Athens and Corinth was re-kindled in every Colony and brought back again to the centres of Greek life, and upon that basis of literary as well as territorial expansion some of the noblest results were achieved in the history of that wonderful country.

ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND COLONIAL EDUCATION:
HOW CAN THEY BE LINKED?

SOME weeks ago I had the privilege of listening to Dr. Parkin's most interesting lecture on the Rhodes Scholarships.¹ The thought was in my mind, as I heard it, that he had only been called upon to deal with one part of the subject, and that it was possibly equally important to our Empire that the young Englishman desiring to settle in our Colonies should find the power of learning his life's calling under local conditions in those Colonies within his easy reach. Many means have been proposed of late for tightening the bonds which hold our Empire together. Perhaps not the least useful might be an Imperial Free Trade in brains.

The Rhodes Scholars came up to Oxford from the ends of the earth, their talk runs on the Canadian prairies and forests, on the African veld, and on the back-blocks of Australia, and if English youths are what they were of old, it is certain that their tales will

¹ *Proceedings Royal Colonial Institute*, November 8, 1904.

fire many a home-born comrade to go and see those marvels for himself, and live his life in the saddle instead of on the office stool.

The Rhodes Scholars, as Dr. Parkin once said to me, will act as Apostles of colonisation.

I do not know if Mr. Cecil Rhodes had this thought in his mind when he founded his scholarships. It may be that he had, for he would have found parallels in that early History of the Jesuits which he studied so closely ; but the result is one which must of necessity ensue from the resort to Oxford of Americans and Colonists from every land in the American and Colonial world, for the Englishman is not by nature a stay-at-home.

Moreover, the pressure of economic causes must needs drive the educated Englishman to emigrate in an ever-increasing ratio. The Army, Navy, and Civil Service have ceased to be a close preserve for the younger sons of the higher classes, whilst the cheapening of education which came as a necessary consequence of the era of Competitive Examinations has deprived Education of its value as a bread-winning instrument. Perhaps 400 out of the 8,000 undergraduates now at Oxford and Cambridge will ever earn a penny through their degrees ; nine men compete for every Civil Service, ten for every Army vacancy, the professions are overcrowded, few can make a living out of English land, and all the while, many a broad acre beyond the seas is crying out to the sons of the squire, of the lawyer, of the doctor, and of the clergyman to come over and make their homes in those Englands under other skies.

But, at the same time, Englishmen are gradually ceasing to take the lead in Colonial life : the toils of the pioneer may be theirs, but, too often, others come in to reap the fruits of those toils : Germans are outpacing Englishmen in every land under the Union Jack : the cradles of the Canadian North-West are filling with the children of the Icelandic, of the Russian, and of the citizen of the United States : the wealth of South Africa is not, as a rule, falling into English hands.

The causes of this phenomenon are complex, and I can scarcely even try to explain them in detail. To me they appear to be, firstly, the more practical education of the Germans in commercial subjects and geography ; secondly, because great wealth is now made rather by the manipulation of paper on the Stock Exchange than by perseverance and skill in industrial production ; lastly, the fact that English education has been given a wholly false direction and divorced from the realities of life by the system of University and Competitive examinations, so little in accordance

with the real needs of the competitors that even in that for the Army geography, for example, plays a wholly subordinate part.

In general these examinations tend to exercise the memory rather than the reflective powers on subjects which, in most cases, are of rather a theoretical than a practical value, and which are learnt by rote in a manner which might be very suitable for teaching an intelligent parrot. As a rule, they will not fit the learner for gaining a livelihood if he fails in his examination, and he who in these days goes up for such an examination without having resources of his own to fall back upon if unsuccessful, is indeed staking his happiness on the cast of a die.

If he continues at a crammer's till the eve of twenty, he has, as a rule, acquired habits which will certainly be a drag upon him in commercial life at home, and which will even more certainly be a very grave disadvantage to him if he seeks his bread in any of our Colonies.

What does such a lad, as a rule, know about our Colonies, and what does he imagine Colonial life to be? He has generally been taught the geography of Ancient Greece and Southern Italy at school, and could give the names of every river and mountain in Arcadia, but he most probably has never heard of the Darling or of the Saskatchewan—your humble servant confesses that he himself, at this moment, cannot recall the name of a single New Zealand river—and would be sorely puzzled to give the modern equivalent of the Eighteenth Century Acadie. If he takes his views of Colonial life from certain highly coloured posters, he doubtless pictures to himself the prosperous land agent riding about the big squire's estate near his home, or imagines himself a trooper in the Cape Mounted Rifles or the North-West Mounted Police. He never dreams that, if he is to succeed, his lot will be for many a year that of the labourer at his father's gates, or that, in a very literal sense, he may have to go out into the fields to feed swine.

How is he to get more accurate information when the door of Burlington House has closed behind him for the last time? As a rule, not from his former pastors or masters, for they know nothing of the Colonies. You all know the Emigrants' Information Bureau, which is to be found in Broadway, Westminster, and which is under the superintendence of the Colonial Office. I think those connected with it will tell you that they rarely or never receive an inquiry from the tutor of a university, or from the master of a public school, and that the letters which reach them from intending emigrants of the upper classes usually relate to countries like East

Africa. Both the Canadian and the Cape Governments have exceedingly zealous and well-qualified Emigration Agents in London. Their experience is nearly the same.

The "Oxford Calendar" gives a list of fourteen out of the twenty recognised Colonial Universities whose students may enter Oxford with equivalent standing under the "Colonial and Indian Students" statute. It does not give a single particular as to how Oxford undergraduates can enter McGill, the Agricultural College of Ontario, the Mining classes of the University of the Cape of Good Hope, or the Transvaal Institute; whilst I was told by a gentleman of great Indian and academic experience who took a leading part in drawing up the statute which I have referred to above, that the framers had not thought it necessary at the time to require reciprocity from any Colonial University for the admission of Oxford undergraduates. The "Eton Calendar" furnishes full particulars as to the mode of entering the Army, Navy, Civil and Diplomatic Services—a boy intending to go to the Bar or into the Church finds every step of the way made plain; but it cannot find space to give the addresses of the Agents-General for the Colonies in London, or to state how boys intending to emigrate can be trained as engineers or agriculturists in their new homes. Yet I have read that, within five years of the occupation of Matabeleland, four hundred Etonians attended a Fourth of June dinner at Bulawayo, whilst, when the Cape Government, on two occasions, advertised the advantages of Elsenburg Agricultural College in England, they were overwhelmed with applications for admission. Guelph has had the same experience, and the Ontario Government, to prevent the college being monopolised by English lads, was forced to demand a year's practical work on a farm in Ontario as the preliminary for admission. Even under these circumstances, there are numerous English students at Guelph, of whom, as the Principal informs me, many are doing well.

But our would-be emigrant, as a rule, knows nought of these things. At best he puts himself into the hands of an English emigration agent or replies to some of the highly coloured advertisements in the fashionable English papers, and quite possibly ends by losing both his premium and his time as the victim of a farm pupil industry in Canada, or as a creeper in Ceylon. At worst, he goes off "on his own" with credit at his banker's, and an outfit which would do credit to "Robinson Crusoe" at Drury Lane, to fall a victim to the first tout who picks him up on the quay at Cape Town, glancing the while over his shoulder at his

old haunts on the breakwater, to lose what capital he has in rotten gold shares or in "faked" farms—for farms as well as mines can be faked for the English market—and to end his days as a remittance man, a victim to whisky or Cape smoke, in some Trans-Limpopian bar. Such is the history of the Colonial career of many a bright young fellow who, if properly trained at the outset, might have added yet one more to the happy homes which Englishmen of good birth and breeding are building up beneath the Southern Cross, and which, let me remind those who control the destinies of South Africa, will afford a far surer basis for society under its peculiar economic conditions than would the shifting democracy of Australia or even of Canada. The American Revolution, led as it was by the sons of a landed aristocracy, was the most conservative in history, and the conditions which prevail in South Africa to-day are not wholly unlike those of Virginia or of Maryland before 1776.

But the Colonial Universities and Technical Schools on their side do little or nothing to bring themselves before the youth of England, or to build a bridge from Eton or Oxford to their doors. It is true, for instance, that McGill University does recognise the certificates of the Senior University Local Examinations in England as equivalent to its own Matriculation Examination; but in the case of the engineering classes, which for English students are the most important, the combination of subjects which would be required to qualify for entering them is one which would be very rarely taken by an English student unacquainted beforehand with the conditions of entering McGill, and, consequently, he would almost certainly have to pass a further examination in mathematics at the discretion of the faculty of engineering after his arrival in Canada, for the Matriculation Examination, formerly held in London, appears to have been suspended. At Guelph matriculated students of any university are admitted to the course for the B.Sc.A. degree after, as I have said, a preliminary year's work on an Ontarian farm, but even holders of the certificates of the Oxford Senior Local Examination would have, if I understand the "Calendar," to pass an entrance examination of which Canadian geography forms a part. The University of Winnipeg promises no special facilities for the admission of English students. The mining courses of the University of the Cape of Good Hope can only be attended by those who hold the Cape University Matriculation Certificate, which again can only be obtained by passing an examination in Cape Town, and neither Elsenburg nor the Transvaal Institute provides any means in England for entering students. In short, no one,

I learn on the highest official authority, can enter any South African Technical Institute without passing an examination after his arrival in South Africa, an examination which in the case of Elsenburg corresponds to the sixth standard of a Board School.

As regards the admission of students with "equivalent standing," McGill requires a tedious individual negotiation, during which, amongst other details, the student must produce the Calendar of his University, and which, in any case, has to be carried on with the Registrar of the University. As a consequence, out of 1,132 students at McGill this session, only eleven are English.

Nor are our home authorities faultless in the matter. The "Oxford Calendar," as I have said, does not give any information as to the conditions of the admission of students to Colonial Technical Institutes, and I think none of the printed particulars as to the Oxford Senior Local Examination show the conditions under which these certificates can be used as equivalent to the McGill Engineering Matriculation. Yet, surely, many of their holders, if they know the real state of the case, would prefer to enter the Engineering Classes at McGill in place of going up to Oxford to drift later on into a London Board School. I should be the last to disparage the work done by Oxford graduates amongst the London children, but I think that many of those engaged in it might lead happier and as useful lives beyond the Atlantic. Yet Oxford is the home of the Rhodes Scholars.

Yet, at the same time, the Calendar of McGill gives the fullest information as to the means by which McGill students can enter Oxford, whilst that of Winnipeg devotes three pages to instructing its Rhodes Scholar in the habits and customs of his new comrades. Evidently some of the rulers of that University must have enjoyed Mr. Calderon's skit on "Downey V. Green."

Such are the evils which are wrought by want of thought. I feel convinced that I have only to mention them to ensure that steps shall be taken to remove them.

The means for this work are, I think, ready to our hands.

At this moment a Departmental Committee of the English Board of Education is sitting to consider some proposals which have been made by Professor Hele-Shaw, as organiser of the Transvaal Institute, to the Royal College of Mines, whilst at the same time the Government of India are considering proposals for the establishment of classes in mining engineering at the Sibpur College for the training of assistants and managers for the Bengal collieries. I should explain that Professor Hele-Shaw's

mission is to arrange the conditions under which third year students of the Royal College of Mines can proceed to the Transvaal for a year's practical work on the Rand mines under the auspices of the Transvaal Institute, and also those under which the Council of the Royal College of Mines can fill up certain scholarships tenable in South Africa.

Is it not possible that the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and India should arrange with the President of the Board of Education to extend the references of this committee so as to empower them to inquire into the whole subject of the connection between English higher education and Colonial and Indian technical education, and to this end, should they deem it necessary, strengthen the Committee by the appointment of members representing our public schools and universities, and also Canada, South Africa, and India?

I think I can foreshadow what the report of such a Committee would be.

They would, I think, recommend that means should be provided by which an English boy desiring to enter McGill, Sibpur, or the Transvaal Institute should be able to get full particulars as to the curriculum, mode of entering, and fees of those institutions on official authority in England; to obtain, likewise, some particulars as to the prospects of employment open to pupils leaving them, and to enter his name, pass his entrance examination, and pay the first instalment of his annual fees before leaving England.

As the India Office appears to me already to possess machinery which could be utilised for such purposes, I will take the instance of the son of an Anglo-Indian who wished to become an agriculturist or engineer in Bengal.

As you know, the India Office already insists that those who have successfully competed at the Civil Service competitive examination and chosen to enter its service, should pass the two following years in study at some approved University and, I understand, has an official especially told off to superintend these students.

If our embryo engineer, as things stand to-day, wished to enter Sibpur, he would, unless he had done so as an apprentice, have to present the testamur of some Indian University examination in lieu of matriculation.

Under my proposed system he would have to enrol his name with the India Office official, who would examine his testimonials as to moral conduct, and also his certificates of fitness for entrance,

which, as the India Office is not an examining body, would consist in the certificates of some examination which had been approved of by the Departmental Committee of the Education Board as a substitute for matriculation. The India Office, after enrolling a student, who might pay a small fee for the service, would furnish him with all particulars as to Sibpur, including possibly, as is done at Winnipeg University, some hints as to outfit and the like, and should, after receiving his fee in advance, arrange, if necessary, for his passage to India at his own expense. Twice a year the official should circulate the particulars I have mentioned amongst all the places of higher education in England, his reports being laid yearly before Parliament, and sent out on the first occasion with a brief covering letter from the Secretary of State, which would carry even more weight if it were directed individually to each head of a college or headmaster concerned.

Above all things, however, it should be made abundantly clear that, although the Government of India gives all the information in its power to those entering its colleges as to the prospects of employment open to them on leaving, it did not in any way guarantee Government employment to such graduates or diploma-holders.

It is true that such machinery does not exist at the Colonial Office, and that it could not be created without the sanction of the Treasury, but I hardly think that this sanction, if asked for, would be withheld.

As regards the standard of the examinations which should be accepted in lieu of matriculation, I think that the Senior Local University Examinations, the Science Matriculation of the London University, and others of the same calibre, should readily be accepted by the Colonial Universities and Technical Institutes as qualifying for admission to their full course, pending the establishment of that general final examination for secondary schools which was, I believe, recommended by the Headmasters' Conference.

Two difficulties as to carrying out my suggestions will probably present themselves to my hearers.

It will be said that, on the one hand, they would, if adopted, lower the standard of the Colonial degrees ; on the other, that their adoption would lead to the risk that Government might lend its sanction to bogus institutions.

The first danger might be met by fixing the standard of the examination in lieu of matriculation at a sufficiently high level, whilst the wants of those students from England who did not wish

to enter for the diploma or degree might be satisfied by the establishment of "outcourses," similar to those established for "conditional students" at McGill or for "associates" at Guelph, to which admission should be granted on the exhibition of the applicant's leaving testimonials from his former school, officially certified in London, and in which certificates should be given after examination in the subject actually examined in. These "outcourses" would be of great use to many a student who wished to learn something of the country before setting up for himself, or to complete by study under local conditions the theoretical and practical knowledge he had already acquired at home. These classes should, of course, be entered for in England, or, at all events, all particulars regarding them should be widely accessible here. An Eton Master of great experience has pointed out to me that they would be especially valuable to boys who had taken up "Science" for Competitive Examinations.

As regards the Universities and Technical Institutes to be placed on the official list, I think none save those belonging to some Colonial Government, or approved of by some English University under its "Colonial and Indian Student" Statute, should in the first instance be enrolled. Subsequently, more especially if the assistance of the local Rhodes Scholarship Committees could be secured, it might be possible to admit others to the list on a certificate signed by the Governor and Chief Justice of the Colony, so as to place political aspects of the question out of court.

One reform which I think many of the Colonial Technical Institutes might make has, I see, already been inaugurated by the Transvaal Institute. I allude to the provision of Hostels under the system of the Oxford Statute on Hostels, licensed by the University or Institute authorities, in which students from England might live under University discipline at a moderate expense. Probably many lecturers and professors might be glad to add to their incomes by keeping such houses.

Under such conditions as these I think that almost any young man of education, and with some small means, desiring to settle in one of our Colonies would prefer to pass a certain period at one of their Universities or Technical Institutes in place of plunging by himself into an unknown world, whilst even our budding legislators might gain more real knowledge of our possessions by spending a term or two in study at a University of Winnipeg or an Agricultural College in the Transvaal than by basing their assertions as to our Empire on a hasty scamper round the globe

whether from hotel to hotel or from Government House to Government House.

Considering the vast schemes for Technical Education which are now being considered in India, in Canada, and in South Africa, I am perhaps not taking time by the forelock when I advocate an examination of the question as to how they can best be rendered useful to English students.

My theme is but a humble one. I have no tale to tell you of the conquest of some tropic wild or of some new Empire reared in a night beyond the seas. I would only call your attention to those well-born and well-educated English lads who come forth each year in hundreds from our great schools to find no opening for their talents here at home, and who, if taken in hand in time, and trained in your Colonial schools, may be made useful and honoured citizens of the new England beyond the seas.

I think, therefore, my subject is one not unworthy of the best attention of the Council and Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute.

N.B.—Since writing the above I have received from Canada the "Queen's Quarterly" for January, 1905. Professor Coppen, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, suggests that, so far as Canada is concerned, my scheme could easily be carried out, as Canadian Institutions would probably accept Head Masters' Certificates attested by the High Commissioner as entrance for "out-classes."

DISCUSSION.

SIR PHILIP MAGNUS said we had lately heard a great deal about the means of cementing more closely the ties between the Colonies and the Mother Country, and much difference of opinion had been expressed and was likely to continue to be expressed as to some of the means suggested. Personally he agreed that any measure which tended to facilitate the co-education of the young men, and he might say the young women, of the various parts of the Empire was likely to help in binding together the Colonies with the Mother Country more efficiently than any merely artificial means. In regard to what Mr. Reade said about the Germans as Colonists, he thought there could be no doubt that a great part of the education given at the German Gymnasias or Realschulen was better fitted to train a young man for engaging in working away from home than the education received at one

of our public schools. He learnt far more about the history and geography of the world, and he learnt to attach more importance to details, and to concern himself with practical work to a greater extent than was possible through the education given in many of our schools. Mr. Reade referred to the reciprocal arrangement between the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and some of the Colonial Universities, but had not referred in any detail to similar arrangements between the University of London and the Colonial Universities. Personally he believed that the future great school for engineering and commercial work would be in connection with the London University, which was already endeavouring to associate itself with both foreign and our Colonial Universities. Students who had obtained degrees in any Colonial University could come to the University of London and at once enter upon a post-graduate course. It would be desirable, he thought, that similar arrangements should be made by which London undergraduates might be able to complete their graduate course at Colonial Universities and proceed to the Colonies, there to carry on research work which could not be so well pursued here. These relations were likely in the near future to be greatly strengthened. As a means to some extent of associating the instruction given in the Colonies with that carried on in this country, the City and Guilds of London Institute, which was practically the Department of Technology in this country, held examinations in the different Colonies and in India, where technical students were submitted to the same conditions of examination as those in this country, and received certificates granted by the authorities of the department. The number of candidates during past years had increased very much, and the arrangements for the technical education of young men in several of our Colonies were founded on schemes adopted in this country and differed from them in few particulars. Mr. Reade had referred to a Departmental Committee appointed by the Board of Education. He did not know whether Mr. Reade was referring to the Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education, which had for its reference the consideration of the future working of the Royal College of Science and the Royal School of Mines, and their relations to other institutions now existing or likely to exist. (Mr. Reade, "That is so.") He happened to be a member of the Committee, and, although he was not in the position to say what recommendations would be adopted, he thought he might say that the members would be inclined to look favourably upon any suggestions by which the

mining or engineering education in any of our Colonies could be more closely associated than at present with such education in this country.

The Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., stated that he spoke not only as connected with Eton and with Cambridge University but also as a B.A. of Adelaide University, which latter was an honour he was very proud to possess. He made some of his greatest friends in South Australia, and he was glad to think that many of those who came from the Colonies had brought into our Universities a fresh life and vigour, which stirred them all up and prevented them getting stale, while on the other hand those who went to the Colonies from this country carried as it were a whiff of the historical atmosphere which pervaded Eton and the older Universities. At a time when education was tending to what he might call more practical lines—that is, when men were asking themselves what would pay best—it was desirable that something of the humanitarian side should be kept clearly before us all as an ideal. After all, he held it was necessary that the special character of Oxford and Cambridge should be preserved. He happened to be head of Cambridge House, a settlement in the poorest part of London, and he might mention that they had living with them there one who after leaving Rugby and proposing to be a mechanical engineer went to be matriculated at the Stephen's Institute in the United States. If more of that sort of thing could be done, he believed it would tend to save us at home from mere conventionality and unite us more closely with the Colonies. The whole world would be waiting to see what would happen at Cambridge this week when the vote was taken as to whether Greek should be a compulsory subject for entrance. It might really be a good thing for England if the proposal to do away with compulsory Greek was rejected, because the result possibly might be to turn the eyes of Englishmen who wanted a more scientific education to our Colonies. If we could have more of this give and take amongst ourselves he could well understand that this Empire which we all so dearly love would indeed be bound together for all time.

Dr. R. D. ROBERTS (University of London) considered that as to the desirability of closer connection between the Mother Country and the Colonies along the lines laid down there could not be two opinions. The writer of the Paper had made two practical suggestions; the first was that an effort should be made to arrange with the important Universities and Institutions in the Colonies to accept the certificates which carried weight in England in lieu

of their matriculation examinations, so as to make it easier for students going out from England to go through a course of study in the Colonial Institutions. A great deal had happened within the last year which smoothed the way for carrying out some such proposal. Reference had been made to a recommendation of the Head-Masters' Conference that there should be a general leaving certificate, but that movement had by now gone very much further. The Consultative Committee of the Board of Education had published a scheme for a general leaving certificate which was still under consideration, but the University of London since its re-organisation had itself developed a leaving certificate scheme almost exactly upon the lines which were afterwards laid down in the report of the Consultative Committee, and had since succeeded by negotiation with Oxford and Cambridge in coming to an agreement by which their respective certificates should under certain conditions carry admission to any one of the three Universities. Once there had been established in that way a general recognised standard for these certificates, it would be very much easier to get Colonial Universities to accept those certificates. The difficulty suggested of the danger of lowering the standard of Colonial degrees would not arise at all, because the standard of our University examinations here was, he imagined, higher, or at any rate not lower, than the standard in the Colonial Universities. Thus the way was now being very much cleared for a general arrangement with the Colonial Universities. What was now coming about by this common agreement on the part of the three great Universities was that a boy passing through a good secondary school would at the age of about seventeen pass an examination held by one or other of the great Universities which would admit him to any one of them, and they had now only to arrange with the Colonies to admit him also to any of the Colonial Universities without further examination. He hoped that some approach would be made to the Colonial institutions with a view to seeing whether some step in that direction could not be taken, and the more the public realised its importance the more easy would it be to get a friendly response from the Colonial institutions. He thought therefore that nothing but good could come from such discussion as that in which they were engaged. With regard to Mr. Reade's second suggestion, namely, that the Universities in England and other institutions should provide themselves with the necessary information as to the conditions of admission to these Colonial institutions and set that information before their students, he

thought also that discussion would be productive of good. He imagined that the reason why the Universities had not taken the trouble to find out the conditions of entrance to Colonial Universities was that they had not realised there was any large number of young men desirous of going to the Colonies. The more it could be made apparent that there were great openings in the Colonies, if they were approached in the right way, the more would the universities and schools realise that it was an essential part of their duty to obtain this information, and place it within reach of their students. It was interesting to know that in one way or another, without much publicity, links were being forged between England and the Colonies on intellectual lines. About a year ago the authorities of the London University received an application from the Local University Extension Committee in Perth, Western Australia, asking if they could arrange to send out a lecturer under the University Extension scheme, to help them with the work they were carrying on there. The Committee offered a certain sum as a fee, which, however, they acknowledged would not do much more than pay expenses; but fortunately, by the generous aid of the Gilchrist Trustees, one of whom was the Secretary of State for the Colonies, a grant was made to supplement what was offered and the University was able to send out a lecturer, who gave a course of lectures in Perth and the neighbouring district. The lectures evoked the greatest enthusiasm, the audiences numbering a thousand or twelve hundred persons, and the interest aroused was so great that the movement which had just begun for establishing a University for the Colonies received a great impetus. The Committee had applied again this year for another lecturer, and it would be possible, he hoped, in the same way to meet their wishes and send out another lecturer who would deal with another subject, and give further help in the promotion of their University movement. He believed that in one way or another there were thus being set up links of connection on the intellectual side between the Colonies and Great Britain which would bring about the closer union they all so ardently desired.

Mr. E. T. SCAMMELL stated that the Western Australian Government were paying much attention at the present time to the question of land settlement and had established two experimental farms, so that a young fellow who went out and wished to have some training might be taught the general theory and practice of agriculture, fruit-growing, and stock-raising at a small outlay. For two guineas a year he might go into one of these schools, finding

only his own bed linen and clothing. Certain regulations had been drawn up for one or two years' work as the case might be, in order to equip the student properly for agricultural work in the Colonies. He thought the meeting would be agreed as to the importance of this scheme and its bearing on the subject of the lecture.

Mrs. ORD MARSHALL, Hon. Sec. League of the Empire, explained the operations of that organisation, and stated that the League had a world-wide machinery established for dealing with many of the points raised by Mr. Reade. They had agents appointed by Government authorities in different countries to write up the information he spoke of on the spot, and this information was published and transmitted freely through the Empire. It was the aim of the League to place the knowledge of parallel conditions within everybody's reach and with the smallest labour and expense for their practical use. She supposed they were now influencing over 400,000 children to acquire first-hand information of other parts of the Empire, and at the present moment they were under negotiations with two County Councils for the affiliation of the schools of two whole English counties. They were placing all types of schools in connection with each other for the information they wanted. The work, she added, was actively supported by the Education Departments in all countries of the Empire.

Dr. G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G., said that of course he naturally had been very much interested in the Paper. In speaking recently before the Institute he doubted whether he had referred to what struck him as one of the most important outcomes of the Scholarship scheme established by Mr. Cecil Rhodes at Oxford. There were always hundreds of young men round the Universities here who did not know what to do with themselves when their college course was over, yet, from one's knowledge of the outer spaces of the world, one felt that there must be numbers of grooves into which they could fit. The difficulty had been to find out the groove. The great objection in the mind of a young Englishman to going out to the Colonies was that he had no range of friends or acquaintances, but now after three or four years there would not be a young fellow in Oxford or Cambridge but what could and probably would know intimately young men from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and all parts of the United States—men who would tell him in a familiar way what openings there were and the chances there were, and he would have friends from one end to another of all these countries. By means of the Rhodes Scholarships—and he believed

this was going to be one of the most important phases of the whole matter—thousands of young men would be given the opportunity of intimate relationship with all these different Colonies. About a fortnight ago, when he was in Washington, he learnt that the managers of an institution for research to which Mr. Carnegie had given ten million dollars had soon found themselves absolutely out of funds and they were going to ask for ten millions more. This was exactly his own feeling about the Rhodes Scholarships. He was very anxious to find a millionaire who would say, "You are arranging for young men from the Colonies to come to this country, let me arrange for young Englishmen to go abroad." Supposing a man had studied political economy in Oxford or Cambridge and you threw him into the industrial and manufacturing organisation of the United States, it is easy to fancy how his experience would be enlarged. Or if he had to go and face the labour problems of Australia, or see how Mr. Seddon was dealing with socialistic organisation in New Zealand. Mr. Darwin tells us that the first remark his father made to him when he returned from his voyage around the world was that the shape of his head was changed. He was sure the average young University man who took the range of experience he had just suggested would find the shape of his thoughts if not of his head widely changed and enlarged. With all the superiorities of English life and its institutions, he thought they had something of a tendency to make men more or less artificial, to divorce them somewhat from the primary things with which they had to deal; and he could not think of anything better as an addition to that charm of manner and honesty and honour of thought and all those qualities which made the young Englishman of the public school or university one of the most charming men in the world, than that experience of the outer world which was to be obtained by bringing him up against the dead facts of life and which would come from giving him part of his education in the Colonies as well as in this country. He remembered that at the time of the South African war some friend suggested that the sending out of two or three thousand of the young men chiefly familiar with Piccadilly and making them confront the hard facts of life on the open veld would send them back stronger and better men. So, with regard to your public-school man, if you could get that kind of link which would make the transition easy and natural by which he would be brought into touch with conditions of life in the great Colonies it would be enormously good for him and for the Colonies. In the course of the last two years he had nine

times crossed the Atlantic, and had found every ship laden sometimes with 1,000 or 1,500 people of various Continental nationalities, who were absolutely crowding into the United States until the people were getting rather frightened at the tremendous task of taking this population of alien nationalities squeezed out by industrial conditions without a sufficient proportion of the more powerful and practical Anglo-Saxon element. In our Colonies we were saved from this tremendous influx of alien population—in Canada by climate, in Australia and New Zealand by distance; but, on the other hand, there was a vast industrial population filling them up, and it was of the utmost importance refined and cultivated classes should go along with them. It was fairer to the country itself to send all the different classes which made up society, and everything which could be arranged in that way must make for the general good. How that was to be done in practice was not so easy to say. He thought there was a much larger proportion of men getting something out of their degrees than Mr. Reade supposed, and information he had himself received concerning the McGill University, where he understood thirty young Englishmen were this year studying in the science departments alone, supported that statement. But with this slight criticism he thought the general idea of the Paper was one which deserved the careful attention of all Englishmen. It was not merely enough to send men who were squeezed out by industrial necessities, though the more of the working class who went out the better, but we should send men of every class who would find and make the most of their opportunities, and to make the most of these opportunities they had to get the grain of the country into the very blood in some way. Education was, of course, too complicated a question for one to express off-hand opinions about any special method suggested, but as to the general principle of securing these links he had no doubt at all, and therefore he hoped the Paper with its moderate and practical suggestions would receive sympathetic consideration.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir THOMAS E. FULLER, K.C.M.G.) said that a little information about what had been done in the Cape would perhaps be interesting. There was a Civil Service at the Cape as in other British Colonies, and a test and a competitive examination on entering the service. One of the regulations provided that the Dutch language should be known by the candidate. A desire had been expressed since he had been Agent-General to relax the conditions somewhat, and with the object of getting some University blood into the Civil Service the Government had proposed that any

candidate should be excused the local examination and be received as a Civil servant simply upon his having graduated at an English University. Between July 1903 and November 1904 he sent out thirty-three University graduates to be members of the Civil Service in the Cape Colony. The number required was not very large, and there were local claims, of course, of the inhabitants, who had the first right to consideration. The Paper referred to the Mining School, which was a valuable institution at the Cape, and with the establishment of which he himself had much to do, and also to the Agricultural School. The Lecturer said that matriculation was required for admission to both institutions, but that was a mistake. The regulations provided that applicants must be matriculated students of the Cape University or have passed an equivalent examination. He himself had had the sending out of a number of students to the Agricultural College, and an equivalent examination in England had been accepted by him instead of the local examination. With regard to the Mining School, there was exactly the same provision, though he had not been called upon to send any mining students. All these things had been gradually and slowly going on, and he might say he entirely agreed with every word said by Dr. Parkin as to the advisability of University students going over there to obtain the advantage of Colonial experience of all kinds ; and, on the other hand, of Colonial youths getting the great advantage of coming into association with the educated life of English and also of the Continental schools. It was that kind of reciprocity they desired to bring about. He was happy to say that throughout the Cape Colony there were numbers of University men. He was a Member of the Cape Parliament for twenty-five years, and he might mention that there were three Cambridge Wranglers in the House of Assembly at one time and several University men. In fact, increasingly educated men were migrating to South Africa. Of course they could not go all in a hurry ; the demand was limited, and great harm had been done by graduates going for whom there was no position. In this connection he might mention an incident relating to the De Beers Mines, of which he was a director together with Mr. Cecil Rhodes. He noticed that after the day's harvest of diamonds had been gathered from different places they were given to one man, who sorted them out in a small room and then took them into the De Beers offices for custody in the great iron safe. He said to Mr. Rhodes, "Is not that a tremendous responsibility and temptation to put in the way of one man ; is there not more or less risk ?" "Well, Mr. Fuller," Mr. Rhodes replied, "that

man is an Oxford man and a gentleman. If you were to put two men there they might conspire." It was well known that Mr. Rhodes endeavoured to bring educated men in whom he especially and entirely believed into the various enterprises with which he was associated. He might mention that soon after the war he had as many as 5,000 letters from would-be emigrants in one week. The applicants included men who had never been in a store at all, but who seemed to think that Africa was one vast wilderness in which they were crying out for tradesmen. He had to tell many of them that they might just as well ask what was the best opening for an Oxford Street tradesman, because the whole ground was so well covered. In conclusion, he would only say he believed we were making progress in forging literary and intellectual links between different parts of the Empire, and that we should yet live to see an Empire composed of Free communities,

"Distinct as the branches yet one as the tree ;
Distinct as the waves, yet one as the sea."

He moved a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

Mr. F. H. DANGAR, who seconded the motion, remarked that there were deficiencies in the Paper, some of which had been supplied by Mr. Scammell and Mr. Conybeare. The latter had referred to Adelaide, and he might remind the meeting that there were also universities in Sydney and Melbourne, and that there were two well-known Colleges in New South Wales where young men were taught necessary subjects to enable them to take up life in the Colonies. It had been said in the Paper that the Germans were outpacing Englishmen in every land under the Union Jack. He must certainly demur to that remark so far as New South Wales was concerned ; he knew of some hundreds of persons connected with the pastoral industry, and could not think of one German in the whole number.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. READE thanked the Meeting, and proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was carried, and the Meeting separated.

FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Fifth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, March 14, 1905, when a Paper on "The Crown Colonies and Places" was read by Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G.

His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, K.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 26 Fellows had been elected, viz. 5 Resident, 21 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

Henry Earnshaw, Charles J. Hannan, F.C.I.S., Frederick R. Quilter, Arthur Ross, Arthur Ross, Jun., F.I.C., F.C.S.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

Sydney Hilton Barber (Transvaal), Walter Bazendale (Rhodesia), Walter G. Broadbent (Natal), Frank N. Butterworth (British North Borneo), James H. Chrystal (Victoria), Rev. Charles E. Coles (Cape Colony), Vivian Collett (Transvaal), Bruce W. Duffin (Transvaal), Eustace Giles (Victoria), Thomas Groves, A.M.I.Mech.E. (Federated Malay States), Edmund M. James (Cape Colony), George E. Kingsley (Canada), Robert Lanning, J.P. (Rhodesia), Henry A. Lyne (Natal), Kaid Sir Harry Maclean, K.C.M.G. (Morocco), James McAuslin (Natal), Forester A. Obeyesekere, B.A. (Ceylon), Stanley Obeyesekere, B.A. (Ceylon), Gilbert E. Paver (Orange River Colony), Henry G. Sketchley, M.Inst.C.E. (Argentine Republic), William G. Swanson (Rhodesia).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: The great services Sir Charles Bruce has rendered not only to this country but to the Empire in his long and active career are known to everybody in this room. He began his official career at the British Museum, where he undertook the duties of Librarian; since then he has occupied many important positions, some of the most notable being those of Colonial Secretary in British Guiana in 1885, Governor of the Windward Islands 1893, Governor of Mauritius 1897, and after having presided over the destinies of the latter island for several years he has retired to

enjoy a well-earned repose. During his long and arduous services on behalf of the State he won the goodwill and affection of all with whom he came in contact, and he has invariably possessed the confidence, respect, and esteem of the successive Secretaries of State under whom he served.

Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G., then read his Paper on

THE CROWN COLONIES AND PLACES.

THE late Sir John Seeley, Sir George Clarke, and others have, with much ingenuity and enthusiasm, traced the phases of expansion which after two centuries of struggle with Continental Powers established the British Empire in the secure environment of naval supremacy. The position thus acquired by England in 1815 was judged with admirable foresight by Napoleon at St. Helena. "England," he said, "should look wholly to commerce and naval affairs; she never can be a Continental Power, and in the attempt must be ruined; let her maintain the empire of the seas and she may send her ambassadors to the Courts of Europe, and demand what she pleases." The words so exactly express the Imperial sentiment of the present day that it is difficult, for the younger generation at least, to understand the motives of that policy of segregation and surrender which prevailed during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Not, indeed, without protest. One of the most able opponents of the policy pointed out that, carried to its logical conclusion, it would reduce the British Empire to a fraction of a bankrupt island off the North-west coast of Europe. For, as he said, if you get rid of the Empire you cannot free yourself of the debt you accumulated in acquiring it. And yet such a policy was enforced in practice by the statesmen who controlled our fiscal and Colonial policy, these being absolutely inseparable, while it was approved and advocated in theory by the philosophers and professors who most largely influenced public opinion, and to whom was entrusted the education of our youth. The policy of the 'sixties—a decade during which the Royal Colonial Institute was founded as an outward and visible sign of a protesting spirit—was never more clearly and concisely stated than by John Stuart Mill in two brief sentences which ran as follows:—

"England is sufficient to her own protection without the Colonies, and would be in a much stronger as well as more dignified position if separated from them than when reduced to be a single member of an American, African, and Australian Confederation. Over and above the commerce

which she might equally enjoy after separation, England derives little advantage, except in prestige, from her Dependencies ; and the little she does derive is quite outweighed by the expense they cost her and the dissemination they necessitate of her naval and military force, which, in case of war, or any real apprehension of it, requires to be double or treble what would be needed for the defence of this country alone."

This confession of faith, brief as it is, indicates unmistakably the principles that spell-bound our Colonial policy.

OUR COLONIAL POLICY.

Our Colonial policy has for about sixty years been associated with a fiscal system known as Free-trade. Those who applied this name to the system acted in perfect good faith, for the bottom rock of their belief was that it would be universally adopted. The acknowledged supremacy of England at the time led them to take it for granted that she was and would remain Manufacturer-General to the Universe, and that all the world would compete in supplying her with cheap food and raw material, and in favouring the admission of her manufactured articles into their free ports. Consistently with this belief they held two principal articles of faith. With all the world to be open, as they hoped, to the consumer and producer, they advocated a cosmopolitan system of commerce without distinction of home, colonial, or foreign origin. They sought, therefore, to be relieved of the embarrassment and expense of Colonial associations, and looked forward with complacency, sometimes with eagerness, to the gradual separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country. This policy was known in the political slang of the day as "letting go the painter." The other article of faith to which I have alluded grew out of a revolt against the system of slavery ; it came to be held that commerce and industry could be most wisely and energetically directed by the uncontrolled and isolated liberty of the individual. This gave rise to the policy known as "*laissez faire*." The Colonial fiscal policy of the United Kingdom thus rested on principles which may be summed up in three homely but intelligible phrases, "the open door," "letting go the painter," and "*laissez faire*." After an experience of half a century we are disappointed in the result of our policy, and find ourselves isolated in an environment of nations whose policy may be summed up in three equally curt phrases, "a closed door," "colonial expansion," and "organisation of industry and commerce." It must be admitted that the

experience of the nineteenth century has materially modified the sentiments with which we have entered on the twentieth. The policy of "letting go the painter" has yielded to a policy which may, perhaps, be appropriately described as "making fast alongside," the policy of "*laissez faire*" has been abandoned in favour of organisation and co-ordination on fixed principles. So far, if I may be allowed to use a familiar phrase, the Empire has agreed to go the "whole hog." The policy of the open door seems to be still a question of political controversy and, obedient to the rules of our Institute, I shall therefore confine myself, in touching on fiscal matters, to questions inseparable from the subject of my lecture—the relations of the Home Government to the Crown Colonies, in respect mainly of their commercial development. A brief retrospect of our Colonial policy for three centuries will enable us better to understand the position of the Crown Colonies in our Imperial system.

Our Colonial policy has passed through three well-defined stages. In the first the Colonies were left free to govern themselves, but their commerce was made completely subservient to the interests of the Mother Country. In the second, having, by tampering with their internal affairs, lost the North American Provinces, we sought to hold our Colonies more firmly by governing them from home. In the third, we made it our aim to provide them with Constitutions designed to train them into a capacity to govern themselves with a view to their ultimate separation as independent States.

In all the earliest possessions of the Crown the constitutional establishment was formed after the model of the Mother Country, and consisted of an Executive Council and Legislature of two Chambers—one nominated, the other elected. Under this form of Constitution, the Colonies had been allowed self-government in local affairs, but their trade was limited by the strictest control and made subservient solely to the interests of the Mother Country. This was expressly declared in a series of Acts extending from 12th Car. II. to 4th George III., which ordered that no goods should be exported from our plantations except in British ships, and that such ships should bring the produce only to England "for the sole benefit of our navigation and people." An Act of George II. recited that certain plantations had of late been supplied with hats from other of His Majesty's plantations, instead of Great Britain, and "to prevent such ill practices and to encourage the trade of Great Britain," such manufacture of hats was peremptorily

forbidden. Another enactment, 28rd George II., was passed to prevent "the erection of any mill or forge or furnace for the working of iron or the making of steel in the Colonies." This form of Constitution and the policy it represented continued to the secession of the North American Provinces, as the United States of America, and it is easy now to see that while the form of the Colonial Constitution resembled that of the Mother Country, it differed in the essential particular that the Executive and its officers were immovable and independent of the Legislature. The further development of the constitutional principle of the subordination of the Executive to the Legislature was required to establish what we now call Responsible Government. I may here point out that it is the absence of this final stage of development which brings the Colonies of Barbados, Bermuda, and the Bahamas into the system of the Crown Colonies.

The secession of the North American Colonies was followed by a change in our Colonial policy, prompted by a determination to prevent the other Colonies from following their example. While therefore the form of Constitution was retained in the remaining Colonies, and even introduced into Canada by the Act of 1791, the power of the Executive to control the Legislature was extended from matters of external commerce to domestic concerns. The Colonies acquired immediately after the secession of the United States were gained by conquest, and the form of Government adopted was the combination of administrative and legislative powers in the Governor aided by a Council of official advisers. This was the origin of that form of government by an Executive and a single Legislative Chamber, which with many modifications has been retained, and is still the accepted type of Crown Colony Government.

Up to 1842 the Council was, in all the Colonies acquired after the War of American Independence, limited to nominated members, but in that year a Constitution was granted to New South Wales, widening the merely official form of government by the establishment of a Legislative Council of thirty-six members, one-third of them nominated by the Governor and two-thirds elected by the people. By an Act of 1850, for the better government of the Australian Colonies, this form of Constitution was extended to all the other Australian Colonies except Western Australia. Lord John Russell, in introducing this measure, declared its object to be "to train these Colonies into a capacity to govern themselves." The dominant principle of this form of government

was the combination in a single Chamber of Legislature of the popular element and its required check ; and the reason assigned for this arrangement was the difficulty of finding in young Colonies the constituent elements thought necessary for a Chamber in substitution of the House of Lords.

It is not necessary for me to follow the history of the last stage of constitutional development in the Colonies now having a Responsible Government, the subordination of the Executive to the Legislature. Before 1860 eight Colonies had received Responsible Government ; the Cape was added in 1872, Western Australia in 1890, and Natal in 1898. Thus the circle of our self-governed Colonies in the temperate zones was complete.

We have thus seen the development of three forms of Constitutional Government :

1. Colonies in which the Crown has the entire control of legislation, while the administration is carried on by public officers under the control of the Home Government.

2. Colonies possessing Representative Institutions, but not Responsible Government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation, but the Home Government retains the control of public officers.

3. Colonies possessing Representative Institutions and Responsible Government, in which the Crown has only a veto on legislation and the Home Government has no control over any public officer except the Governor.

I take this classification from the Colonial Office List. It requires some explanation. The second class includes three Colonies—Bahamas, Barbados, and Bermuda—the representatives, though not in every case without solution of continuity, of the earliest type of Colonial Governments, having a nominated Council and an Elected Assembly, but they lack that essential condition of Responsible Government, the control of the Legislature over the Executive ; the other Colonies in the class have a single Legislative Chamber partly nominated, partly elected. We have seen how this type originated, in Colonies possessing the really essential elements necessary for Responsible Government, as a measure designed to train them into a capacity to govern themselves. It has been the bridge over which every such Colony acquired since the secession of the United States of America has passed to the wider liberties of Responsible Government. In accordance with the policy of the time tending to separation, it was, less wisely, extended to other Colonies which did not possess the essential elements

necessary to self-government, and in these Colonies it has proved to be probably the most inappropriate form of Government that human ingenuity has hitherto devised. The existence of the popular element and its check in a single Chamber calls at all times for mutual goodwill and forbearance. In moments of excitement the friction naturally increases until it may approach dangerously close to the point of ignition.

Let me here very briefly state what I believe to be the essential elements necessary for the stability of Responsible Government. The fact that all our Colonies having Responsible Government are in the temperate zones is not accidental. It has now come to be generally accepted that the elements necessary for the stable conduct of Responsible Government in our Colonies and Dependencies are wanting in the tropics and cannot be supplied by any conceivable political agency. The justification of Responsible Government in a Colony rests on the ability of the inhabitants of European descent to form a permanently settled homogeneous community in a climate favourable to their development in the same physical, ethical, and political conditions that have produced the European. These conditions can only be found in temperate climates. In the tropics, physiological and other causes acting through long ages have produced races able to stand the fatigue of strenuous manual labours which it is impossible for the white man to endure; nor can the descendants of Europeans be rendered capable of such labours by any period of residence or process of acclimatisation. The racial distinctions thus created are inconsistent with the ethical principle of social equality which underlies Responsible Government. The absence in the tropics of the conditions essentially necessary has arrested the intention of former Governments to extend Responsible Government to the Crown Colonies, with a view to their ultimate separation or alienation, and it is even denied that any such measure was ever contemplated. It is of interest therefore to refer to a work of undoubted authority, "A Review of Colonial History" by Lord Norton, published in 1869, after he had held the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies. On the general principle of the duties of the Government to the Crown Colonies he says:

"The advantage to England of such Dependencies, which are now beginning to pay more of their own expenses, consists in their assistance to commerce, encouragement of enterprise, or in furthering and extending Imperial interests throughout the world.

"Such possessions the Sovereign of Great Britain holds for special

purposes, and may, if these objects cease to exist, abandon, cede, or exchange at any time, only fulfilling engagements made and securing interests created. They are not extensions of Empire, like national settlements, which, if we only abstain from crushing them by protection and allow them to act as partners with ourselves, will retain a connection of nationality with us for ever; they are merely occupations for use, and may be alienated without any national severance."

And in the specific case of West Africa Lord Norton, speaking disparagingly of the success of Wilberforce's scheme for turning these settlements to account for developing civilisation and commerce, repeats the recommendation made by a committee of which he had been chairman in 1865 in favour of withdrawing from all West African Governments except, perhaps, Sierra Leone.

The distinction drawn in the Colonial Office List between the two classes of Colonies not having Responsible Government has often given rise to misunderstanding. The presence of an elected element in the Single Chamber class does not in practice limit the control of the Home Government to a veto on legislation. Through the official members the Governor, representing the Home Government, can introduce any measure he pleases, and if it is opposed by the elected element, the Constitution of these Colonies is so constructed that the Governor can create an official majority sufficient to carry it. This power, coupled with the right of veto, gives the Home Government practically complete control over legislation. It is necessary for the Home Government to have such power in order to retain control over financial legislation, for on this control depends that responsibility of the Home Government which is in truth the chief corner-stone of the Crown Colony system, whatever may be the form of the political Constitution—the responsibility of the Imperial Treasury in the final resort for the financial position of their Colonies. About this responsibility of the Imperial Treasury and of the obligation of the Government to protect itself by maintaining complete control over financial legislation there can be no doubt. The question was fully discussed in Parliament in 1899 in connection with the Colonial Loans Bill, and the responsibility of the Imperial Treasury was recognised on both sides of the House. In that year the Jamaica system broke down, and the position was admirably dealt with in Mr. Chamberlain's despatch to the Governor of August 22:

"You are aware that it has been decided in regard to the West Indian question as a whole that where financial assistance is given to a Colony

by the Imperial Government, the Imperial Government must have control over its finances.

"Arrangements have, as stated above, been made by the Colonial Loans Act, 1899, which will enable the Imperial Government to assist the Government of Jamaica by lending it £850,000, and if advantage is taken of that assistance and of the promised contribution to the proposed steamer service, I should be bound by pledges given to Parliament to insist on such changes being made in the Legislative Council as would give to the Secretary of State control of the Island finances, but I prefer to treat the question on broader grounds.

"Two plain facts in connection with this matter must force themselves upon the attention of all who study the question, still more of all who are called upon to find a solution to it.

"The first is, that 'the Home Government,' in Sir David Barbour's words, 'are, in the last resort, responsible for the financial condition of Jamaica.'

"The second is, that as a 'working compromise' the existing system has failed. It is a compromise, but it has not worked. I am not now so much concerned with principle as with practice. As a machine for doing the work which has to be done the present system has failed.

"It is, in fact, impossible, except where tact and goodwill and friendly feeling exist in an unusual degree, for the government of a country to be carried on when those who are responsible for it are in a permanent minority in the Legislature. I decline to allow the Jamaica Government to remain in that position any longer—not merely because it is unfair to them, but also, recognising the ultimate responsibility of Her Majesty's Government for the solvency of the Colony, I must ensure that the measures which they may consider necessary are carried out.

"I must instruct you, therefore, before the Legislative Council is again summoned, to fill up the full number of nominated members and to retain them, using at your discretion the power given you by the Constitution to declare measures to be of paramount importance. You will give the Council and the public to understand that this step is taken by my express instructions."

It is not my intention to overload my lecture with statistical details, but in order to convey a due sense of proportion some facts and figures are necessary.

Our Empire, exclusive of the United Kingdom and India, is estimated to extend over about ten millions of square miles, a territorial surface of not much less than one-fifth of the habitable globe; exceeding by more than one-tenth the dominion of All the Russias; nearly twice as large as France and her Colonies; more than twice the size of the United States including her newly acquired colonial possessions; eight times as large as the Empire

and Colonies of Germany; and I may add five times as large as the united area of China and Japan.

Of the total area of ten million square miles, the self-governing Colonies cover about seven million square miles, inhabited by a population of fifteen millions.

As regards the remaining area, the editors of the Colonial Office List have been good enough to have prepared for me a Statement of General Statistics showing the geographical distribution, the area, population, revenue, and expenditure, public debt and trade of all Colonies, Colonial Dependencies, and Protectorates more or less directly under the control of the Home Government. I believe this statement to be of interest as showing in a form more concise than has hitherto been presented the vast extent and responsibilities of our Empire outside of the self-governing Colonies and India.

The magnitude of these interests and responsibilities is shown in the following summary :

Area (sq. miles)	2,878,330
Population (estimated)	36,056,610
Revenue	£19,496,184
Expenditure	£18,688,009
Public Debt	£51,370,914
Imports	£100,501,526
Exports	£80,469,081

These statistics, however, include extensive territories not administered under the Secretary of State for the Colonies, such as North Borneo and Sarawak; the sphere of operations of the British South Africa Company; and the territories grouped under the designation of Somali Protectorate, which will, however, shortly come under the Colonial Office.

Exclusive of these territories, the following summary represents approximately the statistics of the Crown Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates administered under the Colonial Office :

Area (sq. miles)	1,000,000
Population (estimated)	27,715,000
Revenue	£18,290,000
Expenditure	£16,580,000
Debt	£51,370,000
Imports	£100,000,000
Exports	£78,000,000

As regards the administration of our Colonial Empire, exclusive

of the self-governing Colonies, the Colonial Office List gives the following succinct statement of their constitutional position :

- "1. No Legislative Council. Legislative power delegated to the officer administering the Government (6).
 - "(a) Crown has retained power of legislating by Order in Council—Gibraltar, Labuan, St. Helena, Northern and Southern Nigeria.
 - "(b) No general power reserved of legislating by Order in Council—Basutoland.
 - "2. Legislative Council nominated by the Crown (18).
 - "(a) Crown has reserved power of legislating by Order in Council—British New Guinea, Ceylon, Falklands, Fiji, Gambia, Gold Coast, Grenada, Hong Kong, Lagos, Orange River Colony, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Trinidad and Tobago, Transvaal, Turks Islands.
 - "(b) No general power reserved of legislating by Order in Council—British Honduras.
 - "3. Legislative Council partly elected (8).
 - "(a) Crown has reserved power of legislating by Order in Council—British Guiana, Malta, Mauritius.
 - "(b) No general power reserved of legislating by Order in Council—Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Jamaica, Leeward Islands.¹
- Cyprus and Wei-hai-wei are not included in the above. The first has a Council of Class 3 (a). The second belongs to Class 1 (a).

In view of the diversity of the conditions existing in these administrations, and in their political relation to the Home Government, including as they do Colonies, Fortresses and Military or Naval Stations, Dependencies occupied in agriculture or serving as centres of trade, and Protectorates, I have given my lecture the title of *Crown Colonies and Places*. This has been suggested to me by the Colonial Loans Act, 1899, which includes Dependencies and the Malay States as Crown Places, and the designation will, I hope, be accepted as sufficient. While the self-governing Colonies, with the exception of a considerable territory in Northern Australia, lie in temperate zones, it will be seen that the Crown Colonies and Places apart from Stations occupied for naval or military uses, are almost exclusively contained between the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. The only important exceptions are the Transvaal and

¹ For the constitution of the Federal Legislative Council of the Leeward Islands under the Federal Act 1899, I must refer to the Colonial Office List. The Island Legislatures are no longer partly elected.

Orange River Colonies, and as they possess all the elements generally necessary to justify Responsible Government, and their admission among self-governing Colonies is merely a question of time, I may consider them as outside the scope of my lecture this evening.

OF WHAT GOOD ARE OUR CROWN COLONIES AND PLACES ?

During the nineteenth century, when the drift of our Colonial policy was towards segregation and the surrender of industry and commerce to free competition, two questions were often asked : What is the good of Colonies ? and, What are we to do with them ? The general reply—though not without vigorous protest—was, They are of no good ; get rid of them. The twentieth century has already formed a saner judgment. Speaking to-night on behalf of the Crown Colonies, I shall endeavour first to prove that they are of incalculable good, and then to indicate what we are to do with them.

And here let me say at once that I exclude from the scope of my observations Crown Places which have their obvious importance for military or naval purposes, or Fortresses, Coaling Stations, and defended Ports of the Empire ; or as centres of trade, as Hong Kong and Singapore. I confine myself to the use of our Crown Colonies and Places as areas of tropical production.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in a series of articles originally contributed to the *Times*, but since republished under the title "The Control of the Tropics," has placed in a very clear light the extent to which the complex life of the modern world rests upon the production of the tropics, and the probable severity of the struggle recently commenced by the Western Powers of Europe and the United States of America for the control of the Tropical and Sub-Tropical Regions of the earth. The principal products of these regions divide themselves naturally into two classes—articles of diet and raw materials for manufacture. Of articles of diet, Sugar has for centuries occupied the place of first importance. The earlier of the laws regulating the commerce of the "plantations," to which reference has been made, applied only to sugar. It was more than a century before they were applied to coffee, cocoa, and similar products.

"Sugar [said Lord Beaconsfield] has been embarrassing, if not fatal, to many Governments. Strange [he continues] that a manufacture which charms infancy and soothes old age should frequently occasion political

disaster." "Singular article of produce [he exclaims in another place]. What is the reason of this influence? Is it that all considerations mingle in it; not merely commercial, but imperial, philanthropic, religious; confounding and crossing each other, and confusing the legislature and the nation, lost in a maze of intersecting and contending emotions?"

These words seem still applicable to sugar, to which I shall again refer more fully, but the years that have since elapsed have tended to bring within the same sphere of considerations tea, coffee, and other non-alcoholic beverages intimately associated with sugar. For surely imperial, philanthropic, and religious considerations mingle in the great cause of temperance, which can find no more efficient support than in the substitution of non-alcoholic for alcoholic beverages? Our national drink bill amounts to over £170,000,000, and represents a consumption of absolute alcohol per head more than twice as large as the consumption of any of the countries competing with us for the control of the tropics. Many millions of this expenditure might be appropriated to the use of non-alcoholic beverages, largely the produce of the tropics, with equal advantage to the happiness of our people and the prosperity of the tropics. In evidence of the increasing demand for this class of tropical produce I may mention that the world's consumption of cocoa rose from 64,507,000 kilos. in 1894 to 127,855,000 in 1903.

In the interest of increasing the individual efficiency of labour I have no hesitation in submitting the proposition that no political or philanthropic scheme ever devised promises such results as the substituting of non-alcoholic for alcoholic beverages.

By way of illustrating the extent to which the prosperity of this country depends on the import of raw materials of tropical origin I need refer only to two articles, Cotton and Rubber.

Few industrial movements have ever been started with more reason and intelligence than that promoted by the British Cotton Growing Association, with the object of extending the growth and cultivation of cotton in the British Colonies, Dependencies, and Protectorates. In accordance with the general principles of our Colonial policy in the nineteenth century, we had been content to rely on the cotton production of the Southern States of North America. This cotton quickly displaced the use of cotton drawn from other sources in our manufactures, and reduced to comparatively trifling dimensions the cultivation of cotton in our tropical Colonies. In the meantime, however, the world's demand for cotton had increased enormously, and the natural limitation of the Southern

States, combined with speculative manœuvres in the manipulation of the supply, produced in the earlier months of 1904 a shortage entailing results equally disastrous to employers and operatives. It seems to be certain that under a proper system of organisation British Colonies and Protectorates can produce all the cotton required to afford the United Kingdom an adequate and stable supply. The national importance of the movement has been shown by the Association in language which may be thought "tall," but the substantial truth of it cannot be gainsaid; they say:

"It has been estimated that if all the cotton mills in this country were running three-quarters time instead of full time the loss would be not less than £300,000 a week, or at the rate of £15,000,000 per annum. A prolonged continuation of such a serious state of affairs cannot be contemplated with equanimity, and the cotton trade, in which it is estimated that 10,000,000 of the population of this country are directly or indirectly interested, has serious lessons facing it which must sooner or later react on the prosperity of the whole of the country, and eventually on other parts of the Empire.

"The objects of the Association are those of national importance, closely affecting not only spinners, manufacturers, and operatives, or dyers, printers, bleachers, finishers, and other allied trades. Merchants, shippers, and distributors are suffering severely; engineers, chemical manufacturers, colliery-owners, machine-makers, bankers, lawyers, stock-brokers, insurance companies, railway companies, and shipowners are affected by depression in the cotton trade. Owners of property, shop-keepers, brewers, provision merchants, farmers, and in fact all wholesale and retail dealers in every branch of trade, and all producers, are concerned in it directly or indirectly."

Of the most important and most rapidly expanding industries of the day, a leading place is occupied by those dependent on a regular supply of rubber. The cultivation of little-known but unexpectedly numerous plants yielding rubber in tropical Africa and similar products elsewhere has been for some years engaging the attention of the Royal Botanic Gardens and of the Imperial Institute. There is undoubtedly a great future before the rubber industry. I mention only leading staples, but the statistical abstracts published by the Board of Trade show a long list of articles of tropical produce which only fall short of these in importance, amongst them many foods, including rice and fruit, tobacco, and many raw materials, including minerals and timber and fibres.

These considerations have naturally been realised by other nations who are developing the resources of their Colonies with an energy and intelligence certainly not inferior to our own; but as

they have adopted our early Colonial policy, they are working their Colonies solely with a view to their own interests in a way that makes it necessary for us to be able to rely on a supply of tropical products adequate to our needs and sufficiently stable to free us from the risks of shortage or over-supply and foreign speculative manœuvres.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR CROWN COLONIES AND PLACES ?

Having, as I hope, said enough to show that our Crown Colonies and Places are of enormous—of incalculable good, I pass on to consider what we are to do with them.

In the first place, we must frankly abandon the policy of the nineteenth century based on the conception that it would be possible and desirable to hold our hands and stand aloof from the tropics. We must realise the extent to which our civilisation rests on the productions of the tropics, and recognise that the principle underlying all trade—that exchange of products between regions and peoples of different capacities tends to be mutually profitable—finds in commerce between our temperate and tropical regions its most natural expression.

In casting about for measures adequate to a policy resting on these considerations, we must make up our minds that the chief aim of our administration must cease to be the education of the people in political methods with a view to provide them with an equipment of political leaders and departmental officials. What we have to do is to teach them that the sure foundation of prosperity is the development of natural resources, and that in their aspirations for social equality they will find that industry, business, and commerce are far more profitable levellers than official or political places.

So much has been written by the wisest of mankind in all ages on the theory and art of government that I have some reluctance in declaring that I have found the best expositions of the principles which should underlie our administration of the Crown Colonies in the *Sarawak Gazette*.¹ Here it is ; it was designed for Eastern use, but its principles are of universal range :

“There are two ways in which a Government can act. The first is to start from things as it finds them, putting its veto on what is dangerous or unjust, and supporting what is fair and equitable in the usages of the

¹ Quoted by Professor Alleyne Ireland in an article in *The Times*, Sept. 3, 1904.

natives, and letting system and legislation wait upon occasion. When new wants are felt it examines and provides for them by measures rather made on the spot than imported from abroad; and to ensure that these shall not be contrary to native customs, the consent of a people is gained for them before they are put in force.

"Progress in this way is usually slow, and the system is not altogether popular from our point of view: but it is both quiet and steady; confidence is increased, and no vision of a foreign yoke to be laid heavily on their shoulders when the opportunity offers is present to the native mind.

"The other plan is to make here and there a clean sweep and to introduce something that Europeans like better in the gap. A criminal code of the latest type, polished and revised by the wise men at home, or a system of taxation and police introduced bodily from the West, is imposed, with a full assurance of its intrinsic excellence, but with too little thought of how far it is likely to suit the circumstances it has to meet."

The better way has been allowed freer scope in the Federated Malay States than in any other part of our tropical Colonies and Protectorates, and with admirable success.

As regards forms of government, I believe that the wiser alternative of these policies can be most consistently carried out under a Constitution like that of Ceylon—with an Executive Council and a Legislature nominated by the Crown—rather than by representative institutions based on a principle of social equality, measured by the standards of a property or pecuniary qualification. The whole idea of government by popular representation based on such principles is generally inconsistent with the religion, natural laws, and usages of the people of tropical climes.

Assuming, then, that whatever may be the established form of government in a Colony, the development of its resources is to be the first concern, the conditions essential to such development must first be considered. I will deal with these under the heads of Health, Labour, Organisation of Industry, Transport, and Finance. After a few words on the subject of the effects of international rivalry for the control of the tropics, I will conclude with a brief consideration of the Crown Colonies and Places in relation to the Defence of the Empire.

HEALTH.

Those who took an independent part in illustrating the art and practice of colonisation during the greater part of the nineteenth century disagreed on many things, but on one point they were unanimous, the deplorable inadequacy of the Colonial Office.

Gibbon Wakefield declared that the Colonies of South Australia and New Zealand were formed in spite of the most formidable opposition from the Colonial branch of the Government of the Empire. Charles Buller declared that there should be inscribed over the doors of the Colonial Office, "All hope abandon ye who enter here." In defence of the Colonial Office, it may be urged that its officers were merely agents in carrying out the policy of the Mother Country. That policy and the popular sentiment that lay under it have undergone a revolution, and, except for political party purposes, the strenuous energy of the Colonial Office in adapting the new policy to the wants and wishes of the Colonies is accepted and approved.

South Africa and the relations of the self-governing Colonies to the Mother Country have for some years absorbed so large a part of what time the British public can divert from home affairs and politics, that the work of improving the conditions of life in the Crown Colonies, unostentatiously promoted and encouraged by Mr. Chamberlain during his tenure of office, was at the time almost overlooked. Thirty years had elapsed since the proposal I have alluded to, to abandon some of the most productive, if certainly most unhealthy, parts of the Empire, had been seriously entertained, when Mr. Chamberlain undertook the formidable task of endeavouring to turn them into regions where men can work in health and comfort, and thus bring fresh gains to the commercial future and industrial prosperity of the Empire. Mr. Chamberlain believes the life and health of our administrators, in Colonies where civilisation and the development of resources can only be carried on by the labour of coloured races working under European supervision, to be a national asset. In the term administrators he includes, no doubt, all charged with the control and management not only of Government departments, but of commercial and industrial enterprises. It had long been a matter of common knowledge and concern that the value of this national asset was seriously depreciated by diseases peculiar to the tropics; and this not only by reason of the mortality among individuals, but by the difficulty of finding qualified and efficient men willing to expose themselves to the risks of so deadly an environment. I can do no more to-night than indicate the principal agencies brought by Mr. Chamberlain into association with the work, and the methods employed. The agencies are the London and Liverpool Schools of Tropical Medicine, the Medical Schools of the United Kingdom, the Royal Society, the General Medical Council, and I will venture to add a humbler

but useful agency, the Colonial Nursing Association. The methods employed are scientific research into the causes of disease; the qualification of medical officers for service in the tropical regions by education in tropical pathology; the publication of records of work and research carried on by the medical staff of the Crown Colonies and Protectorates; the enlargement of the British Pharmacopœia by the adoption of medical substances of proved efficiency in tropical regions so as to make it an Imperial British Pharmacopœia; and provision for the care of the sick by trained and skilled nursing. The work of the Schools of Medicine falls under two heads—education and research. Educationally they have qualified for practice in the tropics and equipped with a knowledge of the most recent methods of research over five hundred students, including medical officers of the Army and Navy, and of the Colonial, Foreign, and Indian services; representatives of foreign Governments and Universities; missionaries; and *employés* of trading, railway, and mining corporations. In the interests of research they have equipped expeditions to Asia, Africa, and America, and have studied locally every known tropical disease. A continuity of research *in situ* will be secured by associated or affiliated local institutions in the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. At Kuala Lumpur, in the federated Malay States, a laboratory has been established and arrangements made for an interchange of duties between the Director and Tutor of the London School of Tropical Medicine. Laboratories have also been erected in Ceylon, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and the Council of Government have voted money for laboratories in Mauritius. It is hoped that before long all important Colonies, or groups of Colonies, will be provided with well-equipped laboratories, and that arrangements may be arrived at by which experts after studying the disease of a particular area or group may return to take a spell of work in the United Kingdom and then go out to study in a fresh area. The result would be a body of experts, continually abreast of the latest developments of European thought and discovery, and at the same time possessing exceptional experience of tropical diseases.

Although schools of tropical medicine were established for the study of diseases affecting man, both schools have recognised that the fortunes of tropical lands may from an economic point of view be no less seriously imperilled by the diseases to which the lower animals are liable. Livingstone declared that the greatest obstacle to civilisation in Africa is the tsetse fly, the infecting agent in many diseases of animals. The measures, therefore, taken by the Royal

Veterinary College and the University of Liverpool to encourage systematic training and research in veterinary, and especially in tropical veterinary medicine, and at the same time to extend the sphere of influence and elevate the dignity of the veterinary profession, promise to be of far-reaching advantage to the Crown Colonies.

Meanwhile, the universities and medical schools of the United Kingdom are encouraging the study of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in the spirit of a lively recognition of the Imperial importance of this branch of learning. The Royal Society has promoted the organised study of tropical diseases by expeditions to Western and Central Africa, Uganda, and British India. The General Medical Council is prosecuting the preparatory labours necessary for the Pharmacopœia, collecting reports, testing statements and figures, investigating the work of medical experts and authorities. The Nursing Association has associated with the cause the alliance of the womenkind of the Empire.

While Mr. Chamberlain has ever assigned the credit of the work that has been accomplished to these agencies, they are all agreed in recognising how much is due to his initiative and encouragement. If health is a factor in the efficient development of the resources of the Crown Colonies, the enterprise owes much to Mr. Chamberlain ; for already an appreciable addition has been made to the security of life, and the comfort not only of British subjects engaged in the work of administration but of multitudes of natives.

LABOUR.

It has been observed that outside the domain of theology there is no subject which has given rise to such an amount of controversial literature as the question of the rights and wrongs of tropical labour. The expansion of Western civilisation has everywhere had the effect of displacing the native races. The energy which has been a chief motive of expansion has characteristically sought to avail itself of equal energy in developing the resources of the area of expansion. In temperate regions, where the white man could work under the same conditions as in Europe, he has himself replaced the native ; the Red Men in America, the Maori in New Zealand, and the aboriginal races in Australia. The displacement of the natives in temperate South Africa is a question of the day. In our tropical Colonies it is otherwise. Experience has proved that their resources cannot be developed by the manual labour of

the white man, and that the natural residents of the tropics will not voluntarily lend themselves to steady work of any kind except under the economic pressure of necessity in overcrowded areas. It is evident, therefore, that the development of our Crown Colonies can only be effected under the administration and supervision of our own people by such races capable of enduring the fatigue of tropical labour as are willing to enter into voluntary agreement to perform specific work on specific conditions.

From a very remarkable series of articles recently published in the *Times* by Professor Alleyne Ireland, under the title of "Studies of Administration in the Tropics," I will avail myself of the following passage :

"An examination of the economic position of all tropical Colonies reveals a fact of the highest importance in regard to the labour conditions of those countries—namely, that, with the exception of Java, Barbados, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and India, where there is a pressure of population, there is not a single tropical Colony of any commercial importance in which the work is not being done by imported labourers. In order to make this point quite clear, I give a list of the Colonies and Protectorates in which labour supply consists wholly or partially of imported Chinese or East Indians:—British Guiana, Trinidad, Mauritius, Fiji, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States, British North Borneo, Natal, Sarawak, Sumatra; and to these we may add Queensland, which gets its labour from the Pacific Islands; New Caledonia, which imports Annamites; and French Indo-China, where arrangements are now being made to import Chinese labour. There remain the Colonies in Equatorial Africa, Dutch and French Guiana, New Guinea, the Philippines, and a few unimportant islands here and there, and there does not exist amongst them one of which it can be said that in relation to the capabilities of the land economic development has really commenced."

On this I will only note that if labour is no longer introduced to Barbados, Puerto Rico, and Cuba, the labouring population is not of natural but of imported slave origin.

Having been for many years concerned in the enactment or administration of laws and regulations under which the system known generally as "Coolie Immigration" is worked, and in particular having been responsible for the British Guiana Immigration Ordinance, 1891, of late so frequently discussed, I have observed with regret the nature of the opposition offered to the employment of contract labour in our tropical dominions. It seems to rest largely on misunderstanding. It is evidently not understood that the Indian Government has complete control over every provision of all Coolie Immigration Ordinances enacted in the Crown Colonies and over

every proposed amendment of such Ordinances. These Ordinances represent the conditions subject to which the emigration of coolies to British Colonies is permitted by the Government of India, and as a general rule no ordinance or amending ordinance is introduced until the draft has been submitted to the India Office, and through the India Office to the Government of India. The British Guiana Ordinance of 1891 was under consideration for three years by Ministers of both political parties and by the Government of India before it was approved, with some amendment, in 1894. What is most remarkable is that some provisions of the Ordinance most severely criticised as placing the coolie in a state of slavery have been introduced and insisted on for the protection of the coolie. With one of such provisions at least the planters would willingly have dispensed. In my opinion the British Guiana system affords the contract labourer much better security for the enjoyment of all his rights and privileges than the "free labour" system of the Federated Malay States. Under the "free labour" system labourers are recruited in India through the agency of a "kangani," or headman employed by the planter, and the protection of the coolie, instead of being safeguarded by a system of statutory regulations, is believed to be secured by the keen competition which might make it impossible for a planter to obtain coolies unless he proves himself consistently just and generous in his treatment of them and in his recognition of their rights.

I cannot think that the Government of India would allow the substitution of this "free labour" system for the "contract" system of British Guiana, in the West Indies.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in a recent contribution to an American periodical, has some very pertinent remarks on the future of immigration of labour in the tropics.

"Nearly every tropical country [he says], the economic development of which has been attempted, is at present struggling with the question of the supply of labour for the elementary operations of industry. As the economic pressure of civilisation to develop the tropics continues, the cry is everywhere going up for races able to sustain the burden of the development which the tropics are destined to undergo. In response to this pressure it is possible that we shall witness in the future almost as large movements of population in the tropics as history has already witnessed in the temperate regions."

I conclude, then, that if we are to retain our control of the tropics and to draw from them with advantage the products of which they have a monopoly, but the importance of which to our com-

mercial prosperity I have endeavoured to make clear, we shall have to look to the immigration of Indians and Chinese for a large share of our labour supply. None the less do I recognise that it is our duty to endeavour to secure the co-operation of the races displaced by Indians and Chinese migration in the industrial development of our tropical possessions. I refer especially to the negro race and its displacement in the West Indies : but I contemplate, of course, the problem of the part to be played by the race in the industrial development of Equatorial Africa. The relation of the negro race to the white man in America is still under the influence of the reaction from slavery. Many years ago, on a visit to America before the abolition of slavery, I heard Dr. Parker deliver a lecture in Washington on the subject of slavery, and he warned the people, as indeed he never ceased to warn them, that,

“ Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small.”

Time indeed works wonders, but the period that has elapsed since emancipation has not yet worked out the consequences of slavery in the United States. But in our Colonies the conditions produced by an epoch of slavery are receding into the past, and economic pressure, as is clearly seen in the case of overcrowded Barbados, is bringing the population of African descent under influences which act powerfully if slowly in the elevation of a race. What is wanted is to abandon the policy which prescribed education in political methods as the one and only passport to social equality, and to substitute a training in industry and commerce. The great fault of our system has been, as an American has described it, to have produced too many politicians to the square inch. It will be to their happiness and to our great advantage if we can rather get the black and coloured races to associate themselves with us in our endeavour to multiply the yield of tropical produce to the square mile ; and so get them to believe that the gospel of work preaches a nobler humanity than that of an office clerk.

THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY.

In respect of the development of the resources of the Crown Colonies the Colonial Office has been admirably supported by what I may call its auxiliary forces. I have already indicated the principal corps in the branch of scientific research and education in tropical medicine. Other important auxiliaries have been found in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, the Imperial Institute, and the

department of the Crown Agents for the Colonies; I will add also—and I am glad to notice that they have now a recognised place in the Colonial Office List—for such volunteer forces as the Royal Colonial Institute, the Ceylon Association, the Straits Settlements Association, and the West India Committee. The frank recognition of the value of these auxiliaries has, I believe, added largely to the influence of the Colonial Office. I am sorry that the limit of time makes it difficult for me to do anything like adequate justice to the Imperial service rendered by the Royal Botanic Gardens, the botanical head-quarters of the Empire, ever since their erection nearly 150 years ago. It is curious that for a century and a half they have been, with a brief intermission from 1820 to 1840, under the scientific direction of four men—Sir Joseph Banks, from their creation to 1820; Sir William Hooker, from 1841 to 1865, Sir Joseph Hooker from 1865 to 1885, and Sir William Thiselton-Dyer from that date. It is doubtful whether the collective lives of any four men covering so long a period have ever been of superior benefit to the public good. Towards the close of the interval 1820 to 1840, coincidently with the general trend of our Colonial policy, the Gardens came very near to being diverted from Imperial to domestic uses; but wiser sentiments prevailed. Since then Kew has been recognised by a Treasury Committee appointed in 1900 as “*in the first place* an organisation dealing with and giving assistance to His Majesty’s Government on questions arising in various parts of the Empire in which botanic science is involved,” and as having so far “a distinctly Imperial character,” and yet the relation of Kew to the Colonial Office never received any definite official recognition until two years ago, when Sir William Thiselton-Dyer received the appointment of Botanical Adviser, being thus placed in a position somewhat analogous to that of Sir Patrick Manson, the Medical Officer of the Colonial Office.

Royal Botanic Gardens.

The work of the Gardens may be divided under three heads. They provide a school of research and scientific and practical teaching in agriculture and horticulture; a central depôt, and a clearing-house. A principal function of the Gardens in the Department of Research and Education is to educate young men for appointments in Colonial Botanic Gardens and Stations. There are at present about 160 Kew men serving in Asia, Africa, America and Australia, of whom ninety-eight are Curators and Superin-

tendents, and sixty-three men serving in Europe (excluding the British Isles).

As a "central dépôt" Kew carries on the very important work of identifying the species of economic plants best adapted to climatic and other conditions of various parts of the Empire. As a "clearing-house" Kew, on its own initiative or by request, distributes to botanic gardens and stations throughout the Empire plants likely to form the foundation of new cultures. For some years it has been practically engaged with the West African Colonies. Among the larger enterprises undertaken may be mentioned the introduction into India of Cinchona in 1861, and of South American Rubber-trees in 1876. The Para rubber-trees of Burma are descendants of those originally introduced through Kew. In the exchange of plants from one part of the Empire to another, they are received at Kew, nursed to recovery, repacked and redispached.

For many years Kew has been in intimate relations with the Crown Colonies through the agency of Botanical Institutions in Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Jamaica, Mauritius, and other Colonies; but in 1898, on the recommendation of the West India Royal Commission, the work of the Royal Botanic Gardens was brought into much closer association with the Colonies by the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in the West Indies supported by Imperial funds. Sir Daniel Morris, Assistant-Director of Kew, was transferred to the important post of Commissioner in charge of the department. He acts as Botanical Adviser to the Governments of Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad, and has charge of all the Botanic Gardens, Stations, and Agricultural Schools established in other West Indian Colonies. He corresponds directly with the Colonial Office upon all matters concerning the general work of the department, and on all such matters the Colonial Office is advised by the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens. On matters concerning Colonial establishments and expenditure the Commissioner corresponds with the several Colonial Governments, and his services are made use of in every possible way with a view to the development of the Colonial resources.

In the organisation of the department the *leit-motif* has been a desire to enable our tropical Colonies to compete with the tropical Colonies of France, Germany, and the United States, by abandoning the crude empirical methods of cultivation those countries have long since discarded, and adopting methods based on general scientific knowledge, but specially adapted to the local environment of the area of production.

The principal local agencies co-ordinated under the new system are the Botanical establishments of British Guiana, Jamaica, and Trinidad; and such Colonies as afford opportunities for scientific teaching and research in botany, in addition to training in the practical work of horticulture and agriculture. In the smaller Colonies there has been established since 1885 a system of Botanic Stations; their business is to devote themselves in a systematic manner to the work of introducing, propagating and distributing all the promising economic plants of the tropics; to initiate the experimental cultivation of new or little-known plants, and assist in the efforts made in the large Colonies to secure important varieties; to act as centres for diffusing accurate information, and as training institutions for the practical teaching of agriculture. They are at the same time the head-quarters from which agricultural instructors are sent to give lectures and demonstrations bearing on the selection of land for tropical economic plants, their suitable cultivation, and the best methods for curing and packing the produce. These agricultural instructors constitute an important agency in the development of rural industries by improved methods. They carry the instructions of the Botanic Station so far as is possible into the rural districts, giving practical demonstrations to small proprietors on any farm or plantation convenient for the purpose. These visits are paid at different seasons of the year, so that the instruction may cover the whole process from preparing the soil to handling and marketing the produce in such a way as to procure the most remunerative price—an important matter hitherto scarcely considered by small planters.

The work of the department is encouraged by Agricultural Exhibitions, and its methods and results are brought to the knowledge of the most isolated cultivators of the soil by the distribution of bulletins, handbooks, and leaflets, the principal publication being the "West Indian Bulletin," appreciated far beyond the limits of the West Indies. The department promotes agricultural and horticultural teaching and training not only in special schools but in connection with the ordinary routine of primary schools.

Mr. Chamberlain, in introducing in the House of Commons a vote for the support of the department, stated that the grant-in-aid would have to be continued, if the experiment showed a probable success, until the Colonies should be placed in a self-supporting condition. It is to be hoped that when that time arrives the department will be established on a permanent foundation, and there can be little doubt that the expenditure will be willingly

borne by the Colonies. It is to be hoped, moreover, that the experiment may serve as a model for the establishment of similar systems in Africa and in the East. In the struggle for the control of the tropics our tropical Colonies would then be able to compete on equal terms, so far as the methods of agriculture are concerned, with all competitors.

The Imperial Institute.

Very important aid has been brought to the commercial development of the Crown Colonies and Places by the Imperial Institute, now transferred to the control of the Board of Trade. The work of the Institute, which has ever received the support and encouragement of His Majesty the King, is to display and to illustrate the natural resources and industries of the Colonies and India, and to promote by scientific and technical investigation the commercial utilisation of the raw materials of the Empire. The investigations now carried on for the Crown Colonies in the laboratories at South Kensington in communication with merchants and users of raw materials, including minerals, &c., are well known. Collaterally with the scientific and technical work of the Institute, the Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade provides for the supply of commercial, statistical, and tariff intelligence, as well as for the exhibition of samples of Colonial produce illustrative of reports of our Consuls, or of the correspondents and special commissioners of the Board.

The limit of time at my disposal makes it hopeless for me to attempt to give anything like an adequate account of the work of the Imperial Institute in aid of the Colonies. I can only refer generally to the "Bulletin of the Imperial Institute," and the volume of Reports for 1908. I may mention, however, by way of further illustration of the work of the Institute, the Report of the Director, Professor Wyndham Dunstan, on Cotton Cultivation; and by way of illustration of the work of the Commercial and Statistical branch of the Board of Trade, the Statistical Abstract of the British Empire, of which the first number appeared a few days ago "to meet the growing demand for statistical information as to the trade relations both between the Empire and foreign countries, and also among its various constituent parts." I think it worth mentioning that in this Abstract the trades of the self-governing Colonies and of Crown Colonies and Possessions are distinguished, a recognition of the growing magnitude of the importance of

His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, exclusive of the self-governing Colonies and India.

Resuming, then, the work of the agencies engaged in the organisation of tropical agricultural industry. It is their aim to be able eventually to utilise the results and experiences of one part of our Empire by conveying them to others; to indicate what products and what species of such products may with the greatest economic advantage be cultivated or acclimatised in this country or that; and to collect and publish information as to the world's demand and supply of tropical products.

In illustration of the dangers which may attend the cultivation of economic plants without some controlling agency possessed of the scientific knowledge, experience, and information thus indicated I may give two examples. The necessity of an accurate identification of the species of plants to be selected was shown in Java, where the Dutch cinchona enterprise was hampered for many years by the cultivation of a species subsequently discovered to be worthless. A knowledge of the world's demand and supply is, of course, especially necessary in the case of tropical products for which there is only a limited market. The risk attending the cultivation of such products is now being realised in Seychelles, where the fortunes of the Colony have been largely dependent on vanilla. From 1898 to 1900 prices were very high (Rs. 30 to Rs. 33 per kilo.) owing to an expansion in demand. In 1903 the price fell to Rs. 8.50, owing to the reaction when manufacturers found the price too high and had recourse to a substitute known as vanillin. Planters have now to turn their attention to other tropical economic plants.

TRANSPORT.

Having dealt so far with conditions essential to the development of the products of the tropics, we must bear in mind that their value depends on facilities of exchange, and this brings me to the question of transport. The harvest of fertile lands cultivated with industry however indefatigable, by methods however intelligent and appropriate, may be rendered worthless by heavy shipping and railway rates. The West India Commissioners did not fail to recognise the importance of this question, both as regards the means of intercommunication between the different islands, so as to bring their produce to points of connection with ocean highway routes, and the means of ultimate transport to their markets in temperate regions. The Commissioners, in recognising the importance of this

question, declared that the necessary funds could not be found without aid from the Imperial Treasury. It was felt that facilities of communication were a necessary corollary to the establishment of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, and services subsidised by the Home Government now carry on regular inter-insular communication and connect all the West India Colonies with the United Kingdom, Canada, and America. Of these services I need only particularly mention the Imperial West India Direct Mail Service, aided by a subsidy of £40,000 from the Imperial Government and Jamaica expressly for the conveyance of fruit. A few figures will show the rapid development of the fruit industry of the West Indies. Twenty years ago its value amounted to only £253,000; in ten years it had doubled, and in ten more it had reached £1,250,000. Sir William Thiselton-Dyer, in commenting recently on the growing demand for tropical fruit, pointed out that the industry depends entirely on adequate means of transit, and paid a just tribute to Sir Alfred Jones, who has had a main hand in opening this new phase of commercial enterprise. In illustration of the possibilities of the tropical fruit industry in our Colonies, it must be pointed out that while there is an enormous consumption of bananas and citrus fruits in the United Kingdom, a very small proportion of the import is derived from British sources. The value of citrus fruits imported in 1903 was not less than £2,250,000, of which only a fraction came from our own Empire. It may reasonably be hoped, then, that the question of adequate transport for our sea-borne commerce may force itself upon the attention of all concerned in the produce of the tropics, and that they will never "rest and be thankful" until the means of transport of our insular Empire are made as cheap and convenient as the means of communication between the territorial stations of a Continental Empire.

While means of communication were being organised for the sea-borne trade of the West Indies, a policy not less wise and energetic was being carried out in West Africa by railways, which formed the subject of a lecture by Mr. F. Shelford in these rooms in April last, and I need not discuss it. Your Grace, presiding on that occasion, recognised the enormous possibilities of the country being opened to commerce and civilisation in West African territory; the energy of Mr. Chamberlain's initiative; and the hearty co-operation of those on whose technical knowledge the success of the work depended, and the courage and endurance of those who bore the burden of the climate and the labour of con-

struction. Comparing the bold spirit in which this enterprise has been undertaken with the cautious mind of forty years ago, when a Committee of Parliament recommended the abandonment of the country, we may congratulate the Empire on the change of our Colonial policy, of which indeed there can scarcely be a more material guarantee than this railway work in West Africa.

In 1898 there was not a mile of rail open to traffic. The Statistical Abstract gives the following returns for 1903 :

—	Miles Open	Receipts	Working Expenses
		£	£
Lagos	124	48,986	44,073
Gold Coast ¹	168	65,965	47,425
Sierra Leone	136	36,620	31,925

By the end of June, 1904, the railways of the three Colonies aggregated 522 miles in length, and these railways have been constructed through dense tropical forest, in a deadly climate, which, in spite of every precaution in accordance with improved principles of malaria prevention, caused constant change in the staff of every grade; amid difficulties arising from heavy rainfall, from scarcity and inferiority of labour, from conditions under which cargo had to be landed, as on the Gold Coast, by surf boats and lighters on an open roadstead; while native revolts and military operations have interrupted and delayed the work.

A recently published Blue Book (Cd. 2325), on the construction of these railways, contains an instructive memorandum on alternative systems of railway construction in undeveloped countries. It illustrates that the importance of transport facilities in the development of Crown Colonies and Places is fully recognised by the Colonial Office.

INTERNATIONAL RIVALRY FOR CONTROL OF THE TROPICS.

The severity of the probable struggle for control of the tropics cannot be better illustrated than by the history of the sugar industry.

The importance of sugar, so picturesquely represented by Lord Beaconsfield, did not fail to be recognised by such foreign Governments as, being without tropical possessions, were unable to partici-

¹ Half year only. The receipts from July 1, 1903, to June 30, 1904, were £141,941, and working expenses £91,112.

pate in the profits of cane sugar. They determined therefore to promote the cultivation of beetroot sugar in their own temperate regions in substitution of cane sugar. They were confronted, however, by the difficulty of competing against a product which could be produced more cheaply than the proposed substitute, and they decided to adopt a system well known in the sphere of commercial competition, and to destroy the rival industry by a system of bounties which enabled their sugar to be placed on the market at a price below the lowest possible cost of production of either sugar. It is obvious that foreign Governments would not have embarked on this enterprise had they not relied on the fixity of England's Colonial policy, in which the principle of purchasing in the cheapest market of the day was associated with a readiness and even a desire to abandon her Crown Colonies. And not without reason, for although the prejudice done to our Colonies by the Continental system was admitted by both political parties for over forty years, it was not till the close of the nineteenth century that the disastrous consequences which must result from the extinction of the cane sugar, or its reduction to an insignificant area enjoying exceptional advantages of cultivation, were fully realised. The success of the Continental efforts to displace our Colonial produce by the substitution of beetroot may be sufficiently indicated by the fact that during the years 1900 to 1903 we imported 6,500,000 tons of sugar, of which 5,848,000 tons were European beet. Meanwhile a Committee of the House of Commons had in 1880 advised that immediate steps be taken to obtain such an alteration of the bounty system as would stop the granting of bounties on sugar. Nothing, however, was done until Mr. Chamberlain's advent to the Colonial Office, and the appointment in 1897 of the West India Royal Commissioners. I endeavour to give in the concisest possible form a summary of the conclusions of the report.

The conclusion arrived at was that the sugar industry in the West Indies was in danger of practical extinction; that no industry or series of industries could in the space of a few years supply its place, and that some of the Colonies would for a time be unable to meet the necessary and unavoidable cost of administration, including payments on account of the public debt. Briefly stated, the results of the extinction of the sugar industry in the West Indies would be, as regards local interests, the loss of the enormous capital invested in the enterprise, and the exhaustion of the funds which provided wages, salaries, and professional emolu-

ments for practically the whole community. As regards Imperial interests, the extinction of the industry meant that the Imperial Treasury would have to bear the cost of administration and the burden of the public debt. In respect of this latter burden there can be no shadow of doubt that the Imperial Treasury is in the last resort responsible for the obligations of the Crown Colonies; in respect of carrying on the work of administration, the Commissioners gave very cogent reasons why, in view of the exceptional circumstances of West Indian population, we cannot divest ourselves of responsibility for their future.

"We cannot [they concluded] abandon them, and if economic conditions become such that private enterprise and the profits of trade and cultivation cease to attract white men to the Colonies or to keep them there, this may render it more difficult for the British Government to discharge its obligations, but will not in any way diminish the force of them."

On the question of the causes of the depression and threatened extinction of the sugar industry the Commission reported that the depression was due in a special degree to the competition of beet sugar produced under a system of bounties, and was also affected by high protective tariffs, and by the competition of cane sugar, the production of which was specially aided by the Governments concerned. In this conviction they recommended that the best immediate remedy for the state of things shown to exist would be the abandonment of the bounty system by Continental Powers.

The Commission did not lose sight of the temporary benefit conferred by the bounty system in the reduction of the price of sugar. They estimated that the British public gained probably more than two millions sterling yearly from the cheapening of sugar by bounties, but they recognised clearly that this was the price foreign Governments were willing to pay for the ultimate extinction of the cane sugar industry as a formidable rival to beet-root, the result of which would be to give them complete control of the sugar market, and the enjoyment of monopoly prices. They recognised, however, the formidable difficulties that presented themselves, and especially the fact that many countries appear to have singled out the sugar industry as one which ought to be artificially stimulated in various ways. They thus arrived at the opinion that "the causes of the depression may be considered as permanent, inasmuch as they are largely due to the policy of foreign countries, and there is no indication that that policy is likely to be abandoned in the immediate future."

In this belief the Commission felt it their duty to anticipate the reduction of sugar cultivation to such an extent as would make the West India Colonies dependent on other means of revenue, and they accordingly recommended various measures of relief, and dwelt especially on the importance of other profitable agricultural industries for the cultivation of sugar cane. With this object they recommended the establishment of a Department of Economic Botany in the West Indies at the expense of the Imperial Exchequer. This recommendation was accepted, and its far-reaching and beneficial consequences I have endeavoured to display in dealing with the organisation of tropical agriculture.

Notwithstanding the apprehensions of the Commission on the subject of the abandonment of the foreign system in the immediate future, the irresistible argument of the facts established in their report and the energy of Mr. Chamberlain achieved the impossible, and the Brussels Convention has restored to the Sugar Industry all that was ever claimed—free exchange between the producer and consumer on the basis of the natural cost of production, prices and profits being regulated by the ordinary laws of demand, supply, and competition.

The consequences of the Brussels Convention have been much discussed in respect of their influence on the present high price of sugar. The withdrawal of a contribution in aid of the reduction of the price of sugar, in the form of bounties, has of course had some effect on prices, but it has been shown most conclusively that the present price of sugar is due to precisely the same cause as contributed to raise the price of cotton—shortage of supply. The remedy in both cases would seem to be an increase in the sources of supply, and in the case of sugar the Brussels Convention has facilitated this increase by removing the artificial hindrances which existed under the bounty system. It is clear that a most serious hindrance to the extension of sugar supply, under the bounty system and the Colonial Policy of England which tolerated it, was that the credit of the industry was destroyed. Now that the bounty system has been abolished, and that it has been recognised that we cannot possibly withdraw from our responsibilities towards the Crown Colonies, there has already clearly manifested itself a determination to hold on to the cultivation of sugar on lands that would otherwise have been abandoned, to restore abandoned lands to cultivation, and to undertake new enterprises.

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES.

Any account of the administration of the Crown Colonies would be curiously inadequate without reference to the Office of the Crown Agents, the commercial and financial agents for all the Colonies not possessing Responsible Government, as well as for the Protectorates controlled by the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office. In the Office of the Crown Agents the commercial and financial demands of the Governments of the Crown Colonies, even the most distant and the most isolated, are brought into focus at the centre of supply, just as their political and administrative exigencies are brought into focus in the Colonial Office. In illustration of their position I may mention that neighbouring Colonies in remote parts of the Empire find it more convenient to adjust their accounts through the Office of the Crown Agents in London than by direct transactions. Their commercial business includes the supply of all stores that cannot be procured locally, and their more important transactions include supplies for the departments of railways, public works, and harbours. Next in importance are the requirements of the post and telegraphic departments, the supply of hospital and laboratory stores, and the equipment of the police and local military forces. During the year 1908 they shipped stores to the Colonies of the value of about £8,500,000. It is evident that they are thus enabled to buy in a cheaper market, and to hold a stricter control over manufactures than would be possible for Agents of single Colonies. But their transactions extend far beyond the supply of materials; when important works such as railway, harbour, drainage, water supply schemes are projected, their business includes correspondence with the consulting engineers, making arrangements for surveys, drawing and making contracts, and advising the Secretary of State and the Colonial Governments on questions of concessions or any point of difficulty that may arise. As a specific instance of the transactions of the Crown Agents in the matter of railway construction, I may refer to the West Africa railways, in connection with which testimony has been borne by Sir William MacGregor, Sir Alfred Jones, and others to the services they have rendered.

But it is in financial business, and especially in the arrangement of temporary advances and fixed-term loans, that the Crown Agents have rendered the most signal services to the Crown Colonies. They hold in trust on behalf of Colonial Governments over £9,000,000 of security, while the loans domiciled with them on which they pay interest amount to £26,500,000. This position

enables them to obtain for the Colonies temporary advances on terms much more favourable than would otherwise be possible.

Apart from the exceptional transactions connected with the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies and the liquidation of the affairs of the late South African Republic, the Crown Agents in 1908 arranged for advances to various Colonial Governments, in anticipation of the issue of loans or the receipt of instalments of loans to the amount of £9,000,000; while they lent out temporarily at interest moneys belonging to the Colonies to the extent of over £15,000,000.

I am sorry that the exigencies of time make it impossible for me to give a detailed account of the transactions of the Crown Agents with the Colony of Mauritius during a severe financial crisis in the year 1897, but I gladly avail myself of this as of every occasion to express my sense of the particular services then rendered to the Colony. I believe that similar service has been done in British Guiana, and my experience leads me to believe that the assistance which the local Governments are placed in a position to afford in times of crisis through the Crown Agency system appreciably fortifies the security of the Colonial banks.

In view of the responsibility of the Imperial Treasury, in the final resort, for the financial stability of the Crown Colonies and Places, the position of the Crown Agents acquires really Imperial significance, and it may be said without exaggeration that "their able, upright, and single-minded service," to use the words of Mr. Chamberlain, constitutes a national asset.

The Parliamentary session of 1904 was marked by much criticism of public departments, and the office of the Crown Agents was not spared. But the complaints made were of such a nature that Mr. Lyttelton was able to declare, that while he had always been willing to investigate any specific causes of complaint brought against the Crown Agents, it was most remarkable, considering the enormous magnitude of their transactions, that no specific instance of the kind complained of had ever been brought against them.

FINANCE.

It remains for me to consider the question of financial relations between the Mother Country and the Crown Colonies. My observations will fall under two heads: tariff and credit. It has been pointed out that, for reasons assigned, the development of the resources of tropical possessions can only be effected, under the

administration and supervision of our own people, by races of tropical origin able to endure the fatigue of tropical labours. I must add the fact that the development of these resources depends almost exclusively on British capital invested either in land or in financial and commercial enterprises. In other words, the capital and profits of all tropical Colonial enterprises are domiciled in the United Kingdom and contribute to the Imperial Treasury. The fiscal system of the Crown Colonies is based on a recognition of this fact.

Apart from Hong Kong and Singapore, which have no domestic exports, and in which Free-trade exists in the strictest sense of the term, the fiscal system of the productive Crown Colonies is established on a basis of Free-trade modified by the exigencies of revenue.

The policy of Protection, in the accepted sense of the term, does not enter into the fiscal system of the Crown Colonies, for the best of all reasons; they have nothing to protect. So far from imposing duties of Customs for the purpose of protecting their own industry, their Customs revenue is derived entirely from commodities which it is to their interest to admit, and on the admission of which their very existence depends.

With the exception of duty on spirits and tobacco, countervailed by duties of Excise, there are no Customs duties which it is to the interest of any class of the community to maintain. They are therefore in no sense protective duties.

In the Crown Colonies generally, for the reasons I have stated, the only taxable fund is the wage fund supplied by the annual proceeds of the cultivation of the land. This fund provides the local expenditure of capitalists or their representatives, salaries, professional emoluments, and wages for the whole community. The proceeds of cultivation beyond what is required to supply the wage fund, including profits of capital, and so much of this fund as is not locally expended, are transferred to British domicile. And as these Colonies are almost wholly dependent on foreign imports, not only for all manufactured goods, but in many cases for their food supply, it has come to be recognised that the burden of taxation can most fairly be distributed among those who participate in the wage fund, by duties of Customs. The tariff accordingly is so constituted as to secure a just incidence of taxation on the various classes of the community.

If the duty on any article has to be reduced to negotiate arrangements with foreign ports, the burden can be shifted, as was done in the case of the McKinley Tariff Treaty arrangements with the

United States of America. The result of these arrangements was the admission of West India sugar into the American market with the fullest advantages of the free list.

More than fifty years ago an eminent writer, gifted with singular powers of foresight, in the course of a vigorous protest against the fiscal and Colonial policy of the day, anticipated the connecting and concentrating efficiency of railways, steamers and electricity, then in the infancy of their development, in the aggregation of communities. "We already see," he exclaimed, "the approaching shadows of those gigantic federations which a coming age will witness. The two colossal Empires which even now loom in the distance are the United States and Russia. Possibly a third may be descried, and a greater than either of the two, unless it pleases Providence only to show us the mighty possible future of Great Britain, and then to dash our incipient greatness by allowing us to persevere in a disintegrating policy in spite of the plainest warnings."¹

For the disintegrating policy he proposed to substitute a policy of aggregation which in fiscal matters would treat the Colonies as English counties; in other words, would establish a *Zollverein*.

Though a universal Imperial *Zollverein* may not be possible, there seems to be no reason why the principles of a *Zollverein* should not be introduced into the fiscal relations of the United Kingdom with Crown Colonies and Places.

Enough has, I hope, been said to illustrate the ever-increasing importance of the interchange of articles of natural tropical produce with the artificial products of British industry, and it is unnecessary to enter upon a discussion of the question whether import duties are paid by the producers or consumers, for it is certain that the free admission of articles of food and raw material would be equally acceptable to both. I have endeavoured to show that in the tariff system of the Crown Colonies there is nothing which could be urged as justifying a retaliatory duty on their exports.

Seeing, then, that the Home Government exercises practically complete control, not only over their financial affairs but over the different agencies passed in review, on which the development of the resources of the Crown Colonies depends, I venture to submit that in fiscal matters they cannot be dealt with as foreign States or self-governing Colonies. I urge, therefore, that their produce of

¹ *Sophisms of Free-Trade and Popular Political Economy examined.* By Sir John Barnard Byles, 1851.

food and raw material, other than articles subject in the United Kingdom to duties of Excise or restrictions, such as spirits and tobacco, should be admitted free of all duties on Customs, or, if a duty has to be imposed to meet the exigencies of the Imperial Treasury, at rates based on the fact that no possible analogy can be established between their relations to the Mother Country and the relation of foreign States and self-governing Colonies.

I pass on to the subject of the public credit of Crown Colonies and Places, and, as charges on account of public debt constitute a formidable item in the annual expenditure of many Crown Colonies, the rate of interest on loans negotiated is of importance. Parliament has on two occasions within the last few years enabled the Colonies to reduce the burden of these charges. By the Mauritius Hurricane Loan Act, 1892, the Imperial Treasury was authorised to guarantee the repayment of the principal and interest at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum of a loan raised by the Government of Mauritius. By the Colonial Loans Act, 1899, the Imperial Treasury was authorised to make advances, amounting in all to £3,851,820, to a number of Colonies (at a rate not less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.) in accordance with the terms of the National Debt and Local Loans Act, 1887. Assuming that, as in the case of Mauritius, the rate of interest was 1 per cent. less than the rate of Crown Colony Inscribed Stock Loans, these Acts obviously furnished a substantial measure of relief. They were a recognition by Parliament of the fact that the Home Government is in the last resort responsible for the financial condition of the Crown Colonies, and that the logical consequence of this responsibility is the right of the Home Government to control their expenditure. As, then, no loan can be raised without the consent of the Home Government, which is in the last resort responsible for every loan, with or without a statutory guarantee, it seems to follow that the Home Government could render substantial aid to the Crown Colonies without incurring the additional risk of one farthing by allowing all the Crown Colony authorised loans to be negotiated in accordance with the provisions of one or other of the Acts I have referred to.

This is not an original suggestion. On February 24, 1899, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mr. Chamberlain brought in a Bill to provide for the advance of Colonial Loans and the issue of guaranteed Colonial Stock or Bonds. This Bill authorised the creation of a Colonial Loans Fund provided by the issue of guaranteed Colonial Stock, and was designed to cover all the

King's dominions beyond the sea which I have included within the term Crown Colonies and Places, Clause 7 running as follows :

(1) This Act shall apply to any Colony the finances of which are declared by the rules under this Act to be under the control of a Secretary of State within the meaning of the Act.

(2) This Act shall also apply to any British Protectorate or protected State the finances of which are so declared to be under the control of a Secretary of State, and to Cyprus, in like manner as if it were a Colony, and the Queen in Council or any authority recognised by the rules as a legislative authority were the Legislature for that Colony.

All I desire to urge is the reintroduction of this Bill or a Bill on analogous lines.

The present system has produced a singular anomaly. While the Imperial Treasury is admittedly responsible for all Crown Colony loans, there have been brought into existence two classes of Colonial Stock. The class of security known as Colonial Inscribed Stock, issued without an express Imperial guarantee, provides an investment for trust funds bearing interest at a rate of about 1 per cent. higher than guaranteed loans. The additional rate of interest is provided out of Colonial funds and constitutes a burden of which they might be relieved without, as I have said, laying one farthing of additional risk or burden on the Imperial Treasury.

DEFENCE.

Inseparable from the interests of the Crown Colonies in their commercial development is their interest in defence from foreign aggression and the protection of their sea-borne commerce. Taken collectively, it is probable that no community in the world has so large a proportion of commerce exposed to so great an ocean risk ; while in many of them the food of the people depends entirely on sea-borne supply. I do not propose to discuss the principles of Imperial defence so often, and so powerfully, asserted here by Sir George Clarke, Sir John Colomb, and others, or any scheme of operations subordinate to the enforcement of those principles. But the question of the incidence of the burden of Imperial defence has lately been brought into prominence, and I desire to express my confidence that the Crown Colonies are prepared to bear their part of the burden. Hitherto the Crown Colonies have never been asked to contribute towards the expense of the navy, and it must be admitted that the question of adjusting the military contribution

has often given rise to angry controversy, but I cannot help thinking that this has been owing to the absence of any rational or uniform basis in the demands for Colonial contributions.

In a note to a return published by the Colonial Office in 1829, it is stated that "it has never been a principle of British rule to require that the Colonies should provide for their military defence," although the return showed that the Colonies did practically contribute £385,000 apparently in personal allowances called Colonial allowances. In 1859 a Departmental Committee reported that the Colonies might be said generally to have been free from almost all obligation of contributing, either by personal service or money, towards their own defence; that the incidence of the small sums contributed was most unequal and chiefly borne by three Colonies; and they particularly condemned the system of Colonial allowances as most mischievous to our troops. This report was followed by the appointment in 1861 of a Select Committee, of which Mr. Mills was Chairman, to inquire into the defence of the Colonies and the distribution of the cost between the Imperial Treasury and the Colonial Funds. It was found that the distribution of troops and the allocation of charges were based on no principle and had grown up by chance modified by temporary exigencies. The general result of the report of the Committee was the decision of the Government that all Colonies must bear the burden of their military establishments. It must be remembered that during the 'sixties the idea of separation had grown to be a fixed purpose, and this decision was immediately followed by the gradual withdrawal of all the Imperial troops from the self-governing Colonies, a process practically completed in 1870. In the Crown Colonies, where it was found impossible to withdraw the Imperial troops, the military contribution was fixed on the basis of a capitation rate for each man on the strength, varying according to the branch of the service to which he belonged. The capitation rate varied also in the different Colonies. This system was a constant cause of irritation. The Colonies declared their readiness to contribute in so far as the strength of the garrison was fixed to meet local requirements, but resisted the demand for a contribution towards the cost of a garrison, of which the strength was adjusted to external imperial exigencies. The objection of the Colonists was urged with all the more force since the incidence of this burden continued to be unequal, and borne entirely by a very few Colonies. It is of course difficult to draw a line between local and Imperial requirements, and it would have been impossible to arrive at a

satisfactory adjustment on any such principle. Fortunately the capitation rate has been abandoned in favour of a more rational system.

The Army Estimates for 1904-1905 show the following contributions by Crown Colonies to Army Funds :

	£
Straits Settlements	218,500
Ceylon	194,600
Hong Kong	121,500
Mauritius	26,500
Malta	5,000

These contributions are no longer based on a capitation rate. The contribution of Malta is a lump sum fixed at a time when it would have been obviously impossible for the Colony to pay a capitation rate on the total strength of the garrison. The contributions of the other Colonies represent a percentage of the gross public revenue, less certain reductions, as for railway charges and water-works, so long as the revenue from these sources does not cover the expenditure for maintenance and loan redemption. In the case of the Straits Settlements and Hong Kong the contribution represents 20 per cent.; in Ceylon $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in Mauritius $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The apparent discrepancy in the rate is justified by the difference in the scope of the charges which the public revenue has to cover. For instance, in Mauritius the public revenue has to bear the entire burden of education, sanitation, hospitals, the harbour department, police, public roads, and a variety of charges which in England are defrayed by local rates, private enterprise, and private benefactors. The public revenue liable to the contribution has also to cover charges for immigration, and on account of the public debt. In Ceylon a system of local administration by native agencies relieves the public revenue from many charges which in Mauritius have to be borne by the public revenue. I am not prepared to say that a percentage of the public revenue is the best possible mode of fixing Colonial contributions to Defence Funds; but it has this eminent advantage, especially in Colonies subject to vicissitudes and fluctuations of fortune, that the burden adapts itself automatically to the power of the Colony to bear it.

On the other hand, the adjustment of the rate of percentage involves considerations of complexity, for the reasons I have indicated and others. For example, of the Colonies now paying a military contribution on the new system, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong have been enormously enriched by

the opening of the Suez Canal, which has deprived Mauritius of a principal source of her former wealth, and has beggared St. Helena, which previously contributed to Army Funds. Possibly a contribution calculated on the value of Imports and Exports might in the case of Colonies dependent on the export of their agricultural produce and its returns be a more convenient basis of adjustment. But in any case, I venture to suggest that in future the contributions to Army Funds be abolished; that there be substituted a contribution to the Imperial Treasury for Defence Funds, and that all the Crown Colonies be invited to contribute to the Funds, according to the measure of their power, on such a basis as may be found most convenient.

Before quitting this subject I ought to add that, in addition to their annual contributions, all the four Colonies of the Straits Settlements, Ceylon, Hong Kong, and Mauritius, have provided a large capital sum in aid of fortifications and barracks constructed by the Imperial authorities.

CONCLUSION.

I have endeavoured within the brief limits allowed me to trace the lines of our Colonial policy from the earlier stages through a policy of segregation and surrender to a policy of aggregation and adhesion. It has been my desire to make clear the magnitude and multitude of the interests involved in the development of the resources in that part of the Empire which I have included in the term Crown Colonies and Places—in other words, in the King's dominions beyond the seas exclusive of the self-governing Colonies and India. And I have sought to illustrate the methods and agencies by which the Colonial Minister, associating himself with the representatives of science, industry, and commerce, has undertaken to realise the full value of our undeveloped estates, not only to the material advantage of the United Kingdom, but in trust for the civilisation of the tropical regions of the earth.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (His Grace the Duke of Marlborough, K.G.): In his very interesting Paper Sir Charles Bruce has traced the history and the various aspects of our Crown Colonies. In consideration of the limited amount of time at the disposal of speakers I do not propose to refer to that part of the Paper in which he deals with

APPENDIX.—GENERAL STATISTICS OF THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS (EXCLUSIVE OF THE SELF-GOVERNING COLONIES AND INDIA).

Colonies, &c.	Area	Population, 1904	Public Revenue, 1903	Public Expenditure, 1903	Public Debt, Dec. 31, 1903	Imports, 1903, from		Exports, 1903, to	
						United Kingdom	Total	United Kingdom	Total
EUROPE : *	Sq. miles		£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Gibraltar	11½	25,699*	77,065	65,469	—	—	—	—	—
Malta	117	197,070	464,391	410,867	79,188	292,493	7,188,079	2,269,810	6,148,883
Cyprus	3,664	243,184*	216,360	140,264	62,600	88,843	386,661	132,448	387,441
Total for Europe	3,702½	465,946	767,016	616,640	141,668	376,325	7,544,740	2,392,265	6,532,424
ASIA :									
Ceylon	25,232	3,573,990*	1,961,554	1,805,251	4,940,830	—	—	—	—
Hong Kong	229	428,335*	498,460	472,269	341,759	2,192,696	7,943,298	3,606,935	7,260,366
Wai-kei-wai	286	160,000	5,107	74,606	—	—	—	—	—
Strait Settlements	1,226	639,881*	693,565	716,271	—	2,513,017	34,135,048	5,871,483	38,424,125
Malay States	26,360	861,240*	1,983,680	1,412,286	—	—	4,811,538	—	7,022,270
Labuan	80	8,411	76,295	42,289	—	—	380,102	—	362,149
North Borneo	81,106	120,000*	76,502	52,363	—	—	283,664	—	265,863
Sarawak	41,000	600,000*	121,766	111,766	2,187	—	511,553	—	687,338
Total for Asia	125,987	6,274,867	5,808,370	4,598,719	5,290,816	5,706,718	47,188,402	9,480,418	43,867,351
AFRICA :									
Ascension	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beantland	10,893	848,708	106,794	73,993	—	360,000*	298,140	—	137,087
Bechuanaland Protectorate	275,000	120,776	32,443	52,338	—	—	80,000	—	—
Transvaal	111,196	1,268,716	5,283,241	4,526,293	35,000,000	8,631,794	19,451,048	—	12,969,912
Orange River Colony	50,101	385,045	956,535	839,392	10,000	—	3,149,488	—	778,995
Mauritius, &c.	705	278,733*	614,775	633,245	1,379,784	374,468	2,617,989	289,924	2,519,618
Seychelles	150*	16,979	8,016	21,382	24,669	18,944	64,443	23,871	55,035
St. Helena	47	5,016	13,123	21,382	—	—	55,126	—	12,235
Sierra Leone and Protectorate	34,000	1,076,655*	237,780	206,464	—	—	700,897	197,889	418,631
Gambia	4,500	133,000	55,664	67,604	—	142,560	341,063	22,080	324,017
Gold Coast Colony	82,000	1,338,433	677,552	593,956	2,252,975	1,439,931	2,083,543	594,142	980,942
Lagos	30,000	1,500,000	334,696	303,096	—	641,203	864,146	366,171	1,146,383
Southern Nigeria	48,000	2,000,000	470,608	477,755	—	1,228,569	4,492,747	922,658	1,431,984
Northern Nigeria	815,000	10,000,000	257,000	289,391	—	—	240,110	—	68,442
British Central Africa Protectorate	40,980	760,481	63,100	102,525	—	174,945	207,655	21,880	37,409
Sphere of operations of British South Africa Company	852,000	1,000,000*	633,037	1,061,400	—	—	1,933,352	—	18,538
Small Protectorates :									
Socotra, Zanzibar, Pemba, East Africa Protectorate, and Uganda	760,000*	6,500,000*	337,928	806,944	—	318,187	2,259,528	106,051	682,065
Total for Africa	2,334,006	26,926,563	10,164,318	10,296,530	35,669,429	13,800,291	35,843,598	2,474,394	21,464,303

the history of the Crown Colonies, or with that part in which he touches on fiscal relations. I turn at once to the question, "Of what good are our Crown Colonies and Places?" It seems to me they are no good at all to us unless they are developed. As Sir Charles pointed out not many years ago, the same interest was not displayed in the development of these Colonies either by the Colonial Office or by the public that is displayed now. I think I am justified in saying that the change in attitude, the alteration in the frame of mind both of Governments and of the public towards the possibilities of our Crown Colonies, owes its inception mainly to the great interest and energy exhibited by Mr. Chamberlain during the years he was at the head of the Colonial Office. We at the Colonial Office have inherited that legacy. I can assure you the present Secretary of State is desirous of maintaining the traditions which Mr. Chamberlain planted, and I think you will agree that during his term of office he has worthily maintained them. I think that one great value of our Crown Colonies is that they are a source of foodstuffs and raw material for this country, and at the same time they form an admirable market for our manufactures. What are these foodstuffs? In the first place there is sugar. I am not going into a thorny controversy, but some of you perhaps have read the report of Sir Daniel Morris on the Sugar Industry of the West Indies, showing that in the course of the last twelve months that industry has developed and increased in the most amazing manner. Another raw material, which in some respects is somewhat new, is West Indian fruit. Only in recent years has it been shown that the fruit grown there is both delightful to look at and excellent to eat. It is largely due to men like Sir Alfred Jones, who has established a line of fast steamers, that it has been made possible to bring fruit like bananas and pineapples and place them on our market in a fresh and wholesome condition. Another raw material which seems to me perhaps the most important of all is cotton. Sir Charles Bruce has referred to the possibility of growing cotton within the Empire and to the action of the British Cotton Growing Association. Everyone who has studied the matter is, I think, agreed that it is of vital importance that the supply of cotton throughout the world should be increased. More cotton is going to be consumed by this and other European countries, and unless you increase the supply prices will be increased, and there will consequently be a disturbance of industry such as occurred in Lancashire last year. If the supply is to be increased I should prefer to see the increase take place within the confines of the

British Empire. Turning to the question of health, it is clearly impossible to develop our tropical and sub-tropical Colonies as we could wish unless we remove the disabilities which till recently have existed in the shape of malaria and other tropical illnesses. I think you will agree that the London and the Liverpool Schools of Tropical Medicine have done much to mitigate the terrible diseases which lay low so many of our countrymen in the West African Colonies. It is of course impossible to prosecute researches of this nature unless funds are forthcoming. Funds are indeed urgently required, and so much is that recognised by those in great positions in this country that Mr. Chamberlain has consented this summer to preside at a great dinner in London, at which also the Secretary of State is to be present, which is to be held for the purpose of furthering that object. It is almost a truism to say that if we wish to develop our trade in West Africa we must give assurances to Englishmen that they have a reasonable chance of living there under healthy and comfortable conditions. In this connection I must not forget the admirable services of the Colonial Nursing Association, which I believe will be developed on still better lines in the future. I am not going to dwell on the question of the immigration of indentured labourers, a question that has aroused so much feeling in this country. With regard to the policy of the Colonial Office, all I would point out is that we desire to encourage industrial and technical training amongst the natives of our Crown Colonies in preference to merely clerical training. It is, we believe, of the highest importance to train the natives in practical and agricultural pursuits rather than to give them a form of education which will only fit them to become clerks, or to follow occupations in which there are always a greater number of applicants than posts to offer. Sir Charles Bruce has mentioned Kew, the Board of Trade, and the Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies in connection with the organisation of industry. I should like to say how much we in the Colonial Office owe to Sir Daniel Morris for his efforts in the West Indies. So much have we been struck by his invaluable services that the Secretary of State has resolved to try to find an officer of knowledge, skill, and experience who would occupy very much the same position in regard to West Africa as Sir Daniel Morris occupies in the West Indies—a man who will be able to give advice to the cotton experts now engaged in planting in West Africa, and to place at their disposal and the disposal of others engaged in developing that country the benefit of experience and scientific research. It is by the combination of these two kinds of

knowledge, the scientific and the practical, that we are likely to achieve the most successful and fruitful result. In dealing with the organisation of industry, Sir Charles Bruce referred to the Board of Trade. I would refer particularly to the Imperial Institute. I do not think the public quite realise the enormous benefit the Imperial Institute is to our Crown Colonies. My friend Professor Dunstan and his assistants study carefully all the natural resources of these Colonies, and endeavour to bring them into effective relations with our markets. I remember a short time ago his showing me a nut which had been sent over from West Africa. It was found on investigation that this nut contained a kind of oil, and he was able to report that by putting these nuts through a certain kind of mechanical process they would yield a useful and very profitable product. One word with regard to transport. That is a matter peculiarly under the Colonial Office. We desire to develop transport facilities between Great Britain and the Crown Colonies. During the last seven or eight years we have done a great deal in building railways in West Africa. This is a matter not unattended with difficulty. In the first place people come and urge that a railway should be built. We do not deny the necessity, and where we are able we gladly comply. No sooner is this railway built than another deputation comes and points out that the freights are extremely high. The consequence is that the Colonial Office are seldom the recipients of the congratulations they might naturally expect. It has, I think, been clearly demonstrated that the railways built by the Crown Agents and their consulting engineers have not only been built economically compared, for instance, with those built by France, Germany, and other countries, but that the receipts of the Colonies have been materially increased and their prosperity enhanced. Sir Charles Bruce has had many years' experience of the Crown Agents, and I am glad to feel that he at any rate can say with perfect frankness that in his opinion they have been the means of benefiting the Colonies for whom they work. I myself, in the House of Lords the other day, had to defend the position of the Crown Agents. I do not wish to take any undue credit to myself, but I believe it was generally conceded that the complaints and criticisms advanced against them were shown to be totally valueless, and that the position of the Crown Agents was vindicated to the satisfaction of members of the House. In the last years of his term of office, Mr. Chamberlain sent a circular to the Governors of Crown Colonies asking them to report any cases in which they thought the Crown Agents had shown neglect or incompetence.

The replies showed that, although there were instances where the Crown Agents perhaps had not displayed the greatest acumen, yet generally they proved themselves to be most intelligent, hard-working, and capable servants of the Colonies. On the subject of Imperial Defence, I will only remind you that in the ordinary course of events another Colonial Conference is bound to take place in 1906, and I hope, in fact one can feel assured, that on that occasion the subject will be thoroughly discussed. I believe that at the last Conference no representatives of the Crown Colonies were present. I cannot help feeling, expressing my individual view, that we may look forward in the future, I do not say at the next Conference, but in those to come, to representatives from our great Crown Colonies having the right to be present, and to express their views as to what Imperial defence should be, and what each Crown Colony should contribute towards it. If that principle is ever conceded, I think it will be not only beneficial to this country, but will stimulate in our Crown Colonies an interest in the question of Imperial Defence.

Mr. BENJAMIN KIDD: The peculiar importance of this Paper seems to me to reside in the fact that Sir Charles Bruce has brought out very clearly the dividing line that runs as it were between two great component parts of the British Empire—namely, the group of Colonies known as Crown Colonies and the great self-governing Colonies. He has brought out a fact, the significance of which seems to be generally overlooked—that is, that all our great self-governing Colonies are in the temperate regions and our Crown Colonies are in the tropics. He has also brought under notice several important facts with reference to these Colonies; for instance, there is no such thing as Protection in the Crown Colonies—a curious fact in these days, when Protection and Free Trade are so much in evidence. Here are Colonies absolutely under the direct sway of the Colonial Office, yet we have no trouble whatever of that character. The reason is that these Colonies, if you will read between the lines of the Paper, are in the tropics, and that the natural channels of trade in the world are between the tropics and the temperate regions. It is a curious fact, which economists in this country have largely overlooked, but which, early in the middle of the nineteenth century, German colonisers clearly perceived, that as soon as we have worked out all rivalries between English, Germans, and others in the temperate regions, the real rivalry in the world will be for the control of the tropics—the channels of trade between the temperate regions and the tropics. The great trade of the world in the future is not going to be so much between countries

in the temperate regions as between those Powers in the regions involved in the tropics. With that methodical way they have of working out things to their essential ends, the Germans came to the conclusion that England, sooner or later, would abandon the trade policy which has been in the ascendant in this country for a long time. It is remarkable how the great staples of the world really come, not from the temperate regions at all, but from the tropics. There is cotton, for example, which forms the staple industry of Great Britain. Now, cotton is essentially a tropical product, and the reason we get cotton from the United States is that cotton is cultivated in the Southern states by black men. It is essentially, even there, a tropical product, extraneous to the United States. If they had not imported black labour, the United States would not supply us with cotton. Then you come to tea, coffee, cocoa, indiarubber, and rice. A third of the human race at present live upon rice. One of the combatants in the present great war lives almost entirely on rice. This enables the Japanese army to be fed and catered for on conditions of cheapness we have no conception of. Imagine the importance of that in the wars of the future. Then there are sugar, tobacco, maize, which represent large staples of food and raw material; hides, gold, and other metals, fruits and oils. It is, in fact, most striking to consider how largely we depend on the tropics for our sources of supply. All this brings forcibly before us the vital importance the tropics are going to be in the future, and consequently the important part the Crown Colonies will play. Looking at that fact, I think the pith of the Paper is really contained in the two lines in which Sir Charles Bruce says that what we have to do is to teach our people that the sure foundation of prosperity (I should be inclined to say the true foundation of true national policy) consists in the development of these natural resources. That is the policy which I think is indicated for this country at the present time. For myself, I have been led up to a much wider position on the question of the natural organisation of resources, and I may say that the consideration which led me to take the first step in coming to certain conclusions was a vivid perception of the importance of the tropics in the future. As soon as you come to see that, you will see that the urgent importance of a national policy for the organisation of national resources becomes a matter of life and death for nations which are going to take a prominent place in the future. Imagine where the Japanese would have been at the present time had they pursued a mere "*laissez faire*" system. On the contrary, they are a people who have well thought out a

scheme of national policy, into which they have put their whole mind and strength, and there can be no more striking evidence of the vital importance of the point for which I am contending—namely, the organisation by the nation of the nation's resources.

Sir W. H. TREACHER, K.C.M.G.: As I have had a residence extending over thirty years in "Crown Colonies and Places," Labuan, British North Borneo and the Federated Malay States, I venture to offer a few remarks. In this lucid and interesting Paper, Sir Charles Bruce has explained to us clearly the nature of the Crown Colonies and Places to which he refers, and he has told us, among other things—(1) That the capital and profits of all tropical Colonial enterprises are domiciled in the United Kingdom, and contribute to the Imperial Treasury, and that the proceeds of cultivation, beyond what is required to supply the wage fund, including profits on capital, are transferred to British domicile; (2) that the Crown Colonies and Places have no protective duties against the products of the Mother Country; (3) that the Colonial Office exercises complete control over their financial affairs, and their other arrangements on which their development depends; (4) that the expenditure required for administration and development is raised by the Colonies and Places by means of Customs duties levied on the residents; (5) that the white man cannot permanently reside and settle in these tropical Colonies and Places; he has to come home, where he is taxed for Imperial purposes. We find, therefore, that these Crown Colonies and Places are exploited mainly in the interests of the British capitalist, merchant, and planter, whose profits are taxed locally to supply local demands for administration and development, and are further taxed for the benefit of the Imperial Treasury in the United Kingdom, in which Sir Charles Bruce tells us the capital and profits of all these Colonial enterprises are domiciled. Surely then you will agree with me, I hope, in disagreeing with one of Sir Charles Bruce's final suggestions—viz. that all the Crown Colonies and Places should be told to contribute to Imperial Defence Funds. I venture to think that in the first place the Colonies already contribute sufficiently, in a general way, to the wealth of the Empire and the needs of the Imperial Treasury, and in the second place that the best use to make of surpluses, if any, is for the future development of the resources of each individual Crown Colony or Place, so that the accumulation of additional taxable wealth by the British capitalist, trader, and planter may be facilitated and accelerated; and in the third place that any equitable compulsory contribution

that could be arranged would be, comparatively speaking, insignificant nor worth the irritation its collection would cause, and unworthy of a great nation such as ours. On the other hand, the acceptance of a spontaneous offer of assistance, if there can be spontaneity in a financial offer made by a Colony where the Colonial Secretary's word seems to be law, is perhaps unobjectionable, and I may tell you that the native rulers of the Federated Malay States—a country which supplies seven-tenths of the metallic tin produced in the world, raw produce—have raised, equipped, and maintain a "complete" and highly efficient regiment of infantry, recruited from some of the best fighting races in India—Sikhs and Pathans—officered from the Imperial Army, and a company of artillery, to assist in the defence of Singapore in case of foreign invasion. These Federated States have a considerable surplus just now, and are about to employ it in building a railway for the Sultan of Johore, having already laid rails through the northern portion of the Colony of the Straits Settlements and through the length of their own land, and will thus complete railway communication between Penang and Singapore, taking Malacca on the way. They have further railway extension in contemplation, and the whole large State of Pahang to develop in the interests of the British capitalist, trader, and planter. I have known times when the States have been hard pressed for funds to carry out legitimate schemes of internal development, and I have known a time when the Straits Settlements Government had to appoint a retrenchment commission and leave undone public works of utility which should not have been left undone. Now that Colony requires all its available funds for "expropriating" the shareholders of the C. P. D. Company, forming an important Port Trust, and will probably have to come to the United Kingdom for a loan. Another point I would refer to is in connection with Sir Charles Bruce's remarks as to the "free" Indian labour system in the Federated Malay States, which he evidently does not quite like. I would wish to explain that this system is worked, and very successfully worked, side by side with the "Contract" or indentured system, and not in substitution therefor; and is greatly to the advantage of the labourer, while ensuring better workers and healthier coolies for the employer. The welfare of the "free" and of the contract coolie is looked after by the Government Protector of Labour with equal assiduity, and there can be no doubt that the lot of a man, in a country where labour is scarce, who can leave his employment on a month's notice is preferable to that of a man

bound down to servitude for a term of say two years at least. I have just received a letter from the Protector of Labour, at present on duty in India, in which he says that coolies "are going over at the rate of 250 to 300 indentured, 200 kangani recruited, and 500 self-paid passage money people." I need not say that the coolies who pay their own passage money are "free" coolies looking for work. I have touched on this point because "labour" is one of the most important matters in tropical countries, and because no doubt many of you have invested, or are about to invest, in rubber-planting concerns in the Federated Malay States, the estimated returns from which yield wealth beyond the dreams of avarice. May I detain you for one moment longer to express my most full concurrence with Sir Charles Bruce when he says, so emphatically, that the chief aim of our administration must cease to be the education of the natives in political methods with a view to provide them with an equipment of political leaders and departmental leaders, and in lieu thereof to substitute a training in industry and commerce—to cease producing too many politicians to the square inch, but to get the coloured races to associate themselves with us in our endeavour to multiply the yield of tropical produce to the square mile? That needs Government money and equipment, and I trust I may have convinced some of you that it is better to let the tropical Crown Colonies and Places spend their money on their own development than to contribute a mite to Imperial defence.

Sir W. THISELTON-DYER, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.: I quite agree that the fundamental text of this Paper is the absolute necessity, if we are to have Crown Colonies at all, of developing their material resources. A very important corollary to that proposition is to be found later on in the Paper. I call it a corollary, but it is also an indispensable basis, because unless you develop the resources of a Colony you cannot create that wage fund which Sir Charles Bruce says is the only taxable basis from which you can obtain a revenue by which the government of that Colony can be maintained. You will see the importance of that proposition when I remind you that of the numerous tropical Colonies which the German Empire has created, somewhat in imitation of our own, I believe at this moment there is only one, and I am not too sure about that, which does not show a deficiency in its annual accounts. That cannot be said of our Crown Colonies. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of the administration of individual members of that great group, it cannot be said there are many, if any, which are really insolvent. If you look at the map of the world, you will see enormous tracts

of country, especially in Africa, besides the older Crown Colonies which are well known to us, which are comparatively undeveloped, but which somehow or other have to yield that revenue which will maintain the Pax Britannica, that peaceable government which accompanies the British flag in every part of the world. At the present moment these large Protectorates are to some extent living on their capital. They contain rubber and timber and the like, but notwithstanding the measures which the Colonial Office has taken it is absolutely impossible with the small staff of European officials to prevent these resources being wasted. The natural resources of a country cannot, however, last indefinitely. Ultimately you have to fall back on artificial cultivation, which you have to teach to the natives; you have to get that settled agriculture which is the ultimate basis of a taxable wage fund necessary for the peaceable administration of these possessions. That is the particular aspect of the question which I have had to do with officially for some thirty years. It has not been wholly free from difficulty. I have been long enough occupied with Colonial affairs to have seen an extraordinary change in the attitude, both of public opinion and of Government administrators, towards this question. At first it was extremely difficult to get anyone interested at all in the fortunes of a Colony. It has been said to-night we owe the change to Mr. Chamberlain, but, great as is my admiration for that distinguished statesman, and great as I think his services have been in awakening public opinion to Colonial enterprise, it is only right to say that there were those at the Colonial Office before him who had some grip of the fundamental necessities of this question. I cannot forget two distinguished men with whom I worked for a number of years, Sir Robert Herbert and Sir Robert Meade, who really dragged me into the work by their intense interest in the material development of our smaller Colonies, and induced me to study the question and to place more intimately the resources of Kew at their disposal. The system of training men at Kew for the service has enabled us to stud the whole of Africa with men who are capable of teaching the natives the rudiments of tropical agriculture. We have at the present moment a complete chain of men on the line of the future Cape to Cairo Railway. Besides the comparative indifference of the public to Colonial enterprise, which has passed away, there are some other difficulties not so easy to get rid of. It is unfortunate that it is not possible to maintain the rulers of a Crown Colony for a longer period at each seat of government, because one difficulty which one meets with in agricultural and

botanical enterprise is the want of continuity in its prosecution. It often happens a new Governor with the best intentions thinks it his duty to reverse the policy of his predecessor. That cannot be helped; but on the whole some progress is gradually made. In the West Indies it became necessary, in view of the disastrous state of things which existed, owing mainly to the sugar bounties, to have some definite system and policy with regard to agriculture as a whole; a Commissioner of Agriculture was appointed, and I somewhat reluctantly had to give up my assistant for that important post. I am very glad to hear that a similar policy is likely to be applied to the West African Colonies; but I sincerely hope the duties of the new Commissioner will not be exclusively confined to cotton, because there are other things in Africa which I think will form a very important basis for the material prosperity of the Western areas of that great continent in British occupation. I have heard with great pleasure that the cultivation of rubber in the Malay States is likely to produce results "beyond the dreams of avarice." That is pleasant for me to hear, because while the credit of introducing South American rubber plants into the East Indies must always be given to my friend Sir Clements Markham, when he was at the India Office, the actual feat of laying the foundation of this great source of wealth happened to fall to my lot. In 1876 we managed to transfer (and it was a difficult operation) the first plants from Brazil to Ceylon and Singapore. Though the cost of that enterprise was entirely defrayed by the Government of India, the benefit so far has accrued to the Straits Settlements and Ceylon, but we hope to be able to get some share of the advantage for West Africa, and already it has been shown that the rubber tree will grow on the Gold Coast with as much facility as in Brazil. I am convinced that steady and intelligent persistence in using botanical knowledge will give our Crown Colonies greater resources than even they possess at the present time. In this particular kind of colonial work Kew has so far been single-handed. I wish to express satisfaction at now having a colleague at work in the person of the Director of the Imperial Institute. At Kew, we must confine ourselves to vegetable products, but there are resources in our Colonies which belong to the mineral kingdom, and much to be done in the way of chemical investigation. I look forward to the work which Professor Dunstan will do as being fraught with the greatest advantage to the future of our Colonies.

Professor WYNDHAM DUNSTAN, F.R.S.: At this late hour of the evening I only propose to say a few words to emphasise the

value of applied science in connection with the development of the Crown Colonies. The last speaker has commented on the fact that certain of the newer German Colonies do not pay their way. That, no doubt, is true, but at the same time I think we have a good deal to learn from the action of both Germany and France in promoting an accurate knowledge of the natural resources of their "undeveloped estates," to use Mr. Chamberlain's memorable phrase. The Governments of both these countries are spending large sums of money in taking the first step in commercial development—namely, ascertaining what is in the country, and what the country is capable of producing, work which is carried out by trained specialists under Government auspices. The valuable information thus obtained will certainly bring its return. The lecturer has mentioned the splendid work which is being done by the Imperial Department of Agriculture in the West Indies, and we hope that before long departments of the same kind will be established in other Colonies. Sir Charles Bruce has referred to the work of Kew and also to what is now being done by the expert organisation at the Imperial Institute. All this pioneer work is of course expensive, but it is now clearly shown that it brings a sure and speedy commercial return. The exploration of the resources of the Crown Colonies has engaged the earnest attention of the Colonial Office for some time. One must recognise with satisfaction the interest the present Colonial Secretary has taken in this side of Colonial work, and I should like also to testify to the interest taken in these matters by our present Chairman. The Chairman has alluded to hitherto valueless seeds for which a use had been discovered at the Imperial Institute. Everybody is aware of the increasing value of Para rubber, and Sir William Thiselton-Dyer has told you how he succeeded in transporting the seeds over an enormous distance without loss of their germinative power. We have now reached a point at which there is an enormous supply of these seeds. At the instance of the Government of the Federated Malay States the seeds were sent for investigation to the Imperial Institute. It has been discovered that these seeds contain 40 per cent. of oil which promises to be of considerable commercial value. It seems probable, also, that after the oil has been extracted, there is a cake or residue which is likely to be of value as a foodstuff for cattle. The cultivation of the Para rubber tree is therefore likely to prove to be a remunerative industry for some years to come.

Sir PATRICK MANSON, K.C.M.G., M.D.: A distinguished member of my profession is reputed lately to have said that when a man

has reached the age of forty he is no longer capable of doing original work, and that at sixty he ought to be chloroformed and put out of the way. Sir Charles Bruce is in his own person a living refutation of that somewhat curious theory, and shows how, by a proper regard to the laws of health, even under tropical conditions, a man may reach a genial old age. The Chairman has alluded to the action of Mr. Chamberlain in connection with the establishment of schools of tropical medicine in London and Liverpool. The idea of scholastic establishments of that character occurred to many people before him. It is, however, one thing to conceive, and another thing to carry into practice, an idea, and to assume the responsibility of risk of failure. He certainly ought to have the credit of the execution of the idea. How fruitful these schools have been in useful results I need not explain in detail on this occasion. Since the establishment of these schools, the whole subject of malaria has been practically studied, the theories of scientists have received practical application, and important discoveries have been made—indeed, almost every month, some novel discovery of great importance has resulted from this movement. Some 500 students have already passed the London School, and approximately the same number have passed Liverpool. In this way the profession is being inoculated with the scientific ideas, the basis of successful study and practice. At first, those interested in these schools found little sympathy. We have had the cordial support of the Colonial Office, but until the public itself is converted to the importance of this question we shall not make much progress, for you cannot legislate successfully for health unless you educate people to the necessity for the application of the laws of health. I am glad to say that Sir Charles Bruce has heartily thrown himself into this movement.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant task to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Charles Bruce. He is well known, if not personally, certainly publicly, to everybody present. His experiences during his long official career are more or less traced in his admirable Paper, which indicates the careful study he has given to the many problems with which he has had to deal. During that long career, Sir Charles Bruce has found many warm and devoted friends in various parts of the Empire, but I am sure he has no warmer friends and admirers than the members of this Institute.

SIR CHARLES BRUCE: I am very sensible of the more than flattering way in which I have been supported this evening, inasmuch as those who have spoken have given to the occasion an

interest which could not have been derived from the Paper itself. I have to propose a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman. His presence here this evening has given great satisfaction to us all, and will be taken in the Crown Colonies as evidence that he has their interests at heart. Everybody brought into connection with him at the Colonial Office knows how thoroughly he has at heart the interests of the office and of the Colonies confided to its care, and that is the opinion, not only of myself, but of scientific and commercial men and others who have been brought into touch with him.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

AN AFTERNOON MEETING was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, March 28, 1905, when Mr. C. Kinloch Cooke, M.A., LL.M., read a paper on "The Emigration of State Children."

Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

THE EMIGRATION OF STATE CHILDREN.

BEING A STATE-AIDED SCHEME FOR THE EMIGRATION AND PRACTICAL TRAINING OF POOR LAW CHILDREN OVER WHOM THE GUARDIANS HAVE ASSUMED PARENTAL RIGHTS, FRAMED ON THE BASIS OF JOINT ACTION BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHERLAND.

To an assembly of this kind there is no need to speak about the greatness of the British Empire or to enlarge upon the magnitude and possibilities of an inheritance upon which the sun never sets. The patriotism of the Motherland is the patriotism of the Colonies, and the patriotism of the Colonies is the patriotism of the Motherland. We are one people with one destiny, possessing the same glorious heritage, and subjects of the same illustrious Sovereign. In the words of the poet Byron,

"Far as the breeze can bear, the billows foam,
Survey our Empire, and behold our home."

But, looking back on the past, and thinking of what might have been, I confess to some feeling of disappointment in the progress of development. We all know how Sir Arthur Helps was appealed to by the Prime Minister of the day to point out to him the position of some British possession on the map. I well remember Mr. Froude telling me the story on our way home together from a delightful visit to Australia and New Zealand. I was busy one morning writing an article on the political importance to this

country of certain islands in the Pacific, when Mr. Froude came up and smilingly remarked that it might perhaps happen, as in the case of Sir Arthur Helps, that the names of the islands would not be recognised by the authorities at home.

Those days, however, are past and gone. But notwithstanding the rapidity and, I may say, the solidarity of the advance made in the social and commercial relations between the Colonies and the Motherland, in one instance we have failed in our duties as joint owners of an estate the dimensions of which are reckoned in millions of square miles. We have never had any Imperial emigration and colonisation policy.

What, for example, has England done, as a nation, to help people Australia and Canada with the best of the old-world stock? What efforts have been made by the State to turn the tide of emigration which, year after year, for half a century, has been steadily setting towards the United States, in the direction of those great unoccupied areas which are the national birthright of every Briton? I know of none. We have been in possession of some of the finest and most healthy portions of the earth's surface for generations, yet no Government has deemed it necessary to institute, much less maintain, a continued policy of State-aided emigration.

Meanwhile the Home population has been increasing and increasing; competition has become so keen in every walk of life that it is no uncommon thing to see two or three hundred persons applying for a post which, if it fell vacant in the Colonies, no man would be found to take for the money offered and the work required. Pauperism has reached alarming proportions, and the last few months' figures are the highest on record. So great was the distress prevailing, and so many men were out of work this winter, that a public fund was raised for the unemployed by the Lord Mayor, sanctioned and initiated by the Local Government Board. Had an Imperial policy of emigration and colonisation been inaugurated fifty years ago, I have no hesitation in saying—and I think all present will agree—that the position of the community, other than the capitalist classes, would be very different from what it is to-day.

But this country is not the only delinquent. At one time assisted passages were given and advertisements in the English papers told of openings in Australia where free grants of land were offered. That policy, however, gradually declined; and as a general policy, except in the case of Western Australia, it has practically come to an end. In years gone by the efforts made by the Dominion of Canada can scarcely be said to have been on a very wide scale; but then Canada was poor. The opening of the Canadian Pacific

Railway, however, changed all that. Territory hitherto practically unknown was opened up, and with increasing prosperity the necessity of securing a population began to receive much more generous attention. Step by step the immigration policy of Canada has advanced, and to-day the Dominion Government is represented in the heart of the Empire by a Commissioner of Emigration whose zeal and ability have met with well-deserved success.

While I deplore the short-sighted policy of our forefathers, it is evident that with the heavy taxation necessary for defence purposes and other calls upon the Exchequer at home, with an increasing National Debt and the income tax at a shilling in the pound, there is not much chance of the Home Government embarking upon a general policy of State emigration either now or in the near future. But what may not be possible on a general basis assumes an entirely different aspect when applied to any one portion of the community—to that portion, for instance, consisting of the children, excluding inmates of reformatories, who for one reason or another become a charge upon the public funds; that is, children of the State or children to whom the State stands in one form or another *in loco parentis*.

These children may be divided into two classes—Home Office children and Poor Law children. To the first belong the children, numbering many thousands, committed by magistrates to industrial schools in order to save them from injurious surroundings. This class falls under the jurisdiction of the Home Office, the funds being provided by the Treasury, Local Authorities, the successors of the School Boards, and voluntary donations. To the second division belong the children resident in Poor Law Unions or boarded out, classed in the report of the Local Government Board as “orphans and children relieved without their parents.” These children come under the jurisdiction of the Local Government Board; but for their maintenance, education, and general upbringing the Guardians are primarily responsible, the funds being provided from the local rates.

I believe that the great majority of these children might be emigrated without involving any further extension in the delegation of parental responsibilities than is now permitted and without any further charge on the public exchequer. I feel sure also that, properly trained and given new surroundings, these children, if carefully selected, would make useful colonists. The work, however, would have to be undertaken by a department of State in this country acting with similar departments in the Colonies, each

bearing a share of the cost in accordance with a plan drawn up by an Imperial Council specially convened for the purpose and submitted to the different legislatures for ratification. But here, again, the difficulties in the way are many, and the uniform emigration of State children on so large a scale would be certain to raise various economic questions here and in the Colonies the settlement of which might take years to accomplish.

The emigration of destitute children is no novel experiment. For many years it has been carried on through various charitable agencies in this country, and many thousands of children have by this means found a home in Canada, or been given a start in life under conditions more favourable than could be obtained for them in the Motherland. But while much has been done in this direction by the aid of philanthropy, little has been done by the State for children falling within the two divisions I have named. Still, emigration as a means of disposal for this special class of the community is recognised both by the Home Office and the Local Government Board. The recognition, however, is indirect, both classes of children being emigrated privately through the agency of philanthropic institutions. For this purpose a small payment is made to the agency under the head of "emigration expenses," which includes a charge for three months' residence and maintenance in a temporary home on the other side. But with this exception no payment is made (other than the fee paid to the Dominion Government to meet the cost of inspection) after the child reaches Canada.

The dimensions of this emigration are also very small. During 1900-2, the latest official figures available, I find that 362 Home Office children were emigrated, an average of 120 a year; and that during the same period 488 Poor Law children were sent to Canada, an average of 163 a year. In 1903, however, the number of Poor Law children had mounted up to 398—a considerable increase, due, I think, in a measure to the circular letter issued by the Local Government Board in March of that year to the Boards of Guardians throughout the country, emphasising the view of the Board, "that emigration affords one of the best means of providing satisfactorily for the orphan and deserted children under the care of the Guardians." And this letter in turn doubtless had its origin in the information supplied to the Local Government Board by the Commissioner of Emigration, under the Dominion Government, that "at no previous time in Canada have there been so many opportunities as at present for absorbing in a satisfactory

manner young emigrants of the class sent out from this country by Boards of Guardians."

This brings me to the scheme for the emigration of State children which I desire to put before you to-day. It deals only with Poor Law children, and only with that class, "the orphan and deserted," over which the Guardians have assumed parental rights. Of these, 8,372 were classed as "boarded out" on January 1, 1904, and may be said to be available for emigration purposes. But there are other circumstances to be taken into consideration. All may be available, but all are not eligible. Allowing for the disqualification of the physically unfit, this number would probably be reduced to 6,000, including children (boys and girls) of all ages between two and fifteen years, of which, say, 2,000 would be immediately eligible for emigration.¹ It may be said that I have omitted to take into consideration the very stringent regulations imposed by the Local Government Board on the private agencies respecting the emigration of girls over eleven years of age, and the general rule refusing permission to Boards of Guardians to emigrate girls except under the same limitations. I am not guilty of any such omission, and I am aware that in the present circumstances these regulations would doubtless require me to make a further reduction; but if my proposals be accepted by the Colonial Governments, I take it that the Local Government Board's restrictions would be no longer necessary, and could therefore lapse. Accordingly, my number of 2,000 may, I think, be allowed to stand.

The scheme which I propose for adoption by the Colonial Governments and the Boards of Guardians acting in connection with the Local Government Board may be thus briefly outlined:

Each Colonial Government to undertake—

To provide one or more agricultural homes or farms where the children would be educated, brought up and trained under direct Government supervision for work in the Colony.

And to place out the children in suitable situations.

To pass such local Acts as may be required to meet the new circumstances, and to draw up rules and regulations (approved by the Local Government Board) for observance in the administration of the homes.

To institute an adequate system of Government inspection until the child reaches the age of eighteen.

¹ *I.e.* taking the minimum age for emigrating the children to be ten years.

Each Board of Guardians to undertake—

To hand over the children, where possible, at the age of ten years.

To allow representatives of the Colonial Governments to select the children.

To pay to each Colonial Government, in a manner hereafter to be arranged :

A sum of money, annually or otherwise, equal to the sum paid for bringing up the children here, the amount not to exceed in any one case the expenditure for four years.

An agreed sum, annually or otherwise, for the cost of inspecting each child until the child reaches the age of eighteen.

Not long ago the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians held a Conference on the subject, affirming the desirability of emigrating Poor Law children "so far as they may be found suitable," a decision emphasised quite recently at the meeting held at the Mansion House. But from conversations I have had with gentlemen filling the responsible positions of Clerks to London Boards, and with many Guardians themselves, I find that, while fully appreciating the very willing assistance given them by charitable agencies, the Guardians would seem to prefer that Poor Law children should be emigrated in some other way—in a way more in keeping with the accepted lines of State administration, and more immediately in connection with the Colonial Governments. With these feelings I concur. And I go further and hold that private and philanthropic institutions have quite as much to do as they can successfully accomplish in carrying out the emigration work connected with the children for whose reclamation they appeal to the public for subscriptions, and for which subscriptions are so generously given. By all means let the private and philanthropic institutions emigrate their own children in their own way ; but Poor Law children, I submit, stand in a different category from the ordinary waifs and strays. They are children of the State to whom the Guardians, in obedience to the law of the land, stand *in loco parentis* ; and just as subscriptions from private persons are neither solicited nor given for State purposes, so the ratepayers' money should not be allocated to assist in furthering the work of private institutions.

Moreover, Dr. Barnardo himself tells us that "no agency gains anything but an increase of trouble and responsibility" for the assistance they voluntarily render to the Poor Law Guardians in the matter of emigrating their children. "The most the Poor Law does," he says, "is to repay the private agency its actual out-of-pocket expenditure, and in our case we have not always received the whole of that." So Dr. Barnardo will probably be amongst the first to welcome a scheme which will relieve him and all private institutions of the burden now thrust upon them by the State, while at the same time carrying out what I agree with him to be the most important matter, "that every child now being brought up by the Poor Law and supported at great cost by the rates should, if eligible, be given an early opportunity for emigration."

Leaving, then, the philanthropic side of child emigration in the hands of those institutions which have done such good pioneer work, I approach the subject of Poor Law emigration from the standpoint of what is best for the child, coupled with the desire to promote public economy and an Imperial policy. I maintain that a properly organised plan of State-aided emigration for the orphan and deserted children of the Poor Law is best for them, best, for the ratepayers, and at the same time offers the best means of providing the Colonies with a continual flow of useful British immigrants. No other means of dealing with these children can give them a like start in life, while at the same time the guardians have the satisfaction of knowing that their bone, sinew, and brain will be utilised in developing those great dependencies of the Empire which form the natural heritage of the British race.

One of the chief drawbacks to the present system of emigrating Poor Law children is that they get no special training for the work they will be called upon to do almost immediately on their arrival in the Colony. So far child emigration has only been carried on with Canada, and all that the Dominion Government insist upon is that, prior to emigration to Canada, the Poor Law child shall have received instruction for at least six months under the Board of Guardians, or in a public elementary school, and all that Dr. Barnardo insists upon is that Poor Law children passing through his agency shall reside for a period varying from three to six months in one of his English homes prior to emigration. He gives three reasons for this detention—for which, of course, he receives the usual payment from the Guardians—but no one of them has any reference to the question of training. Again, as nearly all the orphan and deserted children are boarded out by the

Guardians, it is clear that no attempt on their part is made to specially train the children for life in Canada.

Nor do these children get any training in Canada before they are placed out in their situations. They go direct to a receiving home and are drafted out as quickly as possible to the situations which await them. And the number is very greatly in excess of the supply, the applications for child immigrants last year sent out through the private agencies being in the proportion of 8 to 1. "Is it to be supposed," asks Dr. Barnardo, "that the private agencies who emigrate these children free of any charge, except out-of-pocket expenses for the journey, would also benevolently undertake to support these children of the Poor Law on the other side?" In my opinion no private agency can be expected to incur or would be justified in incurring this expense out of funds collected for other purposes. But this only goes to prove my case, that the time has arrived for devising some other means than that of the private agencies for the emigration of Poor Law children. To transport a child with no proper training from this country to Canada, and to place it out on an isolated farm, there to pick up what kind of learning it can while earning its own living, and in some instances completing its education, is a risk which I quite understand public bodies like Boards of Guardians feel considerable hesitation in incurring.

I do not say that training for farm life in Canada cannot be given to some extent on this side, but such training can scarcely be of so practical a nature as a training given in Canada. Moreover, to train the children here would defeat one of the objects in view, which is to emigrate the child before it is old enough to form any associations. The child should be brought up to look upon Canada as home, and to have its early recollections associated with its adopted country.

I now come to a question—and it is a very important one—the age at which the Poor Law child should be emigrated. No doubt the age depends in a measure upon the Colony to which the child is sent; but, having Canada in view, I think the minimum age might well be ten years. The average age of Dr. Barnardo's children, taking the class under twelve, is, I believe, eight and a half; but they are boarded out for some three or four years in Canada, and while I see no objection to this, provided the matter be undertaken by the Dominion or provincial Governments, and not by a private agency, I do not quite see how boarding out for boys will give them the special training it is most desirable they

should have. Moreover, it is hardly likely that Colonial governing bodies will undertake work involving so much responsibility and detail.

I may be told that boarding out leads to adoption. That is not the experience in this country. An important official attached to one of the London Boards of Guardians told me only the other day that his Board favoured boarding out, and therefore it was no good my coming to talk to them about emigration. But, he added, giving his own experience, "it was thought that boarding out would lead to adoption; so far I know of no case where a boarded-out child has been adopted." Of course it may be, and probably is, different in Canada, but we all know the story of the emigrated girl who, when asked to give the definition of an "adopted child," replied: "Them as does all the work and gets no pay."

In the case of Canada, which may be taken as the Colony to which the great majority of the children would be sent, little additional legislation would, I think, be required to carry out my proposals. The Dominion Government, acting in conjunction with the Provincial Governments, would have to extend their present machinery for inspection, to provide the farm homes and the necessary staff of officials, to give facilities for education, and to undertake the responsibility of training and placing out the children in suitable situations; in short, to assume towards the children very much the same position as that of the Guardians in this country.

At present the only Government supervision on the other side consists in the work of inspection. Some few years back, at the suggestion, I believe, of the Local Government Board, the Canadian Government appointed an inspector whose duties generally, to quote his own words, "include the inspection and oversight of all juveniles brought to the Dominion by organised and accredited agencies, but more immediately appertaining to the Poor Law or Union children." As may be imagined, his task is no light one, seeing that last year over 2,000 children were sent from this country to Canada. Scattered as these children are over thousands of square miles, I do not wonder that Mr. Bogue Smart found it necessary to delegate a portion of his work to another gentleman at Winnipeg.

If my scheme be accepted the Poor Law children will no longer pass, as they do now, from the control of the Guardians to the benevolent custody of philanthropic agencies responsible to no State authority, whose reports are often belated and from the Guardians' standpoint not always satisfactory. The ratepayers will have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not imposing upon private

charity, and that they have done the best they can for the children committed to their care by making sure that every one of them will be given a useful training before being placed out in a situation. They will also have the additional advantage of keeping in close touch with the children until they are eighteen years of age. The Guardians would retain, as now, full control and responsibility until the children were handed over to the care of the Canadian Government, when, subject to the conditions indicated and any further conditions deemed advisable, the Canadian Government would assume full control and responsibility.

I would lay particular stress on the fact that my scheme gives to the Colonial Governments the option of selecting their own children. For it is no part of my desire to save the responsibilities of the ratepayers by making the Colonies a dumping-ground for children likely, as men and women, in any way to become undesirable settlers.

And now to finance. As the education in Canada is free, there would be no extra expenditure on that score, while the usual allowance for "emigration expenses" would meet all outgoings till the children were handed over on the other side. The inspection fee might have to be raised in view of the extra work, but that is a subject requiring, I think, attention in any event; and a small training fee might also have to be paid. These matters being disposed of, there remain, exclusive of the capital outlay, the annual charges for maintenance both of the homes and the children and the cost of the staff.

I propose to meet these annual expenses in the manner indicated by requiring the Guardians to pay to the representative of the Dominion Government a sum equal to the amount they would have expended had the children remained here and been placed out in this country, such contributions not to exceed in any one case the cost of four years. That is, of course, a maximum contribution; but as the age of placing out the children emigrated would be left to the Colonial authorities (here I should say that with regard to the future careers of the boys I give full discretion to the Canadian authorities), and as boys sent out would not necessarily be so young as ten, while it may be assumed that no boy over fourteen would be allowed to remain on the training farm, the average payment by the Guardians would not, I think, exceed three years. Should there remain any balance due to the Canadian Government, I suggest that it be made good out of the Common Poor Law Fund. The reason why I mention fourteen as the age for leaving the training farm is

because that is the limit age in Canada for children to attend school. One advantage, then, of the training homes would be that it would not be possible for the children to evade the provisions of the Canadian Education Acts.

I should mention that the law as it now stands does not permit contributions, such as I have suggested, being made by Boards of Guardians. But in answer to a letter on the subject, addressed by me to the Local Government Board, Sir Samuel Provis points out that "Mr. Long appreciates the desirability of removing obstacles in the way of objects such as you have in view, and he is favourably disposed towards legislation for the purpose of removing the legal difficulties referred to." Later, a further communication reached me to the effect that the President had the whole matter under consideration, and in a subsequent letter I was informed that, while the President could not give any pledge as to the introduction this Session of a Government Bill dealing with the matter, he would be happy to give consideration to any measure which might be introduced by a private member. So I think I may say that the Government on this side is desirous of seeing the principle established of allowing Boards of Guardians to contribute in the way I propose.

The only direct expense I propose to charge to Canada is the initial outlay in connection with providing the farm lands and buildings. This would be Canada's contribution for securing a continuous stream of selected children from the old country, children not altogether unacquainted with discipline and already possessing in many cases the rudiments of elementary education. Moreover, as time goes on these farms would become self-supporting and might even be worked at a profit, in which case the profits would be taken first in reduction of capital and secondly in reduction of annual expenditure. Again, seeing the great demand for these children in Canada (16,573 applications were made last year alone), there is no reason why persons desiring to secure the services of a trained boy should not pay a fee to the Canadian Government for this privilege.

But what about the ratepayers? How would my scheme affect them? Let us see. Taking the present age for emigrating Poor Law children to be thirteen or fourteen, and assuming these children to have been boarded out since the age of ten, then, if the dimensions of the emigration remain stationary, the cost to the ratepayers under my scheme would be much the same as it is now. But on the other hand, bearing in mind that a Poor

Law child is not placed out in the world until the age of fifteen or sixteen, if the dimensions of the emigration be increased so as to include all children eligible and selected, there would be a saving to the ratepayers of at least two years' keep on every additional case dealt with at the minimum age; that is, where the children are boarded out, 5s. a week, or a total saving of £30; and where the children are brought up at a school like the institution at Ashford, 14s. a week, or a total saving of some £72 for every additional child emigrated.

Although a State-aided scheme, I do not expect all at once to see a department inaugurated in Downing Street to carry out the work connected with my proposals. My idea is at first to entrust the work to a responsible committee recognised by the State which would undertake voluntarily the duties now performed as an act of benevolence by the philanthropic agencies. This committee would be the intermediary between the Boards of Guardians and the Colonial Governments, conducting the negotiations as agents for both parties through the usual official channels, subject to the supervision of the Local Government Board. It would be appointed somewhat in the same way as the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Meanwhile I am forming another committee whose duties are more academic in character. Their main duties will be to press forward the changes I have indicated in our Poor Law administration and to lead public opinion, both here and in the Colonies, towards a truer appreciation of the political and economic advantages which cannot fail to accrue to the Empire from a properly conducted system of State-aided emigration for children of the State.

As regards the steps taken to obtain the views of the Colonial Governments I submitted, by request, the scheme at an early stage to the High Commissioner for South Africa, who replied accepting in principle the proposals made, adding he agreed with me that a good deal more might be done through the co-operation of the Imperial and Colonial Governments than up to now has been found possible. Lord Milner quite approved of the experiment being tried in the new Colonies, but remarked that he thought it essential to success: (1) that the training and education of the children should be completed in the Colony in which they were subsequently to live, especially having regard to the peculiar conditions of South Africa; (2) that the Boards of Guardians should contribute to the maintenance of these boys during those years at least as much as their maintenance would have cost them in England.

I have also discussed the matter with the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and received a most favourable reply from the Colonial Secretary, who bids me "feel assured that the Cape Government will, as soon as times improve, be prepared to favourably consider my scheme, and to enter into negotiations with my Committee as to details of selection of children, and so forth." In the meantime he suggests that I should devote the time which must necessarily elapse towards removing all legal obstacles. When the Governor of Natal was over here I explained the scheme to him, and in a letter to me on the question he says: "The general idea is sound, and would, I believe, commend itself to my Ministers, who are anxious for white settlers on the land, and have introduced legislation to facilitate the same." The Agents-General for New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia have likewise submitted the proposals to their respective Governments, but so far no replies have been received.

I approached the Dominion Government of Canada through the High Commissioner, in the absence of the Emigration Commissioner, and I have also addressed certain of the Provincial Governments of Canada through their representatives here. The answer received from the Dominion Superintendent of Immigration is at first sight somewhat disappointing, but then, as Mr. Scott says, "the proposal is a new one." He appears to be under the impression that I intend the entire expense of the agricultural training homes to fall upon Canada, and he also assumes that the Poor Law children now emigrated to Canada receive a special training in this country by way of preparation for life on the other side. As both these views are erroneous, it would, I think, be unfair to him and to me to take his letter as being the final reply of the Canadian Government to my proposals.

Again, since Mr. Scott's communication reached me Sir Wilfrid Laurier has made a statement in the Dominion House of Commons to the effect that the Dominion Government see no objection, subject to proper restrictions, of training farms being set up in Canada for the reception and training of Poor Law children from England. It is true that in the case referred to by the Dominion Prime Minister the whole of the expenses, as well as the responsibility connected with the farms and the children, were to be borne by the Guardians, whereas my scheme assumes that the capital cost will be defrayed by Canada. But the principle involved is the same; and what is admissible in the one case cannot be ruled out of order in the other. If our best Poor Law children are to be used for

developing the wonderful agricultural resources of Canada, and used to the best advantage of the Dominion, they must be given an efficient and practical training on the other side. And towards this extra cost the Government of Canada will, I feel sure, be only too pleased to contribute in the way I have indicated.

I pass on to consider the views of the Guardians.

By the courtesy of the Secretary I was able to submit my proposals at the Lambeth Conference of Delegates from the Metropolitan Boards of Guardians specially convened to consider the subject of emigrating Poor Law children to the Colonies; and on that occasion it was resolved unanimously "that this meeting cordially approves of the scheme for the emigration of Poor Law children as explained by Mr. Kinloch Cooke." Since then several London Boards have passed resolutions supporting the proposals, and particularly emphatic in their wording are the resolutions I have received from the Boards of Guardians of Lambeth, Wandsworth, Shoreditch, Paddington, Strand, St. Pancras, and St. George's-in-the-East, while others have the matter under consideration.

In addressing the different Boards I found that while the great majority favoured emigration as a means for the disposal of Poor Law children, not all looked upon the matter in its truest and broadest sense; that is, as affording the best chance of a career for the child, while at the same time relieving the rates and helping to develop the Empire. There is certainly no wish on the part of the Guardians to shirk responsibility. One and all have a very high appreciation of their duties as trustees for the children. Indeed, it is this very feeling in the case of some Boards that militates against emigrating a larger number of children. To hand the future of State children over altogether to philanthropic societies, over whose methods they have no control, does not appear to accord with every Board's interpretation of the obligations attending voluntary trusteeship.

On the other hand, some Boards, although the members are progressive on most questions, seemed to take an ultra-conservative view of emigration as applied to Poor Law children. "We may be all wrong," they said, "but after all what does it matter? We emigrate very few children, and the existing agencies seem to do the work all right; we get no complaints. We don't want to make any change." Now and then I came across a lady Guardian who had herself visited some of these children in their homes on the other side. In one instance a lady Guardian (unmarried) had returned very much pleased with all she saw. In another case a

lady Guardian (married) returned with a totally different story. Both presented reports to their Boards, and both Boards accepted their reports and acted accordingly. If two ladies have so totally different experiences I think there is something to be said on behalf of a system which would not necessitate these periodical surprise visits by lady Guardians.

A very general objection raised to my scheme was directed to that part of it giving the power of selection to the Colonial Governments. "Why should we emigrate our best boys and be left with the cripples?" is a question which, perhaps more often than any other, I have been called upon to answer. "We want," said many Guardians, "to keep the best here in order to maintain England as a nation and to level up the others. We can always find places for our best boys. They get good wages, and are a credit to us. Year by year they come to our annual gatherings, sometimes bringing their wives with them." "Why," exclaimed one gentleman with emphasis, "several regimental bandmasters are old Union boys!" These remarks of course referred to all Poor Law boys, whereas I was only dealing with the orphan and deserted; but as I desired to meet the objection on broad grounds I did not press for a classification. "Sympathetic and picturesque, I admit," was my reply, "but, to my way of thinking, altogether at variance with the ethics of Guardianship." Why, because an "orphan and deserted" is a "best" boy, should he be deprived of the chance of making a career for himself in a new country, where the accident of birth will not handicap his chances in life?

There is no doubt that emigration offers the best future to any "orphan and deserted" boy. Moreover, the day has gone by when it is England alone that we have to consider. We have an Empire to defend and develop. Canada is calling to us for citizens, and Canada will give them a warm welcome. Why, then, should the insular ideas of individuals stand in the way? But there is no fear of lowering the prestige of the old country by emigrating the best of our "orphan and deserted" children. There are plenty of other best boys, boys whose parents are working day by day, year in and year out, to bring up their children—fathers and mothers who have some respect for themselves and their responsibilities as parents, who do not leave their offspring to be brought up by public charity. Is it fair to place the children of the ratepayers in competition with the Union children merely for the sake of keeping the Union children in the old country? Nor do I see that the case is strengthened by the fact that the old

Union boys attend the annual gatherings, sometimes bringing their wives with them. All this is sentiment, pure sentiment; it will not make a nation, and it certainly will not make an Empire.

Another somewhat frequent assertion made was that, in existing conditions, the children get rid of what is called the "pauper taint"—not an altogether pleasing expression—whereas under my scheme the children would be massed together and labelled workhouse children or some other equally undesirable correlative. And to this was joined the cognate objection that the Canadians would raise difficulties if the emigration work was taken out of the hands of the private agencies. Let me deal with these matters seriatim. "Pauper taint," as we understand it, does not exist in Canada. The Canadians regard every child immigrant on the same footing, and I speak with some experience of colonial life and colonial prejudices. If a Canadian farmer accepts willingly a Barnardo child into his family, well knowing that the child has been taken from the streets of London, do you imagine that he will not accept a Poor Law child, when it is within his knowledge that the child has been selected for emigration by the Dominion representative in London? The "pauper taint," used in this way, is a myth; it is introduced merely to gain public sympathy for a policy.

And the same must be said with regard to "the massing together" of Poor Law children. I do not propose that the Poor Law children should be placed in huge training schools subject to the jurisdiction and influence of the Poor Law in this country. My proposal is that scattered farm training homes be provided, and that these homes be under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Government. As to the number of children to be placed in each, that must be a matter for the authorities on the other side. Lord Milner suggested, I think, fifty children being placed in a farm on the veld. But the question of how many children would be received is one entirely for the Colonies to decide. Moreover, the children would go to school with the young people in the neighbourhood of the homes. In fact, I believe this is a condition which the Dominion Government would insist upon if they gave their adhesion to my proposal. Again, these training homes would be open to receive any child whose trustees could pay the required contribution, provided the child came up to standard. So it would not be absolutely necessary to have all Poor Law children in the homes. Indeed, it might happen that certain philanthropic institutions would think it worth while to send some of their children.

As to the fear that Canadian sentiment will be offended by the training homes, we have positive proof to the contrary in the fact that the Prime Minister of the Dominion has asserted in the House of Commons at Ottawa that his Government are on this point in accord with the principle I advocate, subject to certain well-defined restrictions; while with regard to any opposition to the reception of Poor Law children *qua* Poor Law children the Commissioner of Emigration under the Dominion here and the representatives of the Provincial Governments deny absolutely that any such feeling exists. The opposition raised in Canada some years ago to the Dominion being made a general reception home for workhouse children is familiar history. But it arose from a misapprehension. Still it did good service, as it was the indirect means of placing child emigration on a very much sounder footing. And I have not the least doubt that if any misguided person were to put forward to-day so ill-considered a proposition the Canadians would oppose it to a man, and rightly so. But I make no such unsound suggestions. I do not seek to use Canada as a dumping-ground for England's pauper children. The children I propose sending out will not even be pauper children in the sense the word "pauper" is usually understood, seeing that the Guardians will be paying for their board, maintenance, and upbringing. So I think my critical friends need not trouble their minds on any objection from Canada.

If I except details as to payments, these are the only objections I have been called upon to answer, and in almost every case where I have had an opportunity of putting my case personally the Guardians have not only accorded me a patient hearing, but have passed resolutions favouring my proposals. In conclusion, I should like to say that I have the greatest admiration for the work of the philanthropic agencies. But for Poor Law children and children of the State generally I desire to see a system of emigration adopted that is more in accordance with the ordinary rules of public business, which will endure for all time, which does not impose on private charity, and which will ensure for the child some practical training for a life's work in a new country. And I hope that in the near future opinion at home and in the Colonies will be focussed on the important political and economic advantages which must inevitably accrue from establishing a system of State-aided emigration for Poor Law children of the class mentioned framed on the basis of joint action between the Colonies and the Motherland.

Not only will the systematic emigration of these children lessen

wastage here and brighten many little lives, but it will help to provide the Colonies with that class of population they sorely need—a population of British born, trained from childhood in Colonial ways and customs. There is also another side of the problem to be considered. Both directly and indirectly Poor Law children are a heavy charge upon the local rates, and their only chance of gaining a livelihood is to compete with one another in a labour market already largely congested. By the adoption of the scheme I propose all this will be changed. The ratepayers' burden will be lightened, and the children given a start in life in circumstances offering every prospect of their becoming useful citizens of the Empire.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.) in opening the discussion said that early in life he was imbued with sentiments on this question derived not only from his own father but from direct association with Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the founder of New Zealand, and ever since then he had been an ardent advocate of State Colonisation. Nearly forty years since he was chairman of the society then existing called the Society for Promoting National Emigration, which by meetings and writings endeavoured, though unfortunately unsuccessfully, to rouse an apathetic Government on this subject. About the same time he published a pamphlet entitled "Transplantation, the True System of Emigration," in which *inter alia* he urged that the question was of such national importance that there ought to be a separate department of the Government with a Cabinet Minister as its head for the express purpose of promoting a national system of State Colonisation. With the general scope of Mr. Cooke's valuable Paper he was in cordial agreement, subject to this essential provision—that if any national system was inaugurated for emigrating the children of the State, it must be safeguarded by the most careful and stringent rules of proper selection. The Colonies would not willingly have any but the best; those who did not reach that standard in mind and body must be left at home. If this were done, he, as an old and convinced Coloniser, would be an advocate for a description of partnership such as was outlined in Mr. Kinloch Cooke's scheme between the Mother country and the Colonies. The training of children on colonial farms with colonial surroundings and associations would, in his opinion, effectually eradicate the taint of pauperism which their parentage might be

supposed to engender. In this connection he could not help referring to a remarkable instance of the success which attended the separation of pauper children from their parents which in the early forties owed its origin to his father, then a Member of Parliament, and chairman of the Board of Guardians of the Stepney Union. His father was able to persuade the Board to separate parents and children from association with each other, and 300 or 400 children of all ages and both sexes were thus admirably trained and educated. Some twenty years later Mr. Charles Dickens wrote an article in "All the Year Round" under the title of "The Uncommercial Traveller" in which he spoke of this experiment as having been conceived by "a man of good head and a warm heart."

Dr. BARNARDO assured the meeting that Mr. Kinloch Cooke did not feel more deeply than he did the immense importance of State emigration, or rather of the emigration of the children of the State. It was with great reluctance, therefore, that he should seem to oppose any scheme having this object in view, but after careful examination of Mr. Kinloch Cooke's Paper he felt bound to say that in his view the scheme was built up upon a series of fallacies and misconceptions. He had searched in vain for some solid substratum of fact. He asked himself, "Can Mr. Kinloch Cooke have lived in Canada? Does he know the Canadian Government? Does he know the Canadian people, and has he formed any conception of the way they think?" He was compelled to answer these questions in the negative. When Mr. Kinloch Cooke came to the training of the children, one stood amazed. He was undoubtedly endeavouring to do good from the best motives, but he had made the great mistake of not having more carefully visited the scene which he would ornament with results of his labours—that he had not made himself so deeply acquainted with the details as to be able to speak from experience. With Mr. Kinloch Cooke the State was everything, the individual nothing. In principle all this was wrong. It was putting the clock back. The tendency of all enlightened administration at the present time in these matters was in the direction of individualism as opposed to collectivism. It was to sever the children as soon as possible from the life and associations of the Poor Law. Under this scheme the rates were not to be spared. Moreover, Mr. Kinloch Cooke did not allege any real advantage for his scheme except one, which, however, was only an allegation, viz. ; that there was no training provided for Poor Law children sent out by private agencies. After all, however, he had come to the conclusion that Mr. Kinloch Cooke was not so much

opposed to private benevolence as he seemed to indicate. It was only one sort of private benevolence he did not agree with. There was another sort he agreed with very much because he said: "My idea is at first to entrust the work to a responsible Committee recognised by the State which would undertake voluntarily the duties now performed as an act of benevolence by the philanthropic agencies." There was thus to be one Voluntary Committee instead of another, with Mr. Kinloch Cooke as operator and "boss."

Mr. W. T. R. PRESTON (Emigration Commissioner for Canada) referred to Dr. Barnardo's work in Canada, and said he did not think the British Empire could ever be sufficiently grateful for his saving so many children by changing the current of their lives. In regard to this particular question of child emigration, he did not know that he was inclined to allow Dr. Barnardo or anyone else to say precisely what the attitude of the Canadian Government might be. The Government was undoubtedly friendly. Several schemes had been proposed from time to time, and while members of the Government had not committed themselves to details, they had said through their proper representative that they were prepared to discuss favourably any proposal that might be made from this side which would increase the number of child emigrants to Canada. What puzzled him was that on this side of the water there seemed to be such an absolute apathy on the part of the public in regard to this great question. He admitted the magnitude of the problem; the difficulty was to get those controlling the forces of public opinion in this country to take an interest in it. He could take hours in giving the history of youths who had gone to Canada in the most discouraging circumstances and who to-day were among the most reputable citizens of the Empire. What he wished was to see some distinct action taken so that the people of this country might be roused to a sense of their responsibility in the matter and try what could be done to save the population so many of whom were drifting to destruction.

Mr. P. M. THORNTON, M.P., believed that some scheme of the kind described by Mr. Kinloch Cooke was most desirable, and referred to the success of his effort in persuading the guardians particularly in the south of London to take the matter up. It was a great feat, he considered, to have interviewed all these different Boards and to have got them into sympathy with a scheme which had its foundation in a great imperial idea.

Mr. D. C. LAMB (Salvation Army) thought that both Mr. Kinloch Cooke and Dr. Barnardo were really working towards the

same end, and suggested the appointment of a Central Committee which should deal not only with State children, but with the question of emigration generally. Let us, he said, have State emigration by all means, but that need not be to the exclusion of private effort. There was room for friendly rivalry and competition in these matters. The thing was to get the work done, and whoever did the work best should be most encouraged.

Mrs. DESPARD (Wandsworth Board of Guardians) said she looked upon emigration not as a panacea but as a palliative. She dissented entirely from Dr. Barnardo's view that individualism was to be substituted for collectivism as a means of carrying out the object in view. It was the business of the State, she considered, not merely of philanthropic agencies, to see that those children who through misfortune fell into the hands of the Poor Law were looked after till they were of an age to look after themselves. She did not in the least wish to minimise the work done by philanthropic agencies. It was very good and noble work, much of it. She had herself visited Canada, going out with a group of children emigrated by the Catholic Emigration Society, in order to study what was going on there. She was not altogether satisfied. It was of course a very small experience, and she did not profess she could know as much as those who had given their whole life to the study of the matter. In one case she drove fifty miles across a prairie to see one child. She was not altogether satisfied with the home, though she did not say the child was not having plenty of everything. She was told by a farmer that the home was not the place where a boy could be taught to take his place as a farmer. The children in the Poor Law schools, she thought, were certainly better cared for than were many outside such institutions. It was a matter which the State should take in hand, and before Mr. Kinloch Cooke brought forward this question she had some such scheme in her mind. It was essential, she considered, that Poor Law children should be supervised by us while they were being prepared for work in the Colonies, and therefore she thought the present scheme would be better than the efforts of any private agency could possibly be.

Mr. ALBERT SPICER, who stated that he was not interested in any private institution, strongly urged that children should be treated individually and not in institutions. He quite admitted that progress in this direction was slow, but they were moving, and already the sympathy expressed by officials in connection with the Local Government Board was most encouraging. His difference with Mr. Kinloch Cooke was this: that whilst they were striving

to break up these large institutions, Mr. Cooke was proposing to set up another class of institution in Canada. He himself believed in emigration. Let us, he said, when we sent children to our Colonies, give them a chance of free air and fresh surroundings in free homes, which were after all better than large institutions. As an employer, he preferred a boy from a poor home to a boy even from a good institution.

The Rev. H. L. PAGET (St. Pancras Board of Guardians), speaking as a guardian of some years' experience, pointed out that the scheme had received a very large measure of support from the Metropolitan Boards. It was probable, therefore, that there was a good deal to be said for it. Mr. Kinloch Cooke had been assailed as if he wanted to take the whole thing into his hands, but as a matter of fact he only claimed to deal with a very small number of the children eligible for emigration—children really left on the hands of the State and for whom the State had become responsible. There were possibly disadvantages connected with Institutional work, but that argument did not hold good of the special sort of work with which Mr. Kinloch Cooke proposed to deal. After all, these children would be going to strange places, under new climates, and to a sort of work which in many instances was entirely new, and they would be none the worse for careful supervision until, at all events, they had found their footing in the new country.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Kinloch Cooke, whose Paper he said had led to a fruitful discussion.

Mrs. M. M. EVANS (Strand Union Board of Guardians), in seconding, stated that the Board had expressed its approval of the scheme. In her opinion Dr. Barnardo and others were doing a magnificent work, but in this country with its huge population there was room for still more organisations of the kind.

Mr. H. G. TURNER (Lambeth Board of Guardians) supported the resolution. He pointed out that the Paper dealt with specific classes of children with whom the Guardians had experienced considerable difficulty. The details of the scheme would require consideration, but Mr. Kinloch Cooke's proposals as outlined threw much light on a dark path. He himself wished to pay the highest tribute to philanthropic work, but let the State, he said, rise to its responsibility and deal with these children as State children.

The motion was agreed to.

In reply Mr. Kinloch Cooke expressed his regret that Dr. Barnardo should have been so far carried away as to indulge to some

extent in personalities, and that he should seem to deny any sort of claim to others to have any views with regard to these children. He was not proposing to deal with Dr. Barnardo's children. Dr. Barnardo must have his own views as to them. He was dealing with State children, and his views with regard to them were somewhat different from Dr. Barnardo's. It was hardly fair to say he was speaking without knowledge of the subject in view of the admitted experience he had had in Colonial affairs.

He moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was agreed to, and the proceedings terminated.

SIXTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The Sixth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, April 11, 1905, when a Paper on "Imperial Organisation" was read by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.

The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., a member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 29 Fellows had been elected, viz. 6 Resident and 23 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

T. A. Coghlan, I.S.O., James W. G. Ross, Alfred M. Sedgwick, William R. Spence, Josiah Stewart, Robert J. Turner.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

Thackeray J. Allison (Natal), Alfred J. Baker (Natal), Samuel J. Bakmiweva (Ceylon), David J. Bower (Cape Colony), George R. Buckle (Transvaal), Alfred J. Cotton (Queensland), George Finch (Orange River Colony), Thomas F. Groom (Queensland), James Guthrie (Transvaal), James S. Halliday (Orange River Colony), Francis W. E. Hare, M.D., M.R.C.S.E. (Queensland), Henry F. Harvey, M.R.C.S.E., L.S.A. (Western Australia), Claude F. H. Monro (Rhodesia), E. Ivens Moon (India), Claude Musson (Queensland), George A. Northcroft, A.M.Inst.C.E. (Orange River Colony), Robert B. Powell (Fiji), John C. Rosa (Orange River Colony), Alexander C. Ross (Nova Scotia), Alfred Smith (Fiji), Frederick Stevens (Natal), Noel A. Warren (British Guiana), His Honour Chief Justice R. L. Weatherbe (Nova Scotia).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN: It is usual, I believe, in introducing a lecturer to explain his qualifications and generally to enlist the sympathies of those whom he is to enlighten. The task would be one of supererogation if not of impertinence on this occasion. It would be far more appropriate, I feel, if I myself were called upon to justify my occupancy of this chair. That indeed might be a far more difficult and formidable task even than framing a scheme of Imperial

Organisation. Evidently you all know Sir Frederick Pollock and appreciate his fertile brain and his power of lucid exposition, and consequently it is unnecessary for me to intervene another moment between you and the intellectual treat which you have come here to enjoy.

Sir Frederick Pollock then read his Paper on

IMPERIAL ORGANISATION.

Before reading his Paper Sir Frederick Pollock mentioned that although he was not a Fellow of the Institute he might claim to have known the Institute before it was incorporated. In the year 1882 he drew up its Charter; therefore, although he was grateful to be the guest of the Institute, he might claim to have a certain right not to feel a stranger. He then read his Paper as follows:—

It seems fitting to explain why I think this Paper deserves the serious attention of the Royal Colonial Institute, as I probably should not think if it stood for my own work alone. For the form and expression I am answerable, but the matter is the outcome of more than three years' consideration, and of active discussion extending over about a year and a half, in which about fifty persons holding almost every kind of opinion in politics, and representing many different professions and interests, have taken active part. Among them are several distinguished present or recent public servants, well acquainted with the conduct of public affairs, parliamentary, departmental and executive, and it is not too much to say that their collective experience omits but few parts of the British Empire. Whatever else the suggestions I am to lay before you may be, they are no crude project of doctrinaires or amateurs. But I must ask a certain amount of confidence for this assertion. The very same reasons which make for the collective efficiency of the fellow-workers who have honoured me by choosing me as their spokesman inevitably prevent any public disclosure of their names; I need not remind this audience of the rules of the public service or of analogous duties of discretion imposed in various degrees on active politicians. If it be asked, Why not give the names of those who are not restrained? the answer is that a list thus cut short would be so defective as to be positively misleading. One or two exceptions only can be made in the case of men who have severally and in public made valuable contributions to the problem. Mr. Haldane, Mr. W. Pember Reeves, and Dr. Parkin are all known

to you ; they will go some way, I think, towards vouching for the others who cannot be made known ; at all events, the mention of them will show that we have not omitted either to look beyond the four seas or to profit by the best learning and statesmanship at home.

Our proceedings began with talk among certain members of a rather small but lately reinforced body called the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee. We were anxious to see the work of the old Imperial Federation League resumed on more practical lines ; we did not see how it could be taken over by the Committee in question, or by the British Empire League, or by this Institute, none of which bodies could be expected, even if they had power, to commit themselves to any constructive plan. For a while we considered the usual expedient of making a new club or association. But when we tried to formulate principles it was borne in upon us, gradually and firmly, that general formulas were just what we could not, at that stage, agree upon, and did not want ; that we should do better without rules or even a name ; and that the only prospect of useful results was in perfectly free and confidential discussion among persons not too many for that purpose. We did not start with any sanguine expectations, and should not have been much surprised, though we should have been a little disappointed, if we had failed to arrive at any conclusion. But the tossing of our thoughts at a few meetings, if I may use a good phrase of Bacon's, disclosed a tendency to crystallise on definite lines ; and last October, after about a year's work of this kind, we were able to put forward a first collective statement.¹ In February I communicated to the Press a further statement in the nature of a report of progress.² This was done on my own responsibility, as otherwise a very large number of persons must have been consulted ; but I believe it fairly represented, as it purported to do, the results and tendencies of discussion since October. In addition to oral exchange of views at our meetings, many of us have contributed written memoranda and letters, and we are in active correspondence with leading men in almost every part of Greater Britain. Information and criticism are still invited from all persons interested in the welfare of the Empire ; and, if we cannot send a detailed answer in every case, we undertake that every communication shall receive attention. It is proposed to carry on our work until the meeting of the next Colonial Conference at all events.

¹ *Times*, October 17, 1904.

² *Ibid.* February 9, 1905

I now come to the substance of our proposals, premising that, as we have mainly to do with the self-governing Colonies, I shall, as a rule, omit that adjective, taking it as understood. Of late I have observed a disposition in some quarters to regard the word "colony" as implying some kind of disparagement. Anyone who is so disposed may do well to remember that the colonies of ancient Greek cities enjoyed absolute political independence. At the same time it is well not to forget that those colonies, united with their mother cities in kindred, in culture, and in religion, but wanting any means of effective co-operation, were subjugated in detail by centralised military powers, first in Asia Minor by the Persian king, and later in Southern Italy and Sicily by the Roman Republic.

There is a preliminary question, I confess, which we have not spent much time in discussing. We started from the assumption that the present relations between the component States of the British Empire are not all that can be desired, and that some better organised system is desirable if practicable. We believed, and still believe, that this is not only the better opinion, but is in fact held by a large majority of those who have considered the matter. There are even some who would censure us, if at all, for not making our proposals much more ambitious. But there does exist a contrary school, both at home and in the Colonies, holding it the best or the least objectionable course to do nothing. It may therefore not be superfluous to ask your attention for a few moments to the map of the world, and to the unique international and strategic situation of the land "thereon coloured red," as we say in conveyances. Before the law of nations these lands are all one. If a Swiss or Argentine citizen has a real or supposed grievance in New Zealand or in British Columbia for which he cannot get redress in the ordinary course of law, his government makes diplomatic representations not at Wellington or Ottawa, but at the Foreign Office in London. There have been times when an indiscreet act of some petty Newfoundland officer might have committed these kingdoms and the whole empire to war with France. Conversely, claims of a British subject in any part of the world against a foreign Power can be urged only by the Home Government. It is possible, no doubt, to put subtle questions arising out of the relations of Great Britain as a paramount Power to protected States and their subjects in India and elsewhere; but such cases are outside our present scope, and are in fact not heard of, so that the general statement now made may for practical purposes be taken as

unqualified. As the very latest writer on international law has said, Colonial States have no international position whatever.

Again, trade and communication between these dispersed lands depend on the sea; and for strategic purposes the sea is all one, as we have been told by the highest naval authority.

"The British Empire presents the unique spectacle of a metropolitan State controlling by sundry and manifold relations a number of possessions and dependencies in different parts of the world, all of them relying for defence and protection mainly upon the imperial command of the seas. No other empire has been, or is, so constituted; and this geographical situation lies at the base of our Colonial policy. Great Britain has acquired, during the course of the nineteenth century, the habit of holding her possessions in North America and Australasia upon the very singular political tenure of sovereignty by mutual consent."¹

Here is a solidarity capable of grave consequences. The mother country and the Colonies, like partners, are liable for each other's acts to the uttermost farthing. External unity of this kind seems to require some internal unity of direction to make it prudent for reasonable men to accept its attendant risk. According to strict legal theory, that unity is given in the supremacy of the King, exercised either in the Parliament of the United Kingdom or through Ministers responsible to it. But this has long been a legal fiction. The partnership cannot at this day be treated as a one-man company in which the parent is the sole manager. Our Colonies are autonomous in their internal affairs as fully as the colonies of Greek cities were, and in external affairs the tendency is to stop only at matters which may touch peace and war. There is still a senior partner holding and staking most, but the junior partners are not merely members of the family admitted to nominal shares. And there are no partnership articles.

The national faculty of compromise has enabled us hitherto to carry on the business somehow, but can we go on trusting to compromises and accidents? Is it worthy of this Empire to have no policy for the management of its affairs, as a whole, but a policy of drift? Only forty years ago drift was accepted, and, what is more, was thought by well-informed public servants to be in the direction of independence. The Colonies, as they grew up, had much better go their own ways, and leave off troubling us at home with their affairs; and this was not an opinion of one school or party, but a

¹ Sir A. Lyall, *Life of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava* (1905), i. 229.

standing tradition of the Colonial Office. An interesting passage in Sir A. Lyall's life of Lord Dufferin¹ shows that this tradition of preparing for separation was accepted by Sir Henry Taylor in 1864, and by Robert Lowe as late as 1872. Lord Dufferin's brilliant viceroyalty in Canada had much to do with putting an end to it. We have just been reminded that the late Lord Norton (as orthodox a Conservative as Lord Sherbrooke was an orthodox Liberal) deliberately maintained it in a book published in 1869. There was no specially British perversity in this want of foresight. In fact, during the half-century between the fall of Napoleon and the end of the American Civil War the judgment of the best informed persons in Europe on the future of national politics in both Europe and America was almost invariably wrong. Perhaps it was beyond ordinary human wisdom at that time to perceive that before the end of the nineteenth century there would be other Powers newly grown or consolidated on land, and other navies on the seas, or that the Antipodes would have become a good deal less remote; still less that the gift of independence as distinguished from self-government—the renunciation of the British flag and British citizenship—would be so costly and burdensome that, apart from dislike to separation on any other ground, the Colonies would desire it least of all things. That way of cutting the knot is outside practical politics now. A very learned Canadian lawyer has indeed suggested reducing the link between Great Britain and Canada to a mere "personal union," such as existed between England and Scotland under the Stuarts. He did not explain what was to happen if the British Ministry and the Canadian Ministry (which by his plan were to be quite unconnected) failed to agree on any matter touching common interests. A bold assumption of personal authority by the King might well be the only passage out of such a deadlock; and no one here needs to be told that this would be not innovation but revolution. It has not been seriously proposed that Canada shall have the power of involving the whole Empire in war without consulting the Home Government, but such is the natural consequence of some things that some Canadian politicians have said.

If, on the other hand, we are to strengthen the ties, it does not seem that any merely commercial arrangements will be sufficient, or that any formal constitution-making is practicable. Tariff reformers are among those with whom I am working, but they do not put their trust in preferential tariffs alone; and for my own part,

¹ Vol. i. p. 285.

regardless of the merits of any possible scheme of imperial economics, I doubt whether any such matter can even be adequately discussed among the States of the Empire without much better means of consultation than exist at present. As for any kind of formal constitution, it assumes the consent of several independent legislatures, and involves a considerable modification of their existing authority. I am not aware of any reason for thinking that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would easily be persuaded to reduce itself by a solemn act to a mere State Legislature, or that the Colonial Governments would be willing to surrender any substantial part of their autonomy to some new Federal Senate or Council. All the information at our disposal goes to show that nothing of the kind has any chance of being accepted, or even of seeming plausible enough to induce any Ministry to take it in hand. Besides, it is notorious that of late years, by reason of causes not the less effectual because they are irrelevant to the merits, constructive and systematic legislation on any considerable scale has become not less but more difficult. And this would be a legislative construction of unprecedented magnitude. No one, I believe, is now found to advocate direct representation of the Colonies in Parliament. This, if practicable, would make it an Imperial Parliament in a real sense (the present historical epithet is only a survival of the mediæval protests against the King of England being supposed inferior to the Emperor, and the Reformation protest against papal jurisdiction). But there are at least three fatal objections, besides that which is common to all schemes involving ambitious legislation : the inconvenience of increasing the number of the House of Commons, the enormous difficulties of allotting representation in due proportion to the several constituents of the Empire ; and the want of probability that the Colonies would send us their best men, even if they consented at all. Addition of a certain number of distinguished persons from the Colonies to the House of Lords as life peers would be harmless and perhaps of some use, but inadequate ; moreover, it is doubtful whether such persons, after any lengthened residence here, would carry much weight beyond that of their individual opinions.

We have then to look for some plan which will avoid elaborate legislation and formal change in the Constitution. If possible, it should also be capable (the whole matter being novel and experimental) of being enlarged or modified according to what is found most useful by trial. It seems that we must distinctly renounce the invention of any new kind of executive or compulsory

power. No such power would be accepted by the Colonies, unless our information is wholly at fault. We must therefore be content with a council of advice which will have only what is called "persuasive" authority. My own expectation would be that, if such a council were once effectually constituted, including the fitting persons and furnished with proper information, its advice would come to have great weight, and ultimately take a definite place in the customs of our Constitution. But it would no more detract from the general responsibility of the King's Ministers than the Committee of Imperial Defence does at present; and in the same way it would not affect the constitutional powers or responsibility of any Colonial Ministry. It cannot be supposed, however, that a council of this kind could often meet in its full strength. Whatever its exact relation to the conference of Colonial Premiers might be (on which I will say a word presently), it must include, on special occasions, Colonial statesmen not habitually residing in England. Therefore provision will be needed not only for keeping minutes of the council's proceedings, but for interim communications by letter or cable, or by the delegation of occasional representatives for special purposes. This is as much as to say that a permanent secretary's office is required; and it must not be dependent on any existing department, but immediately under the President of the Imperial Council or Committee. Further, we want a more systematic method of preparing the way for profitable consideration of many kinds of affairs touching imperial interests. The existing means of the Colonial, Indian, and Foreign Offices are not sufficient or appropriately organised for this purpose. The new secretariat should have at its disposal both the best and most recent information and the conclusions of expert committees; in other words, we suggest a standing Imperial Commission to serve as a general intelligence department for matters outside the technical functions of the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Committee of Imperial Defence. It would be possible, and at need, it is submitted, useful, to work this part of the scheme without the rest. At present, however, it is my business to set forth the whole in what we conceive to be its due proportions.

First, as to the constitution of an advisory council for the Empire. The most regular and easy way of establishing it would be in the shape of a Committee¹ of the Privy Council. This idea was

¹ Perhaps it is not as generally known as it should be that the meetings of the Council itself are purely formal. It would not now be possible, consistently with parliamentary government, to make them otherwise.

published at least fourteen years ago, before there was any general interest in the subject. It has occurred independently, with only slight variations, to several persons, and has on the whole been very favourably received. Such a committee, which might be called the Imperial Committee (but whether Committee, Board, or Council is rather a detail), would be marked from the outset as being a dignified and important body not attached to any particular department, but concerned with the affairs of the Empire as a whole. It would not meddle with the art of war, which is already well taken in hand by the Committee of Imperial Defence, though it is quite possible that useful communications might pass between the two bodies. Its province would be questions involving matters of Imperial interest not confined to one colony or dependency, and not capable of being disposed of by the action of the Colonial Office or any other single department of State. For dealing with such questions by way of information and advice a revival of the ancient functions of the King's Council in a form appropriate to modern requirements appears preferable to any violent innovation. Mr. Reeves has indeed suggested that (presumably because the nature of the Privy Council and its Committees is no better known to the general public in the Colonies than at home) the plan is liable to be misunderstood and disliked. This objection, coming from a specially qualified critic anxious to promote the general purpose, cannot be ignored; but, as I find no mention of it in any other communication, and we have received full approval of the proposed method from eminent persons in New Zealand and in more than one State of the Australian Commonwealth, I cannot think it formidable enough to outweigh the merits. One such correspondent, a practical statesman, writes:

"The Privy Council is an ancient historic power in the realm which could be most happily revived for a strictly modern development of functions of very great value. It is distinctly the best suggestion yet for combining the representative, administrative, and consultative elements of government without prematurely forcing any of them into a too rigid form."

It must be clearly understood that no proposal is now made either to bind any Colonial Government beforehand to the acceptance of any decision which it has not specifically approved, or to interfere with the power and duty of the King's Ministers here to take prompt and decisive action, at need, on their own responsibility. We have lately had a striking example of the wholly unexpected

emergencies that may occur. Such occasions, moreover, are not limited to warlike action or preparation, as those of us know who are old enough to remember the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. Not to hamper the executive authority of the central Government, but to strengthen it for action by the fullest and most intimate acquaintance with the conditions of the Empire and the mind of its component States, is the object aimed at.

As to the constitution of the Imperial Committee, the nucleus of it exists already in the Conference of Premiers which met in 1902, and is expected to meet again next year. The Premiers of the Dominion, of the Commonwealth, and of New Zealand are already Privy Councillors, and no good reason appears why their successors, and the future Premiers of a confederated South Africa, should not have the same rank as a matter of course. The Colonial Secretary would be a necessary member (though, for reasons I shall mention, I do not think he ought to preside), and all the heads of the great departments would also be members of the Committee, though they would not all be summoned to every meeting. As in the case of the Judicial Committee, the selection of the persons to be convened out of the whole number would depend upon the nature of the business on each occasion. For example, the Secretary of State for India would not be wanted to take part in considering the report of an expert committee on a question (let us say) of mail subsidies in the Pacific. But there might be other questions in which the Australasian Colonies and India had material common interests, and in which, therefore, India could not go without representation.¹ The Crown Colonies would constantly, and for the present sufficiently, be represented by the Secretary of State. It is conceivable that now and then, when the business was of special importance, the venue might be transferred, so to speak, to the Cabinet by summoning one or two select members of the Imperial Committee to attend a Cabinet Council; but, as the Imperial Committee would itself include two or three leading members of the Cabinet, it does not seem likely that the Cabinet would need any further information. Privy Councillors, having once become members of the Imperial Committee, would not cease to be members of it by resigning office on a change of Ministry; and it might often be discreet

¹ It is proper to say that difficulties have been felt by some of us about the inclusion of India; but those difficulties referred, I think, to some scheme of definite and more or less proportional representation of the Colonies, and no such scheme is now proposed. I do not myself see how India could be excluded. There are South African questions affecting India at this moment,

and profitable, in matters not leading to a Cabinet decision of a controversial kind, for ex-Ministers to be invited to give the Empire, as being above parties, the benefit of their experience, and to add a new illustration to the just and dignified name of "His Majesty's Opposition." The same observation applies to any ex-Premiers of Colonies whose services may happen to be available. On the other hand, there would be nothing to prevent the occasional attendance of skilled persons not being members of the Privy Council. I do not mean only or chiefly politicians; explorers, merchants, engineers, leading shipowners might all have things to say which they would rather not put in a written report. Outsiders have been invited to attend the Cabinet itself for special purposes. The President of the Imperial Committee would naturally be the Prime Minister, or some prominent member of the Government acting for the whole. This is not a mere point of form. There must be no doubt that the Imperial Committee or Council belongs to the Empire, and is not annexed to the Colonial Office or any other particular department. A merely departmental council would be of no use at all: the case of the Indian Secretary's Council, a statutory body having quite definite control in financial matters, is not analogous. It would even be rather undesirable for the Colonial Secretary to act as the Prime Minister's delegate on the Imperial Committee. The old jealousy of the Colonial Office and "government from Downing Street" is not yet quite extinct, though we have done our best at home of late years—perhaps not without some excess in reaction—to remove its causes. The Colonies do not want to be at some times neglected and at other times effusively flattered, but to be dealt with in a straightforward businesslike manner.

One obvious remark is that the Colonial Premiers cannot be in England oftener than once in four or five years. But we have spoken of the Imperial Committee as having a continuous existence, and we attach importance to that quality. How is the Committee to exist to any practical purpose when the Premiers are not here? Now in the first place every member of an Imperial Committee would be entitled to communicate directly with the Prime Minister as well as with his colleagues, and much useful communication could take place by letter or cable without any formal meeting at all. It is not unknown that when meetings of various bodies do take place the most important part of their transactions is not always that which is embodied in resolutions and recorded in minutes. A standing usage of free and confidential intercourse among the States of the Empire would have other and greater

worth than could be measured by the resulting quantity of blue-books. Again, there would be intermediate business more in the nature of exchange of information and views than of solemn deliberation on any defined question of policy. No reason is apparent why the carriage of such business should not be delegated by the Governments concerned to their respective Agents-General or to other fit persons who might be on the spot: and no trouble that I can see would arise on the score of any persons so designated not being, as they could not always be, Privy Councillors. Whether such delegation would be standing or occasional is a point on which no opinion is offered. I do not myself see why it should not be left to each Government. Neither do I see why any Colony should not be represented, if it thought fit, by a special Minister for External Affairs (as a Canadian critic has suggested) rather than its Premier; but I doubt whether this would be generally approved. You will note that the scheme here blocked out provides a body small enough to transact really confidential business, and at the same time elastic enough to reinforce its meetings when convenient; and also that, being largely automatic, it escapes the difficulty, which most of us have felt to be considerable, of devising any kind of elective representation on an imperial council. Ingenuity seems to be rather wasted in trying to make nice adjustments of numbers or influence in a purely deliberative body which would record collective or separate opinions rather than take votes, and would probably never pass a formal resolution unless it was unanimous.

It may be said that the existence of an Imperial Committee, normally presided over by the British Prime Minister, and in any case in direct communication with the Cabinet, will add a new burden to duties which already touch the limit of any one man's capacity. The answer is that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet are already answerable for the whole business and policy of the Empire. There is nothing in any possible proceedings of an Imperial Committee to make them more so. But if it be said that the present burden of the Cabinet, and of the Prime Minister in particular, is tolerable (if it is) because many matters are left to take care of themselves until they become urgent, then we reply that this is exactly the weak joint in the harness of the Empire which we want to see mended; and here is our suggestion for mending it, the best we can think of. We shall be very glad if anyone can find a way to mend it better. Again, someone may say we propose to give a large discretion to the Prime Minister or the

secretary of the Imperial Committee, as to the working composition of that body; for no one except the presiding Minister and the Colonial Premiers, when able to attend, would be entitled to be present at any particular meeting. This is quite true. We have found insuperable objections to any rigid system of organising a consultative body for imperial affairs; and if we are to have an elastic system, it can be worked only by reposing a good deal of confidence in someone to work it with uprightness and intelligence. After all, it does not seem an extravagant compliment to the quality of our statesmen if we propose to trust the responsible chief of the King's advisers about half as much as we trust managing directors, bankers, and solicitors in our private affairs. Besides, abuse of an imperial and non-partisan institution for domestic partisan ends of any kind would be far too risky a venture for the most ambitious and least scrupulous of Ministers. I can think of no proceeding that the House of Commons would be more certain to resent.

Another objection of an opposite kind is that a merely advisory committee which has no positive authority, and whose members have, as such, no defined responsibility, is not likely to acquire any serious influence or importance. This is in a general way plausible enough; but I would point to the excellent work already done in a position certainly not more promising. The Committee of Imperial Defence, and another body of much longer standing, but even less known to the public, the Colonial Defence Committee, have no more authority or responsibility than we propose to give to the Imperial Committee. This has not prevented them from handling many questions for which merely departmental action was not competent, and which could have been dealt with by correspondence between departments only in a cumbrous fashion, if at all. As to the value of the results, it is only since the Committee of Imperial Defence has been in full working order that the phantom of a Continental invasion—880,000 men, I think, was the latest official number—has been finally exorcised from the War Office, to give place to a sound view of our strategic requirements and policy based on the true doctrine of sea power.¹ I cannot help thinking that a year or two of an Imperial Committee for civil and general business might have a greater effect in clearing up misconceptions and dispelling illusions than many years of desultory talk.

Before leaving this division of the scheme I may add that it

¹ See Lord Lansdowne's speech in the House of Lords on March 30, delivered since I wrote these words.

would be a possible alternative to form a Committee for non-military imperial affairs after the manner of the Committee of Imperial Defence, which is not a Committee of the Privy Council or of any other body, and does not even consist in form of any settled list of persons, although its acting members are in fact pretty constant. A board of this kind might perhaps be found easier to set up than a Committee of the Privy Council, though I do not know why it should; but it would be less dignified, less of a guarantee to the public at home and beyond seas that the Empire's business was being taken seriously, and more at the mercy of personal and executive discretion; indeed, its existence would be very little security against a reaction to the old separatist views, whereas a standing Imperial Committee of the Privy Council, with a place in the Constitution as recognised as that of the Judicial Committee, would make such a reaction almost impossible. For these reasons the alternative does not seem desirable, though it is right to mention that it has occurred to us and been considered.

We now come to the second part of the scheme, an Imperial Secretariat and Intelligence Department. It is evident that if an Imperial Committee is to have a continuous existence and the means of profiting by its own experience, it must have someone to keep its records. These records will be confidential for the most part, and for this reason alone the secretary must be a person of considerable standing and well acquainted with public business. As his department would have no executive duties to speak of, he would be able to devote his time to acquiring and systematising knowledge of many kinds for the use of the Cabinet and the Imperial Committee. He would be in fact a permanent under-secretary directly attached to the Prime Minister, but free from the usual departmental routine. He would need a personal staff of not more than two or three good clerks, and perhaps one confidential assistant; but it does not at all follow that the duties would be nominal, for, under the ultimate direction of the Imperial Committee, it would be the secretary's province to organise inquiry and receive and arrange information for its use by the means we shall now explain. His work should not encroach upon local or other inquiries which are wholly within the competence of the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, or the India Office, and can be dealt with, so to speak, as domestic matters. When the Imperial Committee wants information of that kind it will be best obtained through the department concerned. But there is a considerable field, at present no man's land, where the spheres of two or more departments intersect, Merchant

shipping and copyright are the first examples that come to hand of such topics, and as good as any. And, as one well-informed correspondent observes, "Imperial problems outranging the scope of any one particular Government office are not confined to the Colonial sphere. They arise on all sides." As things are now, the several States of the Empire have neither full nor exact knowledge of one another's doings in the same or kindred matters, and the result is that difficulties of various kinds arise, and there is useless diversity or even conflict in legislation for identical purposes. The proposed Imperial Under-Secretary,¹ Clerk of the Imperial Committee, or whatever he might be called, would be accessible to the Colonial Governments through their authorised representatives. If and when they found it convenient they might communicate with the Imperial Committee through his office: this might be left to work itself out, understanding always that no rights of the Colonial Office were to be encroached upon, and that the Colonial Secretary must, in any case, be kept fully informed.

The permanent secretary would perhaps not find himself so idle as might be thought at first sight, even if he confined himself to salving and digesting useful knowledge out of overlooked and forgotten publications. But we think the best living information ought to be at the service of the Imperial Committee through its secretariat; and we think this can be most effectively done, without ostentation and with very little expense, by the constitution of a permanent Imperial Commission whose members would represent all branches of knowledge and research, outside the art of war, most likely to be profitable in Imperial affairs. Not only learned and official persons would be included in such a body, but men of widespread business, travellers, ethnologists, comparative students of politics might all find scope for excellent work. It need not, and I think should not, be paid work. It would be as willingly done without pecuniary reward as the more formal and laborious work of Royal Commissions, as to which there has never been any difficulty. The honorary title of Imperial Commissioner would be conferred on these selected persons on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, who would in the first instance consult the permanent staff of the Imperial Committee. When the Commission was once in existence, it might be well for it to hold occasional meetings to make its existence visible, and those meetings might usefully recommend other quali-

¹ "Imperial Secretary" would not do, as it would carry a false suggestion of a position like a Secretary of State's.

fied persons. Every Imperial Commissioner would have access to the secretariat, and would be able to impart any special knowledge of his own, with the assurance that it was in safe hands and would not be neglected. Many travellers and others learn things which they cannot publish, and which are not exactly in the province of any one department, though capable of being used for the public good.

But I should conceive that the business of an Imperial Commission would in ordinary course be mostly done by expert committees dealing with special subjects. For one example, the question of a single final Court of Appeal for the Empire is urgent, but we shall never get a plan for it properly worked out with our present makeshift ways. A strong expert committee, without the solemnity of a Royal Commission, should take this in hand and prepare for the consideration of His Majesty's Government and the next Colonial Conference the constitution of an Imperial High Court, to include members having the due qualifications from any part of the Empire. What is wanted here is not a commission and formal evidence or memoranda, but half-a-dozen men at most, who can quietly find out what is practicable and what not, and whose united opinion will command respect. With some such preparation there is nothing insoluble in the problem; without it, no Government will commit itself to a project which enemies can always represent in a light offensive to the House of Lords, the Colonies, or both. Another topic not less urgent, though of less ample scope, is copyright law. The statutes in force in various parts of the Empire are incongruous, ill arranged, and for the most part ill penned (the principal Act passed by the Imperial Parliament in 1842 being the worst); and there is danger of real conflict between home and Colonial statutes, which has more than once been averted not without trouble. The report made by a Royal Commission more than a quarter of a century ago still slumbers in a blue-book, and the subject has never really been considered from an imperial point of view. Problems of this kind, moreover, are chronic. A standing committee on uniformity of laws within the Empire would find quite enough matter to occupy a fair portion of the leisure of busy men, as at least some of its members would be. Again, there are various affairs of communication and interstate commerce, if one may transfer the American expression to a transoceanic scale, which expert committees might with advantage clear up and set in order for authoritative treatment. It is more than probable that other subjects would occur to

competent persons more versed in them than myself, as fit to be dealt with and reported on in like manner.

In course of time the secretariat, through reports of committees, and also to some extent by special communications, would possess a unique body of information. Some of this might be strictly confidential and for the Cabinet and the Imperial Committee alone. Some would be at the disposal of the Colonial Governments and of the Home Departments concerned. Some, I am inclined to think much, could safely be made accessible to all serious inquirers, or even to the public under no greater restriction than is found necessary at the British Museum and the Record Office; and some of this portion might from time to time be published with advantage. When we begin to look so far forward, it may well be thought that the work of organising the Commission and its sub-committees, and keeping its reports in order, would be more than the Permanent Secretary of the Imperial Committee could undertake, and that he would need a colleague or superior assistant with distinct functions. It would be proper, however, to begin with a quite modest establishment and expand it later as required. There may quite conceivably be an honourable and useful place in the scheme for existing societies—this Institute, for example—whose object is to increase knowledge of matters touching the Empire and to promote interest in them. But it would obviously be premature to enter on the rather delicate consideration of the means whereby such bodies could be brought into relation with an Imperial Secretariat and Commission without giving them too much of an official character.

Within the space at my command, expressing the ideas of my colleagues to the best of my ability, and I trust with substantial faithfulness, I have tried to show that we have at least the materials for a coherent plan, which can be put in action without revolutionary change, at no great cost, and with very moderate labour in proportion to the fairly probable results. If I have underrated any difficulties, it has not been my desire to do so. Work worth doing has never been accomplished without them. Walking and speaking are quite difficult arts; and our other daily feat of knowing that we live together in a real world is so far from easy that after more than two thousand years of speculation we are not agreed how it is done, and still have no better reason for believing it possible than the fact that it happens. To master the difficulties of the problem now before us we need all the qualities of all the races in the Empire: the tenacious industry of the Saxon, the long-sighted judgment of the Scot, the brilliant fervour and sympathetic imagination of the

Celt, the adventurous daring of the Dane, the shrewd businesslike sense of the Norman (not forgetting that our purest Norman stock, after the Channel Islands, is in the Province of Quebec), and the invincible patience and faith in destiny that have carried Asia through secular vicissitudes. Our kindred beyond the seas of the rising and the setting sun have called on us to wake, and we answer the call in good hope, with the words that an English lover of the sea conquered from the East and made his own :

Awake ! for Morning in the Bowl of Night
Has flung the Stone that puts the Stars to Flight :
And Lo ! the Hunter of the East has caught
The Sultán's Turret in a Noose of Light.

DISCUSSION.

The CHAIRMAN (The Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.): We came here to-night expecting much, and we have not been disappointed. It is given to few men to have the political wit to devise and the literary talent to expound so lucidly a complicated scheme bristling with difficulties—some of those difficulties not the more easy to overcome because they are sentimental, and I think all who heard the Paper will agree that fortunately for us Sir F. Pollock is exceptionally gifted in this respect. I assume all of us are sympathisers with this idea of "Imperial Organisation," though we may differ as to the road and the pace which we should travel. I imagine too that most of us agree with the preliminary conditions laid down in the Paper, viz.: starting from the premiss that you wish to strengthen the ties which connect the Colonies with the Mother Country, no merely commercial arrangement would be sufficient and no formal constitution-making is practicable. Also, we must agree that we ought not to proceed with undue haste and precipitation. I think we shall all agree that direct representation of the Colonies in the Imperial Parliament, certainly in the House of Commons, is at present impracticable. I say at present, because some of us hope to see the day when there will be evolved from the present House of Commons an Imperial House of Commons which will be relieved of those local and comparatively small questions with which it now has to deal, and which it deals with in such an unsatisfactory manner. One great difficulty we have to contend with is the apathy of the Colonies. With the exception of a few

distinguished men, I do not think this question of Imperial Federation is regarded with keen sympathy as a practical question in the Colonies. I do not go so far as Mr. Harney in the interesting Paper he read last January, when he stated that the idea of Imperial Federation had not met with any particular favour in Australia because it does not rest on any real felt want or appeal to any genuine public sentiment. But there is apathy, and if there were not the task before us would be easier. The first duty before us therefore is to enlighten and educate our Colonial kinsmen. It is for that reason that a Paper such as this, even if it has no immediate and practical effect, has a great educational value. It keeps alive the spark which sooner or later (how or when we cannot say) may be fanned by some unexpected breeze of public opinion into a bright and brilliant flame. I would here desire to express my profound dissent from those weak-kneed brethren who timidly deprecate discussion of any subject which may possibly be unacceptable to our kinsmen in the Colonies. To me, who have met many distinguished Colonial statesmen, this nervousness is ludicrous. Our kinsmen across the sea are men of masculine and vigorous mind. They are peculiarly well qualified to take care of themselves, and they are not likely to be annoyed at the discussion of moot questions, especially when those discussions are conducted in a courteous and suggestive manner. As regards the establishment of an Imperial Committee I entirely agree with Sir Frederick Pollock. We have an example for this committee in the Committee of Imperial Defence. For that new departure we owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Balfour, and I was rejoiced last year at taking part in a public meeting of the Imperial League where this committee and the inclusion within its circle of representatives of Colonial representatives was strongly applauded by Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, and other members of the Opposition. Therefore, I think we may take it that this Committee of Imperial Defence has come to stay, whatever party may be in office. Sir F. Pollock said, I think, that the committee which he proposes will have quite as much power and authority as the Committee of Imperial Defence; but the latter is, I think, composed exclusively of officials including the Prime Minister and the heads of our great departments, and they are free to give force to the decisions arrived at unless they require the sanction of Parliament. It is proposed by Sir F. Pollock to exclude all questions connected with war, and to confine the committee to civil and general questions. A doubt which occurs to me is whether the work in quality and quantity will be

sufficient for this committee. My experience of advisory and honorary boards is that if they have not any executive power or responsibilities they soon fall into a state of *otium cum dignitate*, unless, indeed, the members are salaried. That is not a cynical remark. It is human nature. If a man has a salary and a conscience he is bound to do something for it. But there is an alternative, namely, that there should be an energetic secretary who would keep the committee alive. I do not think even the Committee of Imperial Defence would continue to lead its useful life if it was not for the energetic secretary it possesses in the person of our friend Sir George Clarke. I quite agree the Committee should be a committee of the Privy Council. If it has not executive power, at least let it have dignity. There is only one condition I should like to see imposed, namely, that the honour of Privy Councillor should not be made too common. These are some points which have occurred to me. They are not objections to the scheme, with which I have entire sympathy, and if I have suggested any doubts, Sir F. Pollock will doubtless be able to dispel them.

Sir GEORGE S. CLARKE, K.C.M.G., F.R.S. : Every one who has the cause of our Empire at heart will welcome the wise and thoughtful Paper that we have just listened to. It may be, as Sir F. Pollock believes, that some among us might think his proposals are insufficiently ambitious. That certainly would have been my view twenty-five years ago, but I know better now. When one is young difficulties of all kinds seem small ; but, as time goes on and one realises the intractability of men and things, one understands that arrangements which look beautiful on paper may be such as have not the faintest possibility of practical acceptance, and that all great movements spring from small beginnings. There is a certain fascination about constitution-making ; but paper constitutions can never meet complex needs, and the only thing really certain about them is that they invariably produce results which differ absolutely from what was expected of them. Three years ago the late Lord Salisbury warned us in memorable words of the risks which may attend any attempt to bind the Empire by a rigid agreement. "There is no danger," he said, "that appears to me more serious for the time that lies before us than an attempt to force the various parts of the Empire into a mutual arrangement for which they are not ready and which will only produce a reaction in favour of the old state of things." He added, "If we will be patient and careful there is a tremendous destiny before us ; if we are hasty there may be the reverse of such a destiny ; there may be the

breaking apart of those forces which are necessary to construct the majestic fabric of a future Empire." Those are words of wisdom we may well remember, and I quote them because they exactly bear out Sir F. Pollock's view that no formal arrangement is, at the present time, "practicable." But, if this is true, it surely does not mean we should do nothing, and that we should hold our hands and wait in pious expectation for a closer union which will not come of itself. If there is anything in statesmanship, it must consist in seeking to direct the great forces which move mankind into channels where their energies will be spent for the National benefit. Can there be any nobler object for British statesmen than that of seeking to draw the Empire together in co-operation for the benefit of all its parts? The preamble of the Writ of Edward I. summoning the Parliament of 1295 states, in the simple words of those less complicated times, "It is a most equitable rule that what concerns all should be approved by all; and common danger should be repelled by united effort." We cannot too strongly reaffirm this "most equitable rule." There are many questions which are common to the whole Empire and which require to be approved by all. There will be more such large questions as the years roll on. There are also many dangers which are common to all, and there may be more such dangers in the future. But there are no effective means at the present time even for proper mutual discussion. It is to remedy this great evil that Sir F. Pollock's Paper is addressed, and I believe the measures he proposes will go far in the way we ought to move. It will be a beginning, at all events, and we have need of a beginning. As you all know, every great steamer has a very small starting engine which is used only to set its giant machinery in motion. It may well be that the small machine, modest as it seems, which Sir F. Pollock proposes to construct might be the starting engine of great machinery that would sway the affairs of the Empire in future. Even in the initial stages, it would bring the Colonies into closer touch with the Cabinet than now, and also enable many questions now totally neglected to be continuously and scientifically studied. This alone would be a great gain. At the same time I do not think there is anything in the proposal which would bring out antagonism in any part of the Empire. By the last mail I received a letter from a Victorian who went out as a boy of twelve, forty-eight years ago, and who therefore has gained all his knowledge of men and affairs in Australia, in which he says, "The Council must be purely consultative, otherwise it would destroy the Imperial Executive and Parliament at home,

and also the Executives and Parliaments beyond the Seas. That is evident, yet so many people who discuss these big questions have no idea of the middle distance power without control which a consultative Council would wield." Those words exactly corroborate Sir F. Pollock's contention that his "consultative" or "persuasive" body would in time to come wield a most beneficent power over our Imperial affairs. There is one point that I think he has not mentioned. It is important that the consultative body should not be too secretive. We should endeavour to get our people both here and in Greater Britain to understand and take an interest in the working of this new body. It must not work too much *in camera*; it must be careful not to bind itself in coils of red tape. I think we sometimes fail to realise how fully all our great self-governing members are engrossed in their own affairs, engaged in solving difficult problems, political and economical, arising out of their condition. This self-absorption is natural and inevitable; we suffer from it here quite as much as they do, but the more we can interest people at large in the wider problems of the Empire the brighter will be the prospect, not merely of maintaining, but of broadening and deepening the foundations of our Empire. Of our infant Colonies Edmund Burke said, "Fiction lags after truth; invention is unfruitful, and imagination cold and barren." What words could even Burke have found which would adequately characterise the Empire as it is to-day? All those to whom that Empire is an inspiration, all those who understand its position and power for good amongst the nations of the world, all who realise its unrivalled strength if it is prepared to act as a whole, and its weakness and intolerable waste of effort, all good citizens under the Flag in all parts of the world must unite in wishing above everything to help forward the closer co-operation which Sir F. Pollock's thoughtful Paper has foreshadowed. By some such measures as he proposes may we hope, in Lord Salisbury's words, to "construct the majestic fabric of future Empire."

Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.:—I make no apology for responding to the invitation to take part in the discussion of this important Paper. It is pretty well known that for many years past I have taken a deep interest in this question of Imperial Federation; and the particular question under discussion is essentially a branch of it. I feel so much sympathy with the views of Sir Frederick Pollock, and appreciate so highly his motives if possible to find a successful solution to this great National question, that I am reluctant to enter on any criticism

which militates against his plan for doing so. It is impossible to do more than glance at a few points of the plan he proposes, in the time at my disposal. First, I would direct your attention to the statement "that no one, I believe, is now found to advocate direct representation of the Colonies in Parliament." If by Parliament is meant Parliament as at present constituted I entirely agree with him ; otherwise I decidedly differ. I have long maintained that what is wanted is a Parliament or Senate, supreme to the present one, comprising representatives in due proportions of the Mother Country and the Colonies, from all parts of the English-speaking Empire for its government, to deal with questions of an Imperial character, leaving the local Parliaments at Home and in the Colonies to deal with local affairs without any interference in the control of their authority by the central Senate. Sir F. Pollock alludes to what he considers fatal objections to Colonial representation. As to the first, I maintain there is no reason why the representation should be of an undue character, as far as numbers in the Imperial Senate are concerned. I hold in my hand a little volume published by me some ten years ago, and to which I wrote an introduction, containing an elaborate and statesman-like scheme for an Imperial Parliament drawn up by a Canadian friend, Mr. Granville Cunningham, in which he sets out in detail an account of the numbers as well as the quality of those who should constitute an Imperial Senate ; and of those also who should constitute a local parliament. The Imperial Senate would be of very moderate dimensions, not exceeding, in fact, the present House of Commons, and I see no difficulty whatever in adjusting matters in that respect, because the size of a constituency does not matter so long as you get the best men to represent it. Then with regard to securing the best men, I confidently appeal to human nature. If such a constitution was inaugurated for the whole Empire, there can be no doubt those who occupy distinguished positions in their Colonies would be much more likely to be attracted by the larger system in which they would participate than by their presence in their own local parliaments. These being my views, I must say I regard Sir F. Pollock's plan for securing a satisfactory political communion, and sufficient representation of the various parts of the Empire as quite inadequate. The enlargement of the Privy Council as suggested would be very well indeed as an experimental step in the right direction, but such a body would not possess what I think should be an essential quality. The Colonies would never be satisfied with it. It would only mean a consultative or advisory body. It

would have no real political power. The whole scheme is to leave the government of the whole Empire, as heretofore, in the hands of the people of the Islands of Great Britain alone, which I think in the present day is not satisfactory and is not sufficient. This has never been my idea of Imperial Federation. It has embraced a far wider scope than any contemplated by Sir F. Pollock and his friends. According to my views, the Colonies must have a real voice in the policy of the Empire. We are all under one Monarch as head of this Empire. The logical sequence of this form of Constitution is, that its Government should be composed of a representative union of the English-speaking people over whom that Monarch reigns, at home and beyond the seas, by an Imperial Parliament. Such is my creed and such my ideal. Let me, in conclusion, remind you of the once celebrated saying of Lord Rosebery, that this cause of Imperial Federation is "one worth living for, and, if necessary, dying for." I may add, it is indeed a cause to work for; and my unchanging conviction is that some scheme of the kind is absolutely essential in order that the British Empire may continue united, as I hope it will be, for all time.

The Hon. BERNHARD R. WISE, K.C. (late Attorney-General, New South Wales): I cannot help thinking that the reading of this Paper containing the scheme framed by Sir F. Pollock and his coadjutors may prove a very striking historical event; because their proposals do certainly grapple with those practical difficulties which have hitherto prevented any popular appreciation of that movement towards Imperial Federation of which Sir Frederick Young has been so distinguished an exponent. It is an effort to reconcile two apparently conflicting elements—the element of the largest possible extension of self-government with the element of the supremacy and strength of the central authority. No scheme can be effective which does not reconcile these two. The scheme has this further advantage, that it can be put into force, tentatively it may be at first, but, whether tentatively or completely, without necessary reference to the legislature—that is to say, it can be kept free from the heat and contention of party politics. It could be launched by mere Order in Council, and no Act of Parliament would be required. In view of what we have seen during the last few years, when imperial interests had been tossed into the cauldron of party politics, that I think is an exceedingly valuable characteristic of the scheme. No doubt, as the Chairman says, a certain apathy does exist. There is all through the Empire just the same misapprehension of the meaning of the word "Empire" by

many people as exists in England to-day. If you have your Little Englanders we have our Little Australians. The old-fashioned idea of Empire, which I believe still lingers in some circles, is that the Empire is an organisation which exists to find billets for the aristocracy and better-educated members of the upper middle class, or to provide a refuge for ne'er-do-wells. But the idea of Empire which is growing and which will have to permeate the majority of the voters in England, as also I believe in Australia—though I don't believe on this point we need so much educating as on others—is that the Empire is essentially an organisation for the extension and protection of democracy, and that the unlimited opportunities which the outlying parts of the Empire offer for political development on democratic lines will be of real service in giving a stimulus to new ideas. There will be the encouragement of success where success is achieved, or the warning of failure where experiments fail. For we have to appeal to a new class of voters. We have to satisfy those who are the majority in this country of the solidarity of the interests of the working classes in England with those in other parts of the Empire. There is indeed no work which can be more effectively performed by the proposed Committee than putting before the voters all through the Empire the conditions of labour in various trades; because we can never get a Zollverein and that commercial union of the Empire we all desire until all classes of labour throughout the Empire are levelled up to the same standard. It is only a knowledge of the conditions of industry in various parts of the Empire which will make possible that alteration of the conditions, if any alteration should be possible, without which there cannot be a close commercial union. If work of that sort were performed by the Committee they would have much to do. There are other things which one would like to enter upon, but it might perhaps be more discreet to keep silence. I may mention, however, that there is already an organisation in existence, of which Sir F. Pollock was the founder or is at all events an active member, and which is doing very good work in clearing the way for the operations of such a committee as is proposed, viz. the Society of Comparative Legislation, which puts before the public a synopsis of the legislation of the Empire on common subjects, and which is breaking ground for taking other action of a definite character when such action becomes possible. I think that the scheme, unless it is quite misunderstood, cannot be objected to. My only fear is lest all the qualifications to the scheme should not be made known. The phrase "Imperial

Federation" would not, I am afraid, have a very acceptable meaning. (Sir F. Pollock: "I have not used it.") What I fear is the use of that phrase might prejudice the scheme which I hope will be judged on its merits, which I think are extremely great.

Sir HARTLEY WILLIAMS: I have spent by far the greater portion of my life in Australia, and I am a member of a body which perhaps is not very well known here, but which has great influence out there, and is rapidly increasing in numbers. I refer to the Australian Natives Association. It is in that capacity, and with that knowledge, I venture to make a few observations. There is no doubt that the policy of doing nothing or of drift is now happily a thing of the past, and I may also venture to hope that the other extreme, the policy of fussy and over-meddlesomeness on the part of the Colonial Office, is equally a thing of the past. The virtue of this Paper is, I think, that it clearly indicates a happy mean between these two policies. It is not proposed, as I understand, to do anything in the shape of dictation, compulsion or coercion. The function of this Council is to be that of advice or suggestion, and in that direction it seems to me it might do an immense amount of good for the Empire. Those who are interested in the subject know by this time that anything in the shape of dictation or of even dogmatic assertion towards the self-governing States is something worse than useless. It would only provoke, as it has provoked in the past, resentment and irritation. With that limitation, I think the scheme may be of great use and benefit. The difficulty I foresee is as to the constitution of the Council, because if it is to be a council of advice there must be sufficient weight and influence behind that council to command respect and attention on the part of the State to whom that advice is tendered, and to ensure consideration of the suggestions conveyed. Supposing the State is Australia; to give due weight to advice emanating from the Council, the Council must be constituted in such a way as to command attention and consideration on the part of those actively interested in the work of statesmanship in Australia, and I confess I hardly see at present how that difficulty is to be overcome. On the other hand, I have more confidence in the second branch of the scheme relating to the Intelligence Department. Such a department is, I think, urgently required: a department which will obtain and collate the best information on all matters of interest and importance relating to the various States of the Empire, and which will present that information in a digested form to the Council. Indeed, if that department could only do a little to assist even those in high

places to some knowledge of Imperial geography it would not be amiss. A few months ago I noticed in the "Court Circular," which has a certain authority, the announcement that Sir Reginald Talbot had kissed hands at Buckingham Palace on his appointment as Governor of Victoria, New South Wales, and to make matters worse that announcement was repeated in the London papers next morning. This proposed Intelligence Department might also do a great deal in ascertaining what is the mind and feeling of particular States with whose affairs the Council of Advice may at any moment be concerned, in other words, in diagnosing the spirit of the State. In that way friction may be avoided. Some years ago the Parliament of Victoria passed a divorce Act which was popular. It was sent home, but the Royal assent was withheld, and I know, speaking as a Victorian, that that delay produced a considerable amount of resentment and irritation. The reason for withholding the assent was said to be that strong ecclesiastical influence in England had been brought to bear against the measure. It was not till a special commissioner was sent over to explain how strong was the feeling of Australia in the matter that Royal assent was given. This pin-prick might have been avoided had there been an active Intelligence Department in existence which, by means of the best living information, would have accurately gauged the mind, spirit, and feeling of the State.

Dr. G. R. PARKIN, C.M.G.: In order to appreciate the significance of this Paper let us look back a little way. In "the sixties" the public men of this country expected the great Colonies to become independent. It was the settled policy of the most prominent men in this country to encourage this idea, and not only their policy but their expectation. In 1867 when Canada was federated we were practically told the sooner we went the better. Then in 1868 Sir Frederick Young and others met and founded this Institute. That was the first protest. Then came the great protest of the late Poet Laureate when he rebuked the spirit which had arisen and asked us if we were going to lose our greatness "through craven fears of being great." A few years later I remember going to the University of Oxford, and we young men there began discussing this question which people said was a new thing. That was in 1873-4. In 1884 a statesman of the first rank was found in this country who saw that in what we were talking about was the great idea of the future, and the Right Hon. William Edward Forster led others in founding the Imperial Federation League. That was in 1884, only twenty-one years ago, so we must

not talk of apathy. That is a very short time in the life of a nation like ours. For two years Mr. Forster remained at the head of the League. Lord Rosebery then, on the death of Mr. Forster, took the question up. And until about 1895 a keen active and continuous propaganda was carried on, after which one of the closest observers of public opinion in this country said to me, "You people have shifted the mind of England." In 1900 or 1901 the strength of that passionate feeling was put to the test in the time of the South African War, and men, money and national enthusiasm—enough to balance all the dislike and hostility of Germany, Russia, France, and other countries opposed to us—came to support you from every corner of the Colonies. Was that apathy? Was that lack of movement or progress? Sir F. Young has referred to the fact that Lord Rosebery said that this was a cause worth living for and dying for. Since then we have had a statesman as great as he who has staked his whole political career upon a single aspect of this question. That does not indicate lack of movement, when the foremost public man of this country is willing to stake his public career on the progress and grip the idea has got on the public mind. Personally I question somewhat the wisdom of the method by which Mr. Chamberlain projected his idea of federating the Empire. It seemed to me somewhat premature to bring it up in the way he did. I have quite as much complaint with others of our leaders, who when the power was in their hands did not use it as effectively as they might have done in carrying forward our ideas. But what I do claim as the significance of this Paper is, that although this question is now thrown into the political boiling pot, we yet find that men of all parties at the summons of Sir F. Pollock—extreme free traders and extreme fair traders or protectionists—have met together during the last year or two to consult how means shall be found to solve this problem. In response to the intense passion which has grown up in all parts of the Empire men of many ways of thinking are quietly working out the most effective ways by which we can prepare the public mind for great developments in the future. In these forty years we have got a long way. Let us recognise this fully and not be discouraged. Another thing which strikes me is that everyone who has criticised the Paper thinks it does not go far enough, that it is not doing anything drastic enough. Once we were criticised for suggesting too much, now for suggesting too little. Sir F. Pollock's scheme possesses as I believe great possibilities, and there is much, very much, in what he has stated about it. When the time comes the

public will be ready for it. But this scheme is a bridge which will lead us to larger conceptions and plans in the future. The wind bloweth where it listeth. There are times, as in Canada during the South African War, when the mere politician is swept aside. There is growing up in this country and throughout the Empire a feeling of National life just as strong as that which has lately made what we thought one of the weak nations of the world shatter one of the mightiest, subjecting small individual feelings to the great necessities of the whole. Then your little question of divorce in Australia such as has been referred to to-night, or some minor local question in Canada, will find its true proportion, and men will realise that to carry out their destiny they must rise to the large ideals of a great nation.

Mr. GEOFFREY DRAGE : I think we shall all agree that we have had a most admirable Paper and heard some of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered before this Institute. Two things will have to be done before any progress can be made. First of all we shall have to persuade the Australians that their apathy mentioned by Mr. Wise is not justifiable, and that apart from questions of policy something practicable can be done for the interests of every portion of the Empire ; and also we shall have to show the legislature here and in the Colonies that what is proposed—the policy this Institute has so long pursued in drawing closer the bonds of Empire—will not abate one jot the autonomy of which every portion of the Empire is so justly proud. The points which seem to me to be likely to carry weight with our Colonies are first that we have no single institution in London which can receive ideas on Imperial politics from prominent Colonists. Time and again letters are received from great civil servants in the Colonies saying that they desire to make representation on matters of Imperial interest. These do not fall within the scope of the Colonial Office, and they are unable to communicate them to anyone. If, during the Alaska Boundary trouble, our fellow countrymen had been able to communicate their views on the policy pursued, we should have got two advantages. In the first place, they are shrewd men and might have contributed something to the discussion ; and, secondly, when the decision was taken by the Imperial Government our Canadian fellow countrymen would not have felt they were being sacrificed because there was apathy at home to their interests. Another point is, we have no great public authority in London which on matters of great Imperial interest can disseminate knowledge. It seems to me such a body as that which has been

outlined could spread information in two forms—first, in a confidential form explaining the policy of the Government to responsible ministers of the Colonies, and, secondly, in a wider and more popular form so that Colonists all over the world might know what we were fighting about, supposing we were engaged in any difficulty. Again, is it credible that in a great commercial country we have no uniform commercial law—that if you desire for instance in one of our Colonies to patent an invention you have to take out twenty-eight patents, whilst the law of bankruptcy and the laws relating to marine insurance are very often different? Again, there are points on which the jurisdiction of great departments in London overlap. In regard to questions at home, that is sufficiently tiresome, but when it comes to questions on which the fortunes of the Empire may be changed, is it tolerable that they should be utterly neglected because of this overlapping? Again, will it be believed that a great commercial Empire has done nothing to organise lines of communication? As those who come from remote parts of the Empire know, cheap telegrams and news may do as much to bind the Empire together as many paper schemes. Further, we are a great sea power. Would it be believed that in an Empire existing by the sea there has not been devised any scheme for teaching the one great industrial profession by which we live, the profession of seamanship? These are some of the points which we may bring home to our countrymen. It is true we must go slowly, let us at all events go forward—if, as Goethe says, without haste, also without rest till we arrive at the goal.

Dr. ALFRED HILLIER: I think we may congratulate ourselves on having heard a Paper and a discussion which will be historic. The Paper and the discussion will be read and considered by numbers of thoughtful men throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. I cannot personally associate myself with the view expressed by one speaker, to the effect that in the Colonies there is apathy on this question. I have spent half my life in the Colonies, and I feel that we throughout our Colonies and in this country also are becoming reconciled to the words "Empire" and "Imperial." These words have not now the sinister significance which they have had sometimes in past history. People are beginning to recognise that in the British Empire, Empire and democracy are one, Empire and liberty go hand in hand. I cannot help admiring the robust faith of Sir Frederick Young, but having pondered the subject for many years and having also been impressed by the book of Mr. Bernard Holland, "*Imperium et*

Libertas," I am convinced we must be content to begin as Sir F. Pollock has suggested this evening. If we do so begin I am convinced, as Sir George Clarke has suggested, that we shall have brought into existence that small engine which will later on set in motion a great and gigantic machinery. Various suggestions have been made as to the functions of the proposed Committee, but there is one which has not been referred to. I cannot but feel that such a Committee would furnish the Empire with a force which is most urgently needed—a force, and a power, and a weight in the scale of moderation at the time a change of Government occurs at Westminster; such a Committee would tend to prevent any of these great reversals of policy in Foreign and Colonial affairs which are so much to be deprecated. No one conversant with the history of our Colonies can forget that such reversals of policy have been fraught with great disaster in times past, and I do hope and believe that one of the first influences such a body would bring to bear would be in the direction of a continuity of policy in these profoundly important Colonial problems. If the Committee performed no other service than that, it would a hundredfold justify its existence.

In moving a vote of thanks to the lecturer the Chairman said Sir F. Pollock must have been much gratified to find that all the high authorities who had spoken approved of his proposal.

Sir FREDERICK POLLOCK: I am very much honoured by the reception you have given to the Paper. I wish again to remind you that the Paper is mine only in form. I was not the originator of the discussions which have led up to the Paper, and I am not the author of the scheme, but one of a number of authors who are nearer fifty than twenty. I assure you a great many people's brains have gone into the Paper, and therefore I am not speaking out of personal vanity when I say I think it is fairly worthy of the attention you have given to it. I entirely agree with the Chairman, that if any such plan is to work properly it wants an energetic secretary. That energetic secretary is really the keystone of the working plan, and I have not the least doubt any Government which has the courage to start the plan will find him. There is no want of men who could do the work. As to the work of the Imperial Committee not being quite enough to make it a really active body, I would say in the first place that there is not the least need why the Committee should hold its meetings oftener than there is work for it to do. There might be months together during which there would be no necessity to hold meetings. It would not have to meet to pass formal resolutions or anything of that kind. It would meet when there is

work for it, and I believe a great deal of useful communication would be carried on without any formal meetings at all. I quite agree that it would be a good thing if the Committee would give signs to the public occasionally that it existed, which it might do by publishing with its authority some of the results which would be obtained. I think any resolutions of the Imperial Committee which were made public ought to be published with the authority of the Imperial Committee as a whole and in the name of the Empire, and that I think would prevent the existence of the Committee being unknown to the public here or in the Colonies. With regard to Sir Frederick Young's ideals, I don't think any of us would have the slightest objection to any such modest plan as is proposed working out in the direction he suggests. I think much of the superiority of the British constitution to other and more ambitious constitutions consists in the fact that it was not invented by anybody all in one piece but has grown through several centuries, and if the Empire as distinguished from the United Kingdom is to have a constitution of its own, that constitution had much better come by growing. We had much better start something capable of growing and not be too curious as to the exact manner in which it will grow—maybe at the end of this century or at the end of the twenty-first. What we want to do is not to prevent any chance of development there may be, and if possible to make some arrangement which will work without friction and so as to take up those chances hereafter. I am glad that Mr. Wise has read between the lines and perceived that one of our great objects is to see how much can be done without an Act of Parliament. I do not pretend to know all the constitutions of all the Colonies, but I do not think there is any kind of co-operation we should ask for from the Colonies which will require legislation. At all events, all that is necessary in the first instance would be to apply to the House of Commons for a modest salary for an energetic secretary and a few clerks, and I don't think the House of Commons is the least likely to refuse that, if asked for by Government with an assurance that it was thought really useful. The Society of Comparative Legislation is just one of those bodies whose work would be made more useful by the existence of an Imperial Committee. It has collected and published a considerable amount of useful information, but there is nobody to do anything with it, the Society having no power of that kind. With regard to Sir Hartley Williams's remarks, I quite agree with him as to what would not be prudent to do; but I venture to add that if the Imperial Committee consisted of people of common sense and tact,

as I presume it would, it would not dream of making a formal recommendation to the Government of any Colony without having had first the assurance of its Premier that that recommendation would be acceptable. There is no reason why we should go about making formal recommendations to the States of the Empire. If any such recommendation were made, I rather think it ought to be made not by the Imperial Committee but by the King's responsible Ministers on the recommendation of the Committee. At all events, if we had people of discretion and tact on the Committee, which you must remember would not be a large body, and in matters of serious imperial policy would be a very confidential body, we should not have any such question arising as a formal recommendation being made to the Colonies that might be rebuffed. Dr. Parkin's forecast is, I am quite sure, right, that the moment will come when the Empire is ripe for something more. All we say now is, that we look forward with the eye of faith to some such time. We cannot say when it will come, but it is very important not to spoil the chances by any premature attempt at formalism. Mr. Drage has already in his remarks fulfilled the prophecy that other persons more competent than myself would have several suggestions to make as to the sort of work the Imperial Committee would have to do. I think there is a great deal to be done in the way of uniformity of law which could not be done by any existing department. Dr. Hillier touched on a matter of high policy: viz. that an Imperial Committee might do something towards checking any abrupt changes of policy. This I think is of great importance, and very fitting to be considered by the thinking public, although for obvious reasons it is not the kind of thing we can talk about much.

A vote of thanks was given to the Chairman for presiding.

SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

The Seventh Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, May 9, 1905, when a Paper on "New Zealand and its Dependencies" was read by the Right Hon. the Earl of Ranfurly, G.C.M.G.

The Right Hon. The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G., a Vice-President of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 21 Fellows had been elected, viz. 4 Resident and 17 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

The Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, F.R.S., D.C.L., Aitken Carrick, Wm. Pike Gibbons, J.P., John P. Lawrence.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

Edward A. V. Abraham (British Guiana), Edward N. L. Austin (Cape Colony), E. W. Barns, M.A. (Natal), William Calder (Russia), Louis Corbally (Transvaal), Thomas M. Cullinan (Transvaal), Arnold E. Davey (South Australia), Raoul F. de Boissière, L.R.C.P. (Fiji), Thomas D. Edington (Transvaal), G. P. V. Jervoise (Uganda), Roderick MacDermot (Gilbert Islands), William C. B. Price (Cape Colony), Lieut.-Colonel William B. Ramsay (Rhodesia), John B. Roe (Tasmania), Harold Spencer (Transvaal), E. Truby Williams (Victoria), Hon. Bernhard R. Wise, K.C. (New South Wales).

It was also announced that Donations to the Library of Books, maps, &c., had been received from the various Governments of the Colonies and India, Societies, and public bodies both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, and from Fellows of the Institute and others.

The CHAIRMAN : I am sure we must all feel we meet under the shadow of a great loss and a great grief to-night in the death of Sir Robert Herbert, one of the most distinguished members of this Institute. I will read a resolution which has been passed to-day by the Council of the Institute as follows :—"The Council of the Colonial Institute deeply deplore the death of the Hon. Sir Robert Herbert, G.C.B., who, during a distinguished official career extending over 40 years, rendered important services to the State, especially in furthering the best interests of the United Kingdom and the Colonial Empire, in their relations with one another. He was closely associated with this Institute as a member of its

Governing Body for 12 years past, first as a Councillor and then as a Vice-President. The Council desire to tender Mrs. Lewis and Miss Herbert, the sisters of their lamented colleague, the assurance of their most sincere sympathy." I need hardly say that everyone present will join thoroughly in the sentiments expressed in that resolution.

I have now to introduce to you Lord Ranfurly. We all know the distinction with which, for the long period of seven years, he discharged the duties of Governor of New Zealand. Lord Ranfurly has kindly consented to give us some account of his experiences whilst he was there. It is almost impossible to over-rate the importance of the dissemination of accurate knowledge in respect to those distant lands which go to form the King's great Empire beyond the seas, and not only knowledge of the countries themselves but of their population and their ways of thought. Nobody is more capable of giving you correct information as regards New Zealand than Lord Ranfurly.

The Earl of Ranfurly then read his Paper on

NEW ZEALAND AND ITS DEPENDENCIES. ✓

THE population of New Zealand is a progressive one, holding, as a rule, large and liberal views as to the province of government, and, as among ourselves, political questions are keenly discussed. In giving some account of seven eventful years spent in New Zealand (1897 to 1904), it may be well, at the outset, to remind you that in a self-governing British Colony the representative of the Sovereign has no politics, and the prudence which is essential during his term of office may not be absolutely cast aside when his official duties terminate. No one who is in touch with the administrative or legislative action of a Colony can refrain from sympathetic interest in the measures adopted or proposed for the well-being of the community ; but beyond the expression of such interest it is not my intention to pass.

For the sake of clearness, my remarks deal separately, as far as possible, with the European population, the Maoris, and the recently annexed outlying islands and their inhabitants.

The events leading up to British occupation of and supremacy in New Zealand may be briefly mentioned. The Dutch navigator Tasman visited it in 1642, but did not land, and little was known of the islands till 127 years later, when Captain Cook, searching for a southern continent, rediscovered them. In repeated visits from

1769 to 1777 he made the acquaintance of the natives, by whom he was fairly well received. Missionaries came on the scene in 1814, and the influx of European colonists may be said to have begun in 1838. The New Zealand Company was formed in 1839, and European colonisation was organised. The first British Resident was Mr. Busby, appointed by the New South Wales Administration. In 1840 Captain Hobson, R.N., the first Governor, negotiated the famous Treaty of Waitangi, whereby sovereignty with all its rights and powers was ceded to the Queen, while territorial rights were secured to the chiefs and their tribes. In 1841 New Zealand was proclaimed a separate Colony (with Auckland as its capital), and in that year these islands commenced their real career; European immigrants flowed in, and large settlements were formed, notably in Taranaki, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. Troubles soon arose with the Maoris, a fine warlike race, who, in those days, with their tattooed faces and bodies, their wild war-cries and dances, their whalebone and greenstone meres or clubs, and their cannibalistic propensities, must have struck terror into the hearts of settlers living in small communities.

In 1852 the General Assembly was established, consisting of the Governor, a Legislative Council, and a House of Representatives, the Governor being assisted by an Executive Council, composed of the responsible Ministers of the Colony for the time being.

In 1865 Wellington was made the capital on account of its central position. In 1870 the Public Works Policy, providing for the carrying out of works in advance of settlement, was inaugurated. Roads and railways were begun, bridges built, and telegraph lines laid, so that now it is amazing to see how much has been accomplished. Cable communication is now established with both Australia and Canada; fine steamers of 12,000 tons connect the Colony with England, and, whereas in the old days it took nearly six months to reach New Zealand, the journey can at the present time be accomplished, *via* America, in twenty-eight days. A large fleet of local steamers belonging to the Union Steamship Company and other companies ply round the coasts and have the Australian trade. Harbours are numerous, the coasts are well lit with light-houses, and a second survey, rendered necessary by the deeper draught of the steamers of the present day, is being now carried out by a vessel of His Majesty's navy, partially at the expense of New Zealand.

If you will follow on the map I shall point out to you how railway construction, often attended with extraordinary difficulties, is

proceeding. The extreme length of the Colony from north to south is about 1,100 miles, and the breadth, nowhere exceeding 200 miles, may be taken at about 100 miles on the average. In due course a railway will connect Russell with Auckland, and Auckland will very shortly be connected with Wellington by a line running through the centre of the island. From Wellington a line runs to New Plymouth on the west coast and another to Napier on the east, these two railways being connected with each other by a line between Palmerston and Woodville; while at Marton, about five and twenty miles to the north of Palmerston, the system is connected with the main line to the north. Auckland and Thames are in railway communication with a branch to Rotorua, one of the principal homes of the Maoris. The country here is wild, mountainous, and covered to a depth, in some places, of about 200 feet with ash and scoria, for it was in this neighbourhood that, twenty years ago, the eruption took place which destroyed the pink and white terraces and devastated the region for miles around. Here are marvellous geysers, hot springs, mud pools, and other natural curiosities. In one place within a drive is a small lake, some two acres in extent, lying among hills, from which issues hissing steam. The water of the lake is black and almost boiling, but at times has a placid look. Suddenly it begins to bubble and then shoots up some 20 feet, or perhaps 100 feet; then it becomes quiet again, the changes between rest and commotion being repeated for a longer or shorter time. Then Waimangu, the largest geyser in the world, with a mighty effort, while the earth seems to tremble, throws up its black, boiling waters, mud, and stones. With a roar the mass rises sometimes up to 1,500 feet, clouds of steam ascending thousands of feet further. Soon the ejected matter returns to the earth, the hot stones dropping all round, and Waimangu is quiet for a time. The traveller goes away marvelling at the sight he has seen; the American sighs; even his country cannot produce anything to excel it.

On the South Island also railway construction is proceeding. Nelson is being connected with Greymouth on the west coast, by a line which will strike across the country to Christchurch on the east. Another line is in progress from Picton (about fifty miles from Nelson) along the east coast to Christchurch, which is already in railway communication with all the east coast towns to the south as far as the Bluff, while there are numerous lines and branch lines tapping the pastoral and agricultural districts.

Whilst in the North Island the traveller has the opportunity of visiting the thermal districts, in the South Island he has perhaps

the finest scenery—lofty mountains rising over 12,000 feet, glaciers larger than any in Europe and easily accessible, even for ladies, lovely lakes, with dense bush or forest down to the water's edge. Fiords, which even those of Norway cannot rival, bestow on these islands of the South a picturesqueness and beauty not to be surpassed in any other country. The rivers everywhere are full of trout, which grow to an enormous size, and in many districts deer are to be had, enthusiastic sportsmen coming all the way from England to get heads which are finer than can be procured in Scotland, and at the same time to enjoy the fishing, which is open to all.

The length of Government Railway open for traffic in the year 1897 was 2,055 miles; in 1904, 2,828 miles; the receipts in 1897-8 amounted to £1,376,000; in 1903-4 to £2,180,600, despite a considerable reduction in both passenger and goods rates; the working expenses in 1897-8 reached £857,200; in 1903-4, £1,498,700. The passengers carried, exclusive of season-ticket holders, numbered 4,162,250 in 1897-8, and 8,306,380 in 1903-4, the number of season tickets having risen from 36,000 to 180,000. In the general traffic, such as the conveyance of cattle, sheep, &c., the increase was similar.

While railways were extended and railway traffic increased, there was a corresponding expansion of industrial and commercial enterprise, as shown by the bare statistics. During the seven years under consideration the population of New Zealand increased by 120,000; the revenue rose from £4,799,000 to £7,130,000; the imports, from the value of £7,678,000 to that of £13,267,000; the exports, from £9,117,000 to £15,309,000.

The increase of trade was a continuous and steady one. In the case of a new country, whose resources are only beginning their course of development, it is desirable that the exports should exceed the imports, and the New Zealand balance of trade is a large one on the right side. The exports, with exception of the precious metals and coal, consist almost entirely of animal and vegetable products, the output of which is liable to fluctuation in all countries, and, when this fact is taken into consideration, the regular and general prosperity of the export trade of the colony seems the more remarkable. In the period under review the quantity of wool annually exported increased by 38,000,000 pounds; that of grain and that of frozen meat were more than doubled; of butter, more than quadrupled. The export of flax (*Phormium tenax*), which for several years had been small, rose from 2,800 tons to

24,700 tons. As to mineral output, the gold exports doubled, and the silver exports increased fivefold, while the coal output rose from 841,000 tons to 1,416,000 tons. The coal worked at the Westport collieries on the west coast of the South Island is, for naval purposes, little inferior to Cardiff or Welsh coal. In case of emergency, a supply obtained at this, the most distant coal port of his Majesty's dominions, must be of very great importance. For some time colliers have been engaged in carrying coal for the use of His Majesty's ships on the China station.

When trade increased the shipping industry could not lag behind. The tonnage entering the ports of the Colony rose from 687,000 tons to 1,100,000 tons, and the tonnage of vessels clearing at the ports rose from 675,000 tons to 1,115,000 tons (these numbers being exclusive of coasting trade).

A further indication of the general prosperity is provided by the banking accounts, which show that the deposits in the banks of issue rose from £14,290,000 to £19,000,000, and those in the savings banks (Government and other) from 5½ to 8½ million.

It seems, therefore, clear that the Colony has enjoyed great prosperity. The seven years of my Colonial experience were years of fatness. Lean years may come, but so far there appear no signs of bad times. The Colonists are extending the range of their industries, creating new ones or developing old ones which had received too little attention. The increase in the total value of exports is due not only to the wool and frozen meat trade, but also to industries of recent origin or of recent development in the islands, the dairy industry being one of the principal assets in this respect. In old times, when wool alone was the export, a fall meant disaster; now New Zealand is not dependent on the one commodity.

The industry and commerce of the Colony are necessarily, in the main, in private hands, notwithstanding all that has been written about State socialism at the antipodes. Nevertheless in New Zealand, as elsewhere, Government undertakes work which is not strictly governmental, and, no doubt, State enterprise in the Colony is very comprehensive. The Government not only owns but works the railways, telegraphs, and telephones; it owns wide tracts of land; purchases compulsorily, if necessary, large estates, cuts them up into small holdings, and grants leases in perpetuity to settlers, to whom it will also lend money at low interest. Life assurance is within the scope of its energy, and about half the assurance business of the Colony is effected through Government agents. A

Tourist Department is maintained with offices at the principal centres, where the sportsman may learn on the best authority and without cost the most suitable spots for fishing, shooting, or stalking; this department has several hotels, which have been erected and opened for the benefit of the traveller.

In addition to these and other duties the Government, in 1898, undertook the task of providing old-age pensions. Old age is regarded as commencing at 65, and no one is eligible for a pension unless he is a British subject of good character, who has resided in the Colony for twenty-five years, and whose income is under £52 a year, the maximum pension being £18 a year—a more economic method than that at present in practice in the Metropolis, where, I understand, each indoor pauper costs £37 8s. 1½d. on the average, the interest on capital expended and cost of management being taken into consideration. The Government has also supplied judicial machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and employed. The legislative Act for this purpose was passed in 1894, but received important amendments in 1900, so that a brief statement as to its provisions and working will not be out of place. Under the Act there are two Courts, a Conciliation Court and an Arbitration Court. The former need not detain us as it seldom puts an end to a dispute, nearly all cases being taken to the Arbitration Court, to which there is an appeal, and from which there is no appeal. The judge in this Court is a judge of the Supreme Court. He is assisted by two Assessors, one of whom is chosen by the associations of employers, and the other by the trade-unions. The decision of the Court may take the form either of mere advice or of a compulsory award, non-compliance with which on the part of an employer or of a trade-union entails liability up to £500 as a maximum. If the funds of a trade-union, fined for non-observance of an award, are insufficient for payment of the penalty, then the members of the union are individually liable to the extent of £10. This Act, though it was framed and launched with some hesitation, has not, so far, been unsuccessful. The Court has given decisions in disputes, serious or trivial, arising in almost every trade, concerning questions of nearly every sort, and the general result has been practically the abolition of strikes, and even of serious disagreements. The occasion for a strike, of course, usually arises in dull times when employers are reducing wages or shortening time, not when trade is brisk and the demand for labour firm. New Zealand has had no lengthened period of stagnation in trade, and no doubt the career of the Arbitration Act has been smoothed by the general prosperity.

The Colony has also had the advantage of a stable Government. For twelve years the same party has held power, has been led by the same Prime Minister, and has pursued the same policy. The originators of legislative projects have seen their plans, with the approval of the country, pass into law, and have themselves had the administration of the Acts which they had framed and carried. Possibly different results might have followed had their experimental legislative measures been administered by those not in sympathy with them. As to these measures it is not for me to express approval or disapproval, but it is undeniable that under this Government, led by Mr. Seddon, the Colony has prospered. The career of the Prime Minister has been distinguished by his energy, his loyalty, and his love of the Mother Country.

A subject which is often discussed in this country is the loyalty of the Colonies. There can be no question as to the loyalty of New Zealand. When the Boer War broke out the Colony at once came to the front. Ten contingents were sent to South Africa, and so numerous were volunteers that the only difficulty was that of selection; in the House of Representatives the few members who objected to these contingents being despatched were at the next general election not returned to Parliament.

The death of Queen Victoria evoked the warmest sympathy and regret from one end of the country to the other, the Maoris evincing much sorrow at the loss of their Great White Mother.

The royal visit to New Zealand in 1901 was also an occasion on which the people had an opportunity of showing their loyalty and love of the Mother Country, and I have reason to believe that their Royal Highnesses were much impressed by the reception they received in the "Britain of the South."

There can thus be no reasonable doubt of the loyalty of the people of New Zealand, but how will it be with coming generations? Already some 70 per cent. are Colonial born, and have not seen the Mother Country. Is it not desirable for all to consider how the mutual regard between Great Britain and her Colonies can best be maintained and increased? Some say that for the accomplishment of this purpose the best means would be commercial ties, such as preferential trade. The Government of New Zealand has passed an Act giving preference to British goods carried in British ships—a temporary measure, and regarded by them as merely tentative; Mr. Seddon, in a speech to his constituents at Hokitika, said, "New Zealand, by the Act which has been passed, has done a little but there is more to follow, if our advances are not

repelled." I have no hesitation in saying that much can be done by friendly agreement with the Colonies respecting trade, but there are other methods which I should like to see also adopted.

For instance, the history of our Empire might be more widely taught than it now is. In the syllabus of the State schools of New Zealand no importance seems attached to this subject. To remedy this defect, a system of lectures on the Empire and on the men who have made it what it is might be established. Lectures, written in a manner suitable for boys and girls 15 or 16 years of age, and illustrated with lantern slides, would be of interest, and the pictures, if carefully selected from the best national and private collections, would in themselves be an education. Schoolmasters have generally approved of this plan, and think that considerable advantage would be derived from its adoption, that attendance at the lectures, even though voluntary, would be good, and that parents and other adults would welcome them and enjoy them, paying possibly a small entrance fee towards defraying the expenses. I am aware that lectures have been prepared under the sanction and with the approval of the Colonial Office, but to obtain these the Colonies have, I understand, to subscribe. These lectures seem to me not quite on the right lines. My purpose would be to appeal to patriotism and not to self-interest, and I think that the Imperial Government should in national interests provide copies of lectures and slides of such a nature, free, to any colony willing to receive and utilise them.

Again, the habit of speaking of or referring to Colonies as if they were of little importance appears to me injurious to good feeling. British Colonies are not mere excrescences from or appendages to Great Britain, but should be regarded as integral parts of it. A nation or a colony does not consist of the land only, but of the people, and it seems to me that the inhabitants of our Colonies should not, merely on account of distance, be regarded as one whit less British than the inhabitants of Kent or Lancashire. It is perfectly true that changes in the circumstances of life induce changes of habits and of character. In the Colonies the personal, social, and political conditions are not identical with those in England; differences are inevitable, but these if fairly considered need cause no great difficulty in the maintenance of mutual regard. The most perplexing question seems to be that concerning the marriage laws. A man and woman in New Zealand and in many other Colonies may be duly married in accordance with Colonial law, but in England their marriage be held to be null and void, and

their children illegitimate. Surely a remedy may be found for this.

The Maoris have been already mentioned as a warlike race, fighting valiantly for their country. They continued the struggle for many years, and though opposed by as many as 10,000 British troops, were never altogether subdued. In their conflicts they observed their own high standard of chivalrous honour, and scorned to take any unfair advantage of an enemy, but, as their notions of military honour were not identical with ours, their chivalry at times cost them dear. As they were brave and self-reliant in war, so now when enmity is laid aside they have become sworn subjects of our King, and within the British Empire there is no nobler native race, nor any that shows more trustworthy loyalty. After 90 years of peace old grudges have died away, and in the discharge of my official duties I had abundant opportunity of observing the simple and candid fidelity of this interesting people. They feel confident they can have fair and honourable treatment at the hands of the British.

The Maoris, like the Irish, have a hunger for land. If their land were worked to the best advantage all would be well, but thousands of acres are uncultivated, and they would suffer no hardship if, for a reasonable rental, Europeans were to take up, clear, plough, and cultivate the land on long lease. Some of the tribes desire that what still remains of the land should be declared inalienable native property, whilst others wish to have unrestricted liberty in dealing with their lands. Such unrestricted liberty no doubt in many cases would mean the sale of the land, and the certainty of the natives becoming shortly a burden on the State. What they can and will work should be inalienable, but the vast unused tracts should be let if the country is to progress.

The Maoris have for a generation been passing through the critical stage in the existence of a native race, that of transition to civilised life, and their numbers have gradually diminished. There are now about 44,000, and this number appears to be stationary.

To them have been assigned certain definite political rights under the New Zealand Constitution. In the House of Representatives they have four seats, and in the Legislative Council generally two. Besides this, any native may be a member for any constituency if elected in the usual way. At the present time an able Maori, Mr. Carroll, who is married to a lady of high degree, a chieftainess in her own right, is member for Waiapu (Gisborne); he

is also a member of the Cabinet with the portfolio of Native Affairs, and, therefore, also a member of the Executive Council. Thus the Government Department responsible for the well-being of the natives has for its President one of their own race.

The most notable Act passed in my time for the benefit of the Maoris was that which gave them "County Councils," with power to deal with many questions connected with their welfare.

It should be mentioned that among the natives there are certain differences. They have not been all alike in their attitude towards the British. After peace had become general there was one tribe, the Uruweras, which was unsubdued. They dwelt, and still dwell, among the mountains, and there they maintained a sort of kingdom resembling Wales in ancient times. A special Act of Parliament gave them complete control over their lands. So jealous were they of their rights that the white man was prohibited from entering their country. In course of time the march of civilisation, and many incidents bringing home to the natives the actual condition of affairs, began to influence them. They ceased to stand aloof, and, to my satisfaction, I received an invitation to visit them. The occasion of my visit was to be a great gathering of the "County Councils" to discuss matters relating to their welfare. It was little more than a year ago that I undertook the journey, which was not without adventure, there being no roads in this district, the track often lying along the bed of streams or through dark and pathless forests. This gathering was of far-reaching importance for the benefit and happiness of the Maori people.

An event of some importance, which came about in those years, was the extension of the boundaries of New Zealand by the annexation of the Cook and other Pacific Islands, ten in all.

The Cook Islands, lying just within the Tropics, are distant from the nearest point of New Zealand about 1,688 nautical miles. They had been a British Protectorate since 1888, and had a British Resident in charge who reported direct to the Governor of New Zealand. He received his salary from the New Zealand Government.

In 1897 the state of affairs in the islands was very unsatisfactory. There were endless quarrels and numberless petitions, almost-all of which were from European settlers, about eighty in number. To arrange these disputes the Chief Justice of New Zealand was requested to visit the islands; but unfortunately his visit had not the desired effect, and it became absolutely necessary to put an end to the troublesome condition of affairs. A new Resident, Colonel

Gudgeon, was appointed, a man of manifold experience. Having as a volunteer fought through the Maori war, having held the position of Under-Secretary for Defence, and later that of a Native Land Court Judge, he was well accustomed to deal with men whether European or native. Soon after he took up his residence I left Wellington in H.M.S. *Mildura* for Rarotonga, and spent a week in that island, going into all disputed questions, hearing the petitions and calling witnesses.

Rarotonga is about twenty-two miles in circumference, and has a native population of about 2,000. It had communication with New Zealand by steamer once a month. There were few passengers ; during the fruit season there was considerable cargo, but at other times the trade was small. In 1897 the exports from the whole group amounted to the value of £16,196, and the imports into the islands to that of £24,628. The natives are "Maori," and most pleasant and friendly. The two heads are ladies, and are called queens, their husbands taking only their own rank. At the time of my visit Queen Makea was the principal queen and was a most loyal subject of her Majesty, anxious to find out and give effect to any measures which would benefit her people, who, for their part, seemed thoroughly contented. To give an account of the Protectorate Government would carry us beyond our limits of time. There are schools and churches under the London Missionary Society and a Roman Catholic school under nuns, all these institutions doing good work.

My second visit was paid in 1900 in response to a request from Queen Makea to annex the island. Her desire having been laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies and approved of, I received permission to proceed with the annexation, provided the natives were agreeable. For this purpose H.M.S. *Mildura* was again put at our disposal. When we arrived at Rarotonga we were received with great rejoicings by the assembled natives ; the land was formally ceded to the British Crown, and the ceremony of hoisting the Union Jack was performed by Captain Baynes of the *Mildura*, with guards of honour of marines and blue-jackets.

Many may ask what good purpose is served by our adding to the Empire this small island, with no harbour to be useful as a naval base in an emergency, no direct dealings with England, and with only a small white population. If no direct benefit to ourselves should result, still we have gone there as protectors and should do our best. No land has ever been the worse for having the British flag hoisted over it. This island has undoubtedly benefited by the

annexation. Of material prosperity the evidence is abundant. Formerly money was rare, now it is plentiful; formerly the exports were not sufficient for the cost of twelve steamer trips a year, very soon a fortnightly service will be required. The shipment of bananas in 1899 amounted to about twenty tons a month; in February, 1905, the Resident informed me that it had risen to 250 tons, and will soon rise to 1,000 tons a month. There are, besides, exports of coffee, oranges, vanilla, and other produce. In 1908, the year dealt with in the last official return, the exports amounted to £84,740, or more than double those of 1897.

The rest of the islands annexed must be spoken of more briefly. Mangaia, Aitiu, Mauke, Mitiaro, all belong to the Cook group, but are from 120 to 150 miles distant from Rarotonga. Aitutaki had been annexed many years before, but of its annexation there was no record; the late Ariki or chief had insisted that all his papers should be buried with him, and no one, not even the missionary, knew for certain whether or not the island was British territory. I disapproved of a suggestion which was made to exhume the body of the deceased, and ascertain whether the proclamation of annexation lay therewith; so to prevent all dispute, and make assurance doubly sure, we went through the ceremony again.

Penrhyn, a typical example of an atoll or coral island, famous for its pearl shell, was also visited; it lies 8° south of the equator. Here the trouble to be dealt with was leprosy, this terrible disease, introduced by a native of Samoa so recently as 1888, having laid hold of about 2 per cent. of the population, which numbered in all about 450.

Visits of men-of-war to this island are rare and uncertain, and the High Commissioner's Courts are but rarely held. In a case of murder the inhabitants did not wait, but themselves pronounced and executed justice; and they proudly pointed out to me the spot where, after hanging, they had buried the murderer. This was before my time. Now there is a British Resident on the island, and the pearl-shell fishery which was being worked out is now protected by close years over portions of the lagoon to enable the small shell to reach maturity. Probably few know that the value of this shell is about £200 a ton.

From Penrhyn a night's steaming brought us to Manahiki, which, with Rakaanga, about twenty miles distant, is noted chiefly for its fine and beautifully woven mats. These islands were British, but lay in our course to Niue. We passed Suwarrow in

the distance, but, to save both time and coal, did not stop. The island is not regularly inhabited, but, I understand, possesses a good harbour, a rare thing in these parts. It is leased to a company who grow copra chiefly for the purpose of soap manufacture. On October 19 we reached Niue, the largest of all the islands. It had been proclaimed a protectorate only six months before, and we were assured there would be difficulty about annexation. The people appeared quite content; they wished to receive all the advantages which were in view, but they were cautious as a Scotchman in seeking to avoid any possible disadvantages. The missionary who came on board said there was no chance of the natives agreeing. At 9 o'clock in the morning King John met me and had a lengthy interview, but he was too shrewd to give any opinion. No, he would discuss matters with his council, which consisted of thirteen members, one from each village, or district, of the island. At this meeting I was present, and found it no easy matter to explain that "ceding the land to the Crown" did not mean turning people out of house and home. They asked, "What then is the use of signing a cession if we remain on our land as before?" It was hard indeed to make this clear, for every word spoken had to pass through an interpreter. The discussion went on for four or five hours; all those who had accompanied me, except one or two members of my staff, had gradually disappeared to look for a cooler spot than the house in which the meeting was held, all being firmly convinced that the ceremony would never take place, and that their services in consequence would not be needed. At last, about 3.30 in the afternoon, one chief walked up and signed the paper of cession; the other twelve then followed. The Union Jack was hoisted amid the roars of a royal salute and the cheers of the natives and the sailors.

This was the last official island visit. On the return we stopped at Tonga for coal, then at Sunday Island in the Kermadecs, already a part of New Zealand.

The consummation of this tour of annexation took place on the very day of the arrival of their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in New Zealand. The Prince, after the welcome which was accorded on landing, pronounced the extension of the boundaries of New Zealand, and called on me to read the proclamation which placed under the Colony's controlling influence nearly 660,000 square miles, containing beautiful islands, whose value, with judicious management, may be immensely increased.

It was satisfactory that some of the leading men of the annexed islands were the guests of the New Zealand Government for the royal visit, and on returning to their homes would describe to their people, in their own graphic manner, what they had seen and heard on this unique occasion.

I cannot close my lecture without a brief reference to one or two events that there is not time to narrate fully.

The royal visit was a complete success and gave universal satisfaction.

The departure and return of the *Discovery* under the command of Captain Scott was a matter of supreme interest to the people, who sent presents of large quantities of fresh provisions and things likely to prove useful, and, on the return, publicly entertained both officers and men. New Zealand, for the purposes of this expedition, established an observatory, equipping it with the latest instruments, and arranging special days and hours when the same observations should be taken on the *Discovery* and at the Observatory.

Sydney suffered an outbreak of plague in these years, and a few cases occurred in New Zealand, but, thanks to the energetic and preventive measures taken by the Government, the disease took no hold in New Zealand.

The result of the plague at Sydney showed the necessity for fuller legal powers for purposes of prevention, and a Health Act was passed by the New Zealand Government without delay.

In the South African War New Zealand's list of killed was upwards of 160, and in memory of these a home was built for old soldiers and sailors at Auckland; a fine building, where the inmates receive the best of treatment and good living, and can spend the failing years of their lives in comfort. This memorial now contains forty old warriors, having on their breasts nearly every medal issued since 1840.

The initial cost of the home was more than provided for by public subscription. After the land, building, and equipment were paid for, there was a balance of £8,000, and this amount was invested towards maintenance. The income accruing from this sum is insufficient, about £800 a year being required; but it is hoped that before long the invested funds will be increased, and that the veteran inmates who have fought for their country in every clime may enjoy a sense of security and not be dependent, as they now are, on public subscriptions for the necessaries of life. Within the Colony, upwards of 4,000 old soldiers, representing nearly every

British regiment, have settled, and it is every way desirable that those in need should find a fitting and pleasant resting-place for their closing years in the country of their adoption, the healthy, beautiful, and prosperous Colony of New Zealand.

DISCUSSION.

Mr. T. A. COGHLAN, I.S.O. (Agent-General for New South Wales): I should like to say a word or two upon an aspect of New Zealand's progress which is not often touched upon, at all events not sympathetically; and I wish to take the years that have elapsed since 1891 as the period of the comparison which I propose making, and for which I claim your kind attention. During this period was passed the greater portion of the advanced legislation now in force, and it may be within your recollection that many well-informed persons at the time considered such legislation was likely to be attended with very disastrous effects upon the Colony's progress, and many still maintain it has had such effects. It is convenient for me to bring my comparison down to 1908, later figures not being available in all cases, but such later figures as have come to hand are consistent with those that I shall quote. The Acts of the Legislature to which I have referred are the Land and Income Tax Acts, the Factories and Early-closing Acts, and a large body of laws generally known as the Labour Acts of New Zealand. One of the most notable facts connected with the progress of New Zealand during the fourteen years I have undertaken to review is the very large decrease in the private capital employed in the Colony owned by non-residents. Trustworthy estimates place the investments of British capital on private account in New Zealand in the year 1891 at $20\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling; and these investments have now fallen to $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions, a reduction of 11 millions in twelve years. Under ordinary circumstances this withdrawal of capital would be considered a very serious matter, and there were not wanting persons who pointed to it as a fulfilment of the prophecy that the social and industrial legislation of New Zealand would ultimately drive British capital out of the country. In the year 1891 the value of property in New Zealand was 150 millions sterling, and of this $20\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or nearly 14 per cent., belonged to British investors; at the present time the valuation of property is 222 millions and the amount of British investments only $9\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Here then we have the extraordinary

position that during the short space of 12 years the New Zealand people have reduced their indebtedness to outside investors to such an extent that what remains of it is now an insignificant portion of the accumulated wealth of the country, and while this process of repayment has been going on the value of property increased by 72 millions, or 50 per cent.—that is to say, from 150 to 222 millions. This achievement is a notable one for a population whose numbers are still considerably short of a million, and the noble Earl who read the Paper has given you some of the points which mark the progress of New Zealand during the last decade, but a few additional facts may not be wanting in interest. The decrease of British capital invested in New Zealand has been variously spoken of. By some it has been claimed that this decrease in capital was the voluntary act of investors dissatisfied with the trend of New Zealand legislation, while others have seen in it no more than the voluntary paying of debts as soon as there was ability to discharge them. Which of the two may be the correct explanation it is impossible for an inquirer to discover, nor do I think it material whether the payment was voluntary or not, for the actual result must be ultimately beneficial to the Colony. For my part I wish merely to direct attention to the fact that during the whole period over which the process of withdrawal has extended, the industries, the wealth and the distribution of property have undergone rapid expansion. First, as regards population, the increase has been from 684,000 to 840,000, or 31 per cent.; the value of production from 21½ to over 30 millions, showing an increase considerably above that due to the expansion of population, for whereas in 1891 New Zealand production was valued at £34 8s. per inhabitant, in 1903 it had expanded to £36 13s. 4d. A great deal of this increased production was due to the expansion of dairying, but there was general progress in all industries, and employment in factories was more than doubled, viz., from 26,000 to 53,000 hands, and it is satisfactory to be able to record that coincident with so large an increase, the earnings of male employés advanced from £75 to £82 per annum. The large increase in the wealth of the Colony has been referred to, but to my mind the most satisfactory feature of that increase is the wider distribution of property that has taken place. It has not been a case of the rich growing richer, and the poor poorer, but a broadening of the foundation upon which the superstructure of wealth has been based. I speak subject to correction, but I think that in this country the number of persons possessing property which, if it were in their own disposition, would

be considerable enough to make it the subject of specific bequest, is about 9 per cent., while in New Zealand it is nearly twice that proportion—that is to say $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1891, allowing for absentees, $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the resident population held 130 millions between them, whereas in 1903 $17\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. held 213 millions. If this be worked out, it will be found that in 1891 60,000 persons possessed property, and since in the twelve years I am speaking of the population increased by only 30 per cent., we might have expected to have found the 60,000 property owners increased to 78,000, whereas, as a matter of fact, the number was 147,000. Setting aside one or two of the Australian States, I doubt if any other country can show anything like the same distribution of property and so great and beneficial a change taking place in so short a period. The visible evidence of the great increase of wealth has been alluded to in the accumulation of bank deposits; adding the savings bank deposits to those in the banks of issue, it will be found that there is at the present time an accumulation of $28\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, equal to £38. 5s. Od. per inhabitant, as compared with $17\frac{1}{2}$ millions or £27. 4s. Od. per inhabitant twelve years ago. Great Britain is looked upon as the safe deposit of the world—every man who has property in jeopardy sends it to London; but although such is the case accumulation is not nearly so extensive in this country as in New Zealand—if it were the bank deposits would amount to 1,440 millions, whereas they probably do not exceed 1,000 millions. The important accumulations made by the people of New Zealand, and the ease with which the country has been able to rid itself of a load of debt, will be understood when we remember that the annual value of produce won from the soil has now reached the magnificent total of £22,650,000 or £27. 12s. 3d. per inhabitant, and the income of the people from all sources to 39 millions or £47. 10s. per inhabitant, which last sum leaves so substantial a surplus after the cost of living has been defrayed, that the Colony has been able to put aside some 10 or 12 per cent. of its income to replace lost capital and to start new undertakings. No one who has closely studied the progress of New Zealand can fail to be struck with the fact that at no period of its history has the country been so prosperous, and the reward of labour, intelligently directed, so substantial. I think New Zealand offers an object lesson to the whole world. Whatever may be our opinions concerning labour legislation in that country, we cannot but admit New Zealand is a most prosperous place, and if the workmen of England are looking out for a place to which to emigrate I can, although I am not a

New Zealander myself, with the utmost confidence recommend New Zealand to them. There they would be amongst people in entire sympathy with British ideas and live under the British flag. They would at the same time have every opportunity of making savings and of protecting them when they are made.

Sir WALTER L. BULLER, K.C.M.G. : Like everyone else present I have listened with much interest to Lord Ranfurly's graphic lecture. Those who, like myself, have spent the best part of their lives in New Zealand will all admit that it presents a very true picture of that country, and conveys a correct idea of the conditions and resources of that wonderful Colony. Lord Ranfurly ruled in New Zealand during seven years of unexampled prosperity, and I am sure he has said enough to satisfy you that he proved himself an able and successful administrator. But I can tell you more than that, from my own personal experience. That he was a good governor goes without saying, but, over and above that, he was probably the most popular governor the Colony ever had. New Zealand has been especially fortunate in her governors from first to last, but in my opinion Lord Ranfurly takes the palm. And the reason is not far to seek. Not only is he an able and judicious administrator, but—if he will pardon my saying so—he is a many-sided man. For example, he is an active traveller. He was never at rest, but penetrated into the remotest parts of the country, and certainly saw more of New Zealand than any of his predecessors. He is a keen sportsman, a good fisherman, an excellent photographer, and, last but not least, a capable naturalist. In the course of his lectures he has told you of his official visits to Rarotonga and the groups of islands lying off New Zealand; but he did not tell you that during these visits he formed a large and valuable collection of birds, which he presented to the British Museum. I have examined that collection at the Museum, and can state that it contains many rare and interesting forms and, at any rate, one new species—a splendid Cormorant which has been dedicated to him under the name of *Phalacrocorax ranfurlyi*. Then, again, Lady Ranfurly is an artist of some distinction, and charmed the Colonists with her delineations of lake, river and Alpine scenery. But best of all, the governor and his lady with rare tact identified themselves with the domestic life of the Colony, took an active part in all social and charitable movements, and did everything in their power to promote the welfare and happiness of the people they ruled over. I venture to say that is why they became endeared to the whole community, and that constitutes

their chief claim to live in the memory of the Colonists. Another proof of Lord Ranfurly's high qualifications for the position he held is the fact that he succeeded in acquiring a great personal influence over the Maori people—correctly described in his lecture as the “noblest race of natives within the British Empire.” When I left the Colony, some years ago, Lord Ranfurly had not then learnt the Maori language, but being, as I have said, a many-sided man, it is quite likely that he has mastered it since! He has referred to their rapid progress in the path of civilisation, and this recalls to me an amusing incident within my own recollection. The Governor had invited me on one occasion to be his guest on board the Government steamboat for a trip round the West Coast sounds. Accompanied by his staff and family, we had a very delightful cruise, and on our way back called in at Stewart Island, that comparatively little-known third island of New Zealand. As a matter of course, we paid a visit to the Maori settlement. The little community crowded round us, and; after welcoming us with the usual Maori greetings, squatted on the ground. The Governor, according to custom, addressed them, and asked me to interpret. His Excellency made an excellent speech, which I endeavoured to render into classic Maori. The Maoris listened with the utmost politeness; but judge of our surprise when, at its close, the leading chief rose, and said in perfectly good English: “Your Excellency, we have listened to your speech, and we thank you for your excellent counsel and advice,” or words to that effect. We discovered afterwards that the whole of this little community—men, women and children—had learnt to speak English! I mention this to show how rapid sometimes is the transition; for, in this out-of-the-way place, these Maoris had made a stride in civilisation of which we in the North had no conception. I will not detain you longer at this late hour, and will simply add that, by his admirable lecture this evening, Lord Ranfurly has added another to the many important services he has rendered to New Zealand.

Mr. J. H. WITHEFORD, M.H.R. New Zealand: Lord Ranfurly's Paper breathes of the freshness and the beautiful summer skies of New Zealand. It takes me back to the time when I have heard his lordship addressing large audiences in New Zealand, where, as you have heard, he was held in the highest respect. Indeed, as member for Auckland in the House of Representatives I may say there is one general feeling of admiration for our late governor and for Lady Ranfurly. There was general grief when they departed from amongst us. In the last paragraph of his Paper Lord Ranfurly

mentions the establishment of a home for old soldiers and sailors at Auckland, but he did not tell you that he himself was the founder of that Institution, and that every one of the veterans in it has engraved on his heart his gratitude to him. Lord Ranfurly has given us an admirable epitome of the political and social condition of New Zealand. For his services, I ask myself what we can do to recompense him, and the only thing I can think of is to offer him a sort of widow's mite in the shape of my seat for Auckland. I would willingly retire if his lordship would stand for it. I know he would be unanimously elected, and that New Zealand would be the better for the advice he would be able to give. Sir George Grey, I may remind you, was several times Governor of a British Colony, and helped to save India at the time of the Mutiny. He was afterwards elected to the House of Representatives, and therefore there is a precedent for the suggestion I make. For the first time I have heard to-night that there is any affinity between the Irish and Maoris in regard to the land question; perhaps his lordship wishes to get a million Irish farmers out to New Zealand in order to give Sir Henry Kimber a better chance for his Redistribution Bill. How they would like the change from an English landlord to a native one I don't know, but I may mention that under the old Maori régime if a chief found anybody on the land with whom he was not pleased he simply killed and ate him. An interesting reference has been made by Mr. Coghlan to the investment of British capital in the Colonies. Now, you are sending emigrants to all parts of the world—I saw a thousand sail from Liverpool the other day—but what we are apt to overlook is that if England sends her people to one part of the Empire and its capital to foreign countries there is some danger of destroying that equilibrium, so to speak, which we desire to maintain. We know what is being done with British capital in regard to dairy farms and sheep runs in the Argentine, for instance, and in other parts of the world the British capitalist puts his money, as he has a perfect right to do, where he thinks he can get the very best return. But in this matter I would ask you to think. Are you not to some extent destroying the prospects of the Colonists? The people who go from your shores have to take up new land and all the burden of making railways, constructing public buildings, and generally of fitting distant parts of the Empire for the settlement of the overflow population of this country. Is it not possible by the employment of British capital to do something more to promote the success of your own Colonies? I am sure that anything Lord

Ranfurly and others could do to promote the flow of capital in that direction would be heartily welcomed.

Colonel R. WILLIAMS, M.P.: I am glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words about the beautiful country of New Zealand and its hopeful and inspiring people—a country whose scenery and hospitality I have greatly enjoyed, and which I may add has shown abundant kindness for ten years past to one who is near and dear to me. I may say, however, that I never heard a seat in Parliament described as I did to-night, as “a widow’s mite,” for I think if that is so the financial results of a seat in Parliament are of a happier nature in New Zealand than they are in England. I was extremely interested in the last speech, especially after that of the Australian Agent-General, who claimed that the results of New Zealand’s social legislation had been to employ Colonial in place of British capital. Mr. Withford rather deplored the diversion of British capital, and wondered why there is not more of it invested there. I think he answered himself, when he said that capital will go to places where the conditions are easiest and the return most profitable. He regrets that money should go to the Argentine instead of to the Colonies. I think the reason is not far to seek, for though British capitalists are fond of the Colonies, and would willingly send money there if they could, yet they are keen men of business and look out for the greatest security and the largest amount of return. Some of us indeed have rather anticipated that if the legislation of a Colony is aimed largely at helping the working man and letting capitalists take care of themselves the inevitable result would be to make the employment of money more difficult and the return rather less, and therefore that the country might become less available as a field for the employment of capital. I don’t know whether they are finding it so in New Zealand; it is of course a good thing if they are so rich that they are able to employ their own capital and are independent of outside sources—if indeed any country can or ought to be entirely independent of outside sources. There is a good deal, no doubt, in New Zealand legislation which is worthy of imitation, but before imitating it you must have somewhat similar conditions to begin with. In a new country legislation is possible of a character which would not be possible in an old and complicated country such as this. In New Zealand they have contrived, for instance, an admirable scheme of old age pensions, the working of which a good many of us are watching with great interest. Like every other scheme it has its drawbacks, in that its effects are not always as good on the class supposed to be benefited

as its authors had imagined they would be. The maximum pension is £18, as compared with which we are told each indoor pauper in London costs £37 a year. But Lord Ranfurly did not give us the cost of administering the Act, which of course is considerable, and is by no means included in the £18. In the same way as regards the Arbitration Act. It is a very stringent Act, and so far has worked apparently with a good deal of success, especially as regards one side of it. But I think nothing was more significant than Lord Ranfurly's wise warning that all this legislation had so far been tried in a time of great prosperity. It has yet to stand the test of times when the country is depressed and when labour gets more slack, and until you have thoroughly tested such legislation over large areas and over a considerable period of time you cannot possibly say that that legislation has all the virtues that are attributed to it. In the same way as regards old people. I have been in Wellington and seen the admirable homes for the aged of various classes, the magnificent hospitals supported out of the rates, but when I have been asked, "Don't you admire these institutions, and wish to copy them?" I have been obliged to point out that under such a system it is no one's individual business to care for or pay any attention to the sick. They do it, but still they lose the incentive which comes from the existence of institutions established merely on a charitable basis. A most encouraging statement in the Paper was in regard to the Maoris. To those who have watched the Maori population decline for many years, and wondered whether the race was going to die out before the advance of European civilisation, it is a good thing to know that the population is at least stationary, because having reached that point we may hope the population will now go up again, and under the new conditions the race will once more begin to flourish. There has been more than one institution established, principally in the North Island, notably the school for girls, and one for young men by the generosity of Archdeacon Williams, and there is no doubt that after allowing for the mistakes and difficulties which attend these institutions they are effecting a great change amongst the Maoris themselves. It is to be hoped, I say, that we have at last succeeded in arresting the decay of this fine people, and that we are in the way of increasing their prosperity and happiness to an extent never before known. The Paper which Lord Ranfurly has read to us has been the outcome of most patient, intelligent, and interested study and care on his part for every class and race of those over whom he ruled so successfully and prosperously.

Sir HOWARD VINCENT, K.C.M.G., C.B., A.D.C., M.P. : I think I may say that all the speakers who have preceded me are agreed as to the fine climate and the great beauty and productiveness of New Zealand, the Britain of the South. There is one point on which I should have desired a little more information, and that is the capacity of New Zealand to furnish us with those supplies which we are unable to produce in sufficient quantity for our vast and growing population and to make our Empire more and more dependent upon itself and less dependent upon foreign nations. I cordially agree with Mr. Witheford that everything should be done to encourage the circulation of capital within the Empire and to increase the productive power of the Empire in order to supply those parts of the Empire which are unable to produce in sufficient quantity the materials necessary either for existence or the luxury of life. It would be unbecoming not to take this opportunity of returning our cordial thanks to that Imperial statesman, the Right Hon. Richard Seddon, who for twelve years has been Prime Minister of New Zealand, and to whom we owe it, perhaps, more than to any other Colonial statesman, that there has been such a drawing together of the ties which bind one part of the Empire with another. Lord Ranfurly made an important quotation from the speech made by Mr. Seddon, who said, "We have done a little, but more is to follow if our advances are not repelled." I believe there is in this country a great and genuine sentiment, more especially among the working classes, for the Colonies, which contain within their borders the kith and kin of the great industrial masses of this country, and I believe there is a powerful feeling that we should develop trade within the Empire and make the Empire self-sustaining, that we should do all we possibly can to increase the trade and prosperity of each part of it. That anyone calling himself a statesman should repel the advances of an Imperial Minister like Mr. Seddon and of a Colony like New Zealand I cannot conceive. This large audience is a tribute, not only to a successful pro-Consul in the person of Lord Ranfurly, but also to the great work done in Canada by our noble Chairman, Lord Minto. When an audience such as this assembles to meet two of Britain's sons who have gone forth to administer great portions of the Empire and hear what the Colonies can and will do to increase the power of the Empire, it behoves everyone present, and everyone whom this large audience can influence, to do everything they can to prevent the advances of the Colonies being repelled, and to increase the power, the strength, and the productive capacity of the Empire.

Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bt., G.C.M.G. : We have heard references to the differences between our legal arrangements and the arrangements in the Colonies. No doubt there are such differences, and perhaps the most striking are those which relate to the Marriage Laws. I think we must observe this, that when there is such difference it seems to be taken for granted in the Colonies that we at home must always alter our view to meet theirs, and that their views are so good they must never attempt to meet ours. I myself see in these matters no ground for alarm. Even in families, as we know, we sometimes find such differences. As children grow up they have their views ; they look on the views of the parents as a little old-fashioned sometimes, and they wish to make the whole household arrangements, the hour of breakfast and the like, accommodate their view. But the time comes when that state of things passes away. As I said, I do not look upon these differences with any alarm, because I feel sure that with a further state of development there will be a greater readiness on each side to give and take. Like those who have preceded me, I have been deeply interested in what we have heard about the Maoris ; there can be no doubt they have been, and are, a most chivalrous race. Lord Ranfurly told us some stories about them—I may add another. At the time of the war a body of our troops were at one time in a great fix down the river—they could not get supplies ; the Maoris knowing their position loaded a boat of provisions and let it go floating down the river with the inscription, “If thine enemy hunger, feed him.” There is no doubt they were a splendid race, and I cannot but hope not only that their numbers have ceased to diminish, but that they will increase. Allusion has been made to the extent of land assigned to them, which some people think is too much. I won’t say a word as to the policy of the matter in the long run, but I do hope that any step that is taken in the matter will be taken with great caution. It may be that at this stage of their development they need a great deal more elbow room than we do, at all events more than we get in London, and it may be necessary to their well-being that the land that has been promised them should remain theirs at all events for some time to come. I venture to think we owe them something. Sir George Grey thought that the war might easily have been avoided had a sounder policy prevailed and a greater readiness not to force things on ; and I venture to hope, as I have said, that any change in this matter will be adopted with great caution. But when we talk of the chivalry of the race, what we owe to them and our desire for

their well-being, you will remember that what we are saying is often described as "rank Exeter Hall." It is the fact that these views have not always been very popular, but I venture to believe that in the time coming the recent policy adopted towards the Maoris, like the policy of William Penn in Pennsylvania, will prove to be the really sound and patriotic policy.

The CHAIRMAN (The Right Hon. the Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G.): Before this interesting gathering breaks up I should like to say a few words on the speeches to which we have listened. One point which struck me was Lord Ranfurly's reference to the rising generation in our distant possessions. It has been said that a generation is growing up without that near connection with the Mother Country which their fathers had before them, and that it behoves us as far as we possibly can to bring them up with that love of her upon which the future of the Empire so largely depends, and in that direction I agree that Imperial education is greatly wanted. Lord Ranfurly referred to the syllabus of the schools in New Zealand as perhaps not entirely meeting the requirements of that education. But I am bound to say from my experience in Canada I strongly suspect the ignorance at home is far greater as regards Imperial history than in our Dependencies. I should like to see the people of this country far better educated in an Imperial sense than they are at present. The historical and geographical mistakes which one comes across occasionally really fill one with wonder. I could relate many stories about them, and I cannot resist telling you of a letter which reached me shortly before I left Canada. It was not a letter from a lunatic, such as all governors sometimes receive, but a pamphlet sent to me by a responsible body, the secretary of which was, I suppose, answerable for its address, which ran as follows: "His Excellency the Governor-General of Ottawa, Ontario, U.S.A. Canada." I am glad to say that, apparently on second thoughts, the letters U.S.A. had been scratched out, but that was the address upon a serious communication from a responsible body publishing a pamphlet in this country. Lord Ranfurly also referred to the habit of speaking of the Colonies as of little importance. I do not think they are referred to as of little importance, but personally I have long thought that the term Colonist and Colony ought to disappear. The days of Colonies have passed and gone. They are now rising young nations, part of a great Empire, and the person who finds a terse term to signify a British subject of the Empire will do a very good thing. The whole story of Lord Ranfurly's lecture, the story of the progress

and of the increasing wealth and strength of New Zealand, deserves to be brought home to the people of this country, where I am convinced that the growing strength of the King's Dependencies beyond the sea is not yet realised as it ought to be. The Empire really is in a state of evolution. Things are changing. We have to realise that powers are rising up which have not been powers before, and the sooner the centre of this great Empire recognises the growing influence of those powers the better it will be for the future of this country. I do not think we can thank Lord Ranfurly sufficiently for all he has told us. Lectures such as his, followed by speeches from statesmen and Members of Parliament who know the state of affairs in the countries from which they come and the ways of thought of the populations of those countries, will, I believe, do more than anything else to develop that Imperial sentiment and interchange of ideas which we are all so anxious to encourage.

LORD RANFURLY: It has given me great pleasure to deliver this lecture, and I thank you very much for your cordial vote of thanks. In Sir Fowell Buxton's speech there was one remark to which I feel bound to take exception. Sir Fowell Buxton remarked that the Colonies never appeared to give way—that they always expected England to do so—and he said *that* in connection with the question of the Marriage Laws. I must remind you that the Marriage Laws have received His Majesty's sanction, and this rather alters the case as to who should give way. Another point is that there are children of these marriages to whom this question is of utmost importance. Moreover, both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have each on different occasions passed the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, although the Bill has never gone through both Houses the same Session, so that I think we may fairly say that a large majority of people in this country sympathise with the Colonies in this matter. A reference was made to the Maoris and my remarks about their land. I did not go into the question of control; the land is virtually under the Government in this respect. Instead of letting the land lie idle, would it not be better to put this land in such working order that 20 years hence, when the Maoris might wish to take it up, it would be able to produce hundreds of bushels, where not one single grain grows at the present moment? In conclusion I will ask you to give a hearty vote of thanks to Lord Minto for so kindly presiding on this occasion.

The proceedings then terminated.

ANNUAL DINNER.

The Annual Dinner of the Institute was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Friday, May 19, 1905. Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G., G.C.M.G., presided.

The following is a complete list of those present :—

H.R.H. Prince Christian, K.G., G.C.V.O., G. F. Armytage, O. F. Armytage, H. Attridge, Ernest Baggallay, John Barr, J. A. Bell Beattie, H. H. Beauchamp, Ralph Beauchamp, Edward Bedford, E. R. Belilios, C.M.G., F. H. A. Bell, Moberly Bell, L. Bellingham, A. E. Berrill, W. J. Berrill, Senator Hon. R. W. Best, H. F. Billingham, Henry Birchenough, Arthur Blomfield, J. R. Boosé, Capt. J. Booth-Clarkson, S. J. Boreham, R. A. Bosanquet, Admiral Sir N. Bowden-Smith, K.C.B., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, the Hon. Arthur Brodrick, Edward W. Browne, Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G., A. Bruce-Joy, Sir Henry Bulwer, G.C.M.G., Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Bart, G.C.M.G., Desmond Byrne, Sir Charles Cameron, C.B., M.D., Allan Campbell, Rt. Hon. Earl Carrington, G.C.M.G., William Chamberlain, R. W. Chamney, J. H. Chrystal, Cumberland Clark, J. Henderson Clark, Henry Clarke, Percy Clarke, Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., T. R. Clougher, T. A. Coghlan, I.S.O., J. G. Colmer, C.M.G., R. W. Cooke-Taylor, P. C. Cork, C.M.G., W. F. Courthope, G. C. Cuninghame, Dr. Montague W. W. Curtis, H. H. Curtis-Bennett, C. Czarnikow, D. R. Dangar, F. H. Dangar, R. R. Dangar, J. W. Daw, Z. W. Daw, F. Dewsbury, T. A. Dibbs, C. C. Dillon, Hon. A. Dobson, C.M.G., Geoffrey Drage, D. E. Dunbar-Kilburn, Frank M. Dutton, Fred Dutton, Major J. P. Dyke, H. F. Eaton, N. J. Ede, C. S. Edmondson, Lt.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., Colonel A. M. Egerton, C.V.O., C.B., W. H. Everson, R. A. Fairclough, David Finlayson, J. H. Finlayson, F. M. Fisk, Hon. Nicholas FitzGerald, Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., James Foster, H. W. Foulger, James Fowler, F. Douglas Fox, Sir Thomas Fuller, K.C.M.G., Major A. St. H. Gibbons, Eustace Giles, W. Anstey Giles, M.B., I. Ginsburg, C. S. Goldmann, A. R. Goldring, John Goodliffe, Fred Grant, Henry Grant, Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., Captain H. R. Green, R. Green, Richard Greene, J. H. Greenfield, W. G. A. Hambling, Sir William Baillie Hamilton, K.C.M.G., C.B., G. J. Hardman, T. Harrington, General Sir Richard Harrison, G.C.B., C.M.G., Dr. Harwarden, Colonel Sir J. Hayes-Sadler, K.C.M.G., Dr. J. A. Leo Henderson, J. C. A. Henderson, F. E. Hesse, W. Hibberdene, A. R. Holland, Bernard Holland, C.B., W. T. Holland, J. W. Hollway, Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Honduras, V. L. Hope, Capt. Hovelt, G. W. T. Hunter, Major-General Sir Edward Hutton, K.C.M.G., C.B., H. B. Inglefield, G. C. Jack, C. G. Jackson, E. M. James, A. St. V. Jayewardene, R. J. Jeffray, Sir John J. Jenkins, Right Hon. the Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G. Lawson Johnston, Commander R. Paget Jones, Hon. Sydney T. Jones, C. H. B. Kendall, F. R. Kendall, Major-General Sir Ronald Lane, K.C.V.O., C.B., Robertson Lawson, Henry Ledger, R. Littlejohn, A. E. Loram, C. P. Lucas, C.B., S. F. B. Lynch, Sir Malcolm McEacharn, A. T. Macer, K. N. Macfee, Sir George S. Mackenzie, K.C.M.G., C.B., the Hon. John Mansfield, R. T. Maurice, Robert Meighen, P. Mennell, J. Michie, M.B., A. H. Miles, Harry Millar, G. Mills, Rt. Hon. the Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G., Capt. R. Croft Montague, E. R. P. Moon, M.P., R. O. Moon, M.D., H. E. Morgan, S. Vaughan Morgan, William Murray, Sir E. Montague Nelson, K.C.M.G., R. C. Nesbitt, H. C. Nettleton, R. Nivison, W. Oelsner, J. S. O'Halloran, C.M.G. (Secretary), C. H. Ommanney, C.M.G., Sir Montagu F. Ommanney, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O., Dr.

G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., Colonel Sir J. Roper Parkington, E. Manson Paul, the Hon. George Peel, John S. Prince, Dr. Purdie, Commander E. Reeves, B.N., Hugh W. Reeves, J. B. Reid, J. H. Renton, R. C. Richards, Rev. Tilney Rising, Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B., Lieut. J. Mackenzie Rogan, C. D. Rose, M.P., Arthur Ross, J. W. G. Ross, C. Rous-Marten, C. W. Russell, T. J. Russell, James Sadler, Edward Salmon, Lealie Sander-son, Sir J. George Scott, K.C.I.E., Rear-Admiral Percy Scott, C.V.O., C.B., LL.D., W. F. Scott-Armstrong, F. A. Scrivener, A. M. Sedgwick, W. E. Shoobridge, C. Short, George Slade, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., Lawrence Smith, E. A. Smith-Rewse, G. Sonn, Ernest Spittle, Wm. Statham, E. A. Steinthal, W. Stepney-Rawson, Rear-Admiral H. Stewart, J. Stewart, Sir Charles Stirling, Bart., A. P. Stokes, W. A. Stoughton, Rt. Hon. Lord Strathcona, G.C.M.G., G. Sturgeon, Leonard Sutton, M. H. Foquet Sutton, Rt. Hon. Lord Tennyson, G.C.M.G., C. Thorne, Colonel E. Thornton, T. S. Townend, Sir William H. Treacher, K.C.M.G., H. Trevor, R. J. Turner, H. Viles, E. A. Wallace, M. Wallace, E. W. Wallington, C.M.G., Herbert Ward, Sir William Lee Warner, K.C.S.I., A. Waters, H. Webb, H. P. White, A. S. White-Cooper, Andrew Williamson, Sir William Wilson-Todd, Bart., M.P., J. H. Witheford, A. E. Woodington, Lt.-Colonel Cecil Wray, M.V.O., Hon. Agar Wynne, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Colonel J. S. Young.

The guests were received by the following Vice-Presidents and Councillors :—

Vice-Presidents : The Earl of Jersey, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., The Earl of Minto, G.C.M.G., Sir Henry E. G. Bulwer, G.C.M.G., Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., Lord Strathcona, G.C.M.G., Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. *Councillors* : Admiral Sir Nathaniel Bowden-Smith, K.C.B., the Hon. T. A. Brassey, Allan Campbell, Esq., F. H. Dangar, Esq., Frederick Dutton, Esq., Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., Sir Thomas E. Fuller, K.C.M.G., Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B., Sir George S. Mackenzie, K.C.M.G., C.B., S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq., Sir E. Montague Nelson, K.C.M.G., Sir Montagu F. Osmanney, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O., Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G., Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B., Sir Charles E. F. Stirling, Bart.

The hall was decorated with the flags of the various parts of the Empire, and that of the Institute, bearing the motto, "The King and United Empire."

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Honduras said grace.

The CHAIRMAN : I ask you to drink the toast of "His Majesty the King." Amongst all assemblies of Englishmen this toast is always received with the greatest loyalty and enthusiasm. It will, I think, be doubly so received this evening at a gathering where are represented all portions of His Majesty's dominions, and where also all the professions of our country are present.

Mr. T. A. COGHLAN, I.S.O. (Agent-General for New South Wales) : I have the honour to propose "Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family." This is a toast which requires little comment from any speaker. Everyone must be struck with the generous confidence of our Royal Family in the loyalty of the people, and the warm appreciation which this confidence begets in

the popular mind. To Her Majesty this attachment has not faltered since that time, now forty years ago, when as a beautiful young girl she left her home to wed the heir of Britain's greatness. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that the popular attachment to Her Majesty has deepened year by year. In Australia it is a matter of common observation that everywhere, almost in every house and hut, there will be found, in a place of honour, a portrait of Her Majesty. This is a unique tribute, and an unmistakable sign of the affection with which she is regarded in the King's dominions beyond the seas. A short time ago it was our pleasure to give a royal welcome to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, a welcome which we thought due not only to their exalted rank, but to their many eminent qualities, and it has been a matter of great regret that we have not been able to extend a like welcome to other members of the Royal House; but it is our hope that the gallant soldier, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, who has done us the honour of presiding here to-night, may in the course of his military duties find it expedient to visit Australia, where he will find the heartiest and most loyal of welcomes. I have great pleasure in proposing the toast "Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the Royal Family."

The Hon. Sir THOMAS E. FULLER, K.C.M.G. (Agent-General for the Cape of Good Hope): I have been charged with the duty of proposing the toast of "The Imperial Forces." This toast does not need many words to commend it to the regard of an assembly like this. I suppose there are here to-night representatives of every one of the Colonies, represented by the flags and coats of arms round this banqueting hall, and I believe every one of them would tell you that there is no question of Imperial policy which interests them more and in which they have a more profound concern than that of Imperial defence. This toast has gone through a sort of evolutionary process. Some years ago the toast was in the old-fashioned words, very affectionately remembered, "The Army and Navy" of Great Britain, but by-and-by there came additions in the form of the auxiliary forces, and yet another stage in which the Army and the Navy and the Imperial forces were made into a great Imperial force during the South African War. If there is one thing that that war proves it is this—that the Army, I mean the regular forces, were the backbone of that Imperial army. Mistakes were made, no doubt, but Napoleon said that he was the greatest general who made the fewest mistakes, and

in one respect the Army never failed, and that was in devotion to duty and in fine courage. That war also proved how the Navy can assist the Army, even though there be no fighting on the sea. It was proved that in every great war—and I think it will be so in future—wherever be the scene of operations the Army and the Navy must contribute their full strength to it. The Imperial Army was established so to speak during the time of that war. I think there were volunteers who joined the Army from every one of the Colonies. Who does not remember Lord Strathcona's Horse? I am happy to see him here to-night. What South African does not remember the New Zealand and the Australian contingents? If we were to fail to remember these gallant helpers the very stones would cry out against us. We have been interested to note all the measures taken for promoting the efficiency of the Navy, not only as regards the ships but in the reorganisation of the force and in the arrangement of new stations to make it more immediately effective. The Army is going through a stage of reform also. How it will end I do not think the greatest experts in the country can tell. But we wish them well out of all their difficulties, and we feel quite sure the efficiency of the Army will, at all events by-and-by, be established for the service of the Empire. But may I venture just to say that the Colonists, at least many of them, in looking at these Army reforms, and I think many also in Great Britain itself, long for the time when there shall be a real Army, not merely of paid soldiers but an Army which shall represent the whole population? I do not advocate forced military service—conscription, as it is called. I do not believe it is necessary. But I believe that if any great statesman was to bring in a measure appealing to the parents of the youth of this country, to the school-masters, to the youths themselves, to make what I may call patriotic education part of the curriculum, and as they grew up, imbue them with their duties and privileges as citizens and at the same time expect them all to learn the use of arms—if you were to develop such a force as that and provide for its training I think the whole Empire far and near would welcome it, and I feel quite sure if it were pursued in a statesmanlike spirit there would be soon evolved an Army equal to any of the great armies of Europe. How can we meet a serious emergency, how can we fight for our very life as a nation while all Europe and all Asia at this moment contain millions of soldiers and are really an armed camp? I cannot but think that by some such force (it is almost on everybody's lips) we should meet this great emergency. If we do not the day may dawn at last when on the

eve of some great difficulty we shall wake up and find that we are too late.

Rear-Admiral PERCY SCOTT, C.V.O., C.B., LL.D., said : It gives me great pleasure to respond to the Navy, because I believe in the last hundred years the Navy has never been so prepared for war as it is to-day. We have at the Admiralty a board united, fearless, vigorous, and progressive, ready to undertake any necessary reforms, however great they may be. All our obsolete ships have been put on the scrap heap, but what is of even greater importance to the Navy is that all the obsolete old notions which have kept us in the background are going on the scrap heap also. We have a new fighting organisation, and a new system of training which will, I hope, cause officers to give up various drills which they now practise, but which have no military value, and encourage them to turn their attention to the art of gunnery, which is the *raison d'être* of the existence of a man-of-war.

General Sir RICHARD HARRISON, R.E., G.C.B., C.M.G. : We have heard a most eloquent speech from Sir Thomas Fuller and an exceedingly good and characteristic speech from the gallant admiral. Now, as you are aware (and I am glad to know it), we have the best of Navies, the best of ships, and the best of men to put into those ships, and we have a fine Naval Reserve. But what am I to say about our poor Imperial Army ? At all events I can say this, that the constitution of that Army must be an exceedingly good one to stand the perpetual treatment it receives from so many doctors who are brought in from time to time to prescribe for it. I will only refer this evening to that portion of the Imperial forces which belongs more particularly to those great sister States of Britain over the seas. Every one of these States, as Sir Edward Hutton could tell you, has established a good system for its forces. They have perhaps but a small nucleus for training purposes, but they have behind a large reserve, and they are prepared to create a force which they consider sufficient for their needs in time of war and difficulty. You know what spirit these troops possess. You will remember what they did at Suakim when Gordon was endangered at Khartoum. You will remember what spirit they showed over and over again in South Africa, and never so much as when the clouds were deep and threatening.

Just one word about an event which happened only last week. A great Imperial organisation that used to be called the Imperial Federation League, which now no longer exists, some years ago formed a committee which was instructed to report to that league

what would best, in regard to Imperial defence, promote federation. That committee said that the best thing to promote Imperial Federation would be to have an Imperial Council to discuss the requirements of the Empire. Now we have that Council. What it has been doing, of course, I am unable to tell you, but only last week the Prime Minister made a speech in which he said this Council was doing good work, and that before long there would be representatives of the great self-governing Colonies giving advice on it. Now I think, and I believe we shall all think, that that is a very great step. Those of us who have thought of the subject are convinced that the practical common sense of the Colonies will be of exceeding value to that Council. Moreover, if we had a Council on which there were representatives from all parts of the Empire, it would tend to raise the great question of Imperial defence out of the trough of party politics. Once let Imperial defence be placed on that high platform above the intrigues of parties, and we shall be on the way towards getting a great Imperial army sufficient for our needs, as we now have a great Imperial navy.

The CHAIRMAN : I must crave your indulgence if I inflict upon you rather a longer speech than I could wish, and if I bring before you a rather large subject which I have found it difficult to deal with except in a good many words. But this toast is an important one. It is "Prosperity to the Royal Colonial Institute." There are here, as I said before, representatives from all parts of the Empire, and I think they will like to know what the Royal Colonial Institute is doing, what it has been doing, and what it hopes to do. The Royal Colonial Institute, to celebrate whose anniversary we meet to day, has, since its inception in 1868, been engaged in a highly laudable and patriotic sphere of work. For nearly forty years past its efforts have been directed to the unification of the British race throughout the world in ties of mutual interest and sympathy, thus drawing more closely together the scattered communities of this mighty Empire. It is a matter for general congratulation that the British public has awakened to a more adequate sense of responsibility as citizens of a world-wide inheritance, and that the policy of *laissez faire* which was at one time far too prevalent has been supplanted by a feeling of abiding interest in all that concerns the welfare of our fellow subjects in distant lands. When this institute was founded the new England beyond the seas did not occupy the same place in the affections of the masses of the people of these isles that they do to-day. A variety of circumstances has combined to bring about a notable

change of view in this important particular. Amongst such influences may be mentioned the advance of scientific discovery, which has annihilated distance and bridged over many serious obstacles to social, commercial and political intercourse. Thanks to the chain of telegraphic communication that now girdles the Empire, and the system of Imperial penny postage which is all but universal, its inhabitants have been brought into closer touch. The idea of setting apart a special day for national celebration was happily conceived, and "Empire Day," which is fast approaching, and will be the birthday of our late gracious sovereign, my beloved mother, may be expected to evoke eloquent testimony to the solidarity of sentiment that distinguishes communities who, though far removed in a geographical sense, are proud to maintain and cherish the glorious traditions of the British flag. We feel and we know that the patriotic enthusiasm which rallied our Colonies to the help of the Mother Country in her hour of need will call them together in the same cause whenever occasion arises. Yet another stimulus to national unity may be counted on through the noble academic foundation which we owe to Mr. Cecil Rhodes, whose splendid conception of assembling at Oxford typical representatives of the flower of our Colonial youth, where they might come into close contact with the great thinkers and writers of the day, cannot fail to exercise a far-reaching influence on their return to their respective homes. Still further indications of educational reciprocity are making themselves conspicuous, the most recent example of which is that colonial students of art, on showing properly authenticated certificates of merit from their respective countries, are admissible to the Royal Academy Schools without passing the preliminary examination. Turning for a moment to our great Indian Empire and its sorely stricken inhabitants, the recent ravages of plague call for our heartfelt sympathy, while the dire calamity of last month has added to the death-roll. The scenes of desolation occasioned by that disastrous earthquake were, however, mitigated by acts of heroism and devotion to duty that have thrown fresh lustre on British rule in India. Notwithstanding visitations of famine, plague and earthquake the administration has never relaxed in its endeavours to cope with a heavy burden of responsible Imperial duties. The general condition of the country is one of prosperity, and recent changes in the organisation of the departmental system bid fair to relieve existing pressure and contribute to the prosperity and well-being of the people. The versatility of our fellow-countrymen and the facility

with which they adapt themselves to new surroundings and identify themselves with the aspirations of those over whose destinies they are called upon to preside are indeed remarkable, and indicate the qualities of an Imperial race. A noteworthy feature in connection with the development of our tropical possessions is seen in the success of the anti-malarial campaign that is being waged against diseases which are peculiarly fatal to Europeans. With the aid of persistent scientific research a flood of light has been thrown on their origin, and methods of prevention and treatment have been devised by which many valuable lives will be preserved. To all movements that tend to promote the unity of the Empire and the development of the vast and varied resources of our great national estates beyond the seas this Institute has given its most cordial sympathy and support. It has done good service to the State by diffusing a better knowledge of the Colonies and India in a variety of ways—through its information office, which affords up-to-date and trustworthy guidance to all inquirers; by encouraging in the schools of this country the study of the history and geography of the Colonies; by means of its publications, which have a wide circulation; by making readily accessible for reference purposes one of the most complete collections of colonial literature in existence, and by providing a platform for the impartial discussion of questions affecting national consolidation. The whole of this work is conducted on an entirely self-supporting basis, and in view of its practical usefulness I ask you to drink to the toast, "Prosperity to the Royal Colonial Institute."

Mr. FREDERICK DUTTON: I appreciate very highly the honour of being called upon to respond to this toast, but I also feel the responsibility of my task, because after the very generous and eloquent terms in which His Royal Highness has proposed the toast, I feel that the toast is very little short of proposing prosperity to the Empire. His Royal Highness has reminded you of the fact that the Institute was founded as far back as 1868. In that year certain gentlemen, very wise gentlemen I think they were, associated themselves together to form this Institute. It is an interesting, though somewhat sad, thing to record that I believe only eight of them still remain on our roll. If we could only gather those eight gentlemen together, and give them a banquet in this hall it would be a very interesting event, and they richly deserve the honour. This Institute was designed to serve towards the Colonies the same purpose as the Royal Society serves to Science, and the Royal Geographical Society to Geography. It would follow almost as

a consequence from the special rôle which this Institute has assigned to itself that we should be able to say and justly claim that, more than any other of the many institutes and societies in the Empire, this Institute has contributed to the advance of the Empire. "The King and United Empire" has always been our motto, and I am sure nowhere does a greater feeling of loyalty, or a greater desire to advance the interests of the Empire, exist than among the many thousand Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute. Your Royal Highness has referred to the growth of Imperial sentiment, and looking back over these years, we cannot but reflect how very remarkable has been the growth of that sentiment throughout the Empire. We have many examples of that. One very notable example has already been referred to, in the demonstration to the world at large of the great strength which is obtained by Imperial co-operation in what took place in the South African War, and I doubt not the lesson which was thus conveyed has been as instructive to other nations as it was to us. But the maintenance and the consolidation of the Empire is nowadays in all our thoughts and affords a common platform, happily, for all political parties. But, Sir, it was not always so, and I think we may claim for the Royal Colonial Institute that the growth of this feeling coincides in a very remarkable manner with the year 1868, when this Institute was founded. To consolidate and maintain the Empire and develop and stimulate in every way the bonds of Empire, this, as I have said, is one of our special functions. It is frequently asked should these bonds be of a sentimental nature, or should they be of a more material kind. Well, I think if we, at this Institute, were to express any opinion on the subject we should be unanimous in saying that it was very desirable that they should be of both kinds and as numerous as possible. Give the fullest possible scope to the ties of sentiment, the bond of kinship and common nationality, but do not let us on that account neglect any of the more material forms by which the unity of the Empire may be maintained. It would, I think, be a great advantage that these bonds should always be as many as possible. To borrow a commonplace simile, let our Imperial eggs, if possible, be inexhaustible in number, and, what is much more to the point, let us also have an inexhaustible number of baskets in which to put them. It is not difficult to imagine many of the material forms by which unity may be promoted. Your Royal Highness has referred to some of these already in connection with the work of this Institute—the very large and happily continually increasing and representative

roll of Fellows; dissemination of accurate information about the Empire in all its parts; our magnificent colonial library of reference; our evening dinners and meetings; the varied and instructive nature of the papers which are read at those meetings; and also the very interesting and instructive discussions which take place at those meetings, discussions in which distinguished and representative men from all parts of the Empire are wont to take part. These are potent bonds for promoting the unity of the Empire. And if we look beyond the mere working of our own Institute, do we not also find many material bonds of a similar nature?—such things as the development of rapid and regular means of communication and the extension and cheapening of postal and telegraph facilities. And may I say here with what satisfaction we of this Institute have heard of the recent inclusion of the Commonwealth of Australia in the Imperial penny postage system, and the consequent reduction in the amount of the postage for homeward letters from Australia? Again, there are the periodical Colonial conferences, to which, personally, I attach a great deal of importance. It is impossible for us not to remember that the Premiers of the various Australian Colonies had been in the habit of meeting periodically in Conferences of a more or less similar nature in regard to the affairs of Australia, and I believe I am right in saying it was from these Conferences that the constitution of the great Commonwealth of Australia really originated. If that was so, may we not hope from the Colonial Conferences which have been held periodically, and will I have no doubt continue to be held in this country, that some larger measure of constitution will be evolved? In all these many ways we find the component parts of the Empire are being slowly but surely welded closer together, and I hope it may be found at no distant date that the time may be ripe when some form of political union may be possible of consideration. This, of course, is a somewhat large subject, but there is at all events one point which I think I am entitled to mention. It has found expression already at our own meetings, and I feel sure as time goes on we shall find it constantly referred to in the speeches of our public men in all parts of the Empire. It is this—that when any system of political union becomes possible it should be so framed as to stand the stress and strain of those alterations in what I may call the balance of inter-Imperial power which the course of time is sure to produce. By that I mean the alterations in the proportions of population and wealth in different parts of the Empire which we may reasonably

expect will occur in the future. We have for many years talked of the "Mother Country" and the "Colonies," and the "Mother Country" and "her offspring." Well, it has been already whispered, and I believe with a great deal of truth, that the terms "Colonies" and "offspring" are becoming somewhat misappropriate as applied to these great self-governing nations of our own race, such as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand, and our vast possessions in South Africa. The time is, I believe, sure to come when, instead of talking of parent and offspring, we shall have to meet together as equal members of one large family, and I feel persuaded that whenever the time comes for discussing or attempting to frame any basis of political unity within the Empire it will be impossible to overlook that very important consideration. The Royal Colonial Institute has endeavoured to contribute towards all these various movements. The maintenance and preservation of the Empire is a matter which it will always be our privilege and pleasure to work for in every possible way. Those who are entrusted with the direction of the affairs of this Institute, either now or in the future, will feel encouraged to persevere in the work by the very generous terms in which your Royal Highness has proposed the toast. They will be encouraged to persevere in it also by the sense of the importance which has been given that work by the presence of your Royal Highness and of H.R.H. Prince Christian, one of our Vice-Presidents, at this gathering. It is my pleasing duty on behalf of the Council and Fellows to tender your Royal Highness our most grateful acknowledgment of the manner in which you have been pleased to propose the toast, and also to thank this distinguished company for the cordial manner in which it has been received.

The Right Hon. the EARL OF MINTO, G.C.M.G.: The toast which has been allotted to me this evening, that of the "United Empire," is so full of meaning as regards the past and the future that is opening out before us, that I feel greatly the difficulty of in any way doing justice to it, all the more so in the presence of so many British subjects who have served their country, both at home and abroad, and who are gathered here to-night at this great centre of the Empire. The toast of the United Empire is a history in itself: it is the story of these little islands of ours, the story of early navigators and explorers, of Drake, Frobisher and Raleigh; the story in later days of Cook and Vancouver, and later still of the conquests of Clive and Wolfe; the story of many a heroic missionary and adventurous settler in those distant possessions

which our explorers have discovered for us and which our soldiers and sailors have won for us, where they planted the flag the emblem of Empire, and not only of that but of civilisation and freedom all over the world. It is a history to the making of which many noble lives have been devoted, and it behoves us to see that these lives have not been given in vain. But the rough work has been done, the component parts have been moulded, and it remains for this generation to weld them together. The distant settlements have grown into rising young nationalities, with ambitions of their own, and the temptations too of rising young powers, but, all the same, with a strong love of British history and a strong pride of British descent. They have stood by us in the hour of need. They did not hesitate. They came forward and they helped us to illustrate to an astonished world what a United Empire is. But have the people of this country entirely understood and grasped what all this means? Do you think that in all the wealth and in all the security of our island home we have entirely realised, as we ought to do, what the distant affection and loyalty of our kinsmen beyond the seas actually mean? Do you think we have really formed an accurate estimate of the value of these young powers that are rising up around us? Have we taken to ourselves and considered what the want of appreciation of those sentiments may mean to us? I only hope we have. I think that our comprehension is growing. We may be insular, we may be slow in coming to conclusions, but I believe that, after all, a true comprehension of the value of our distant possessions is sinking into the minds of the people of this country. The future is in our hands. It rests with us to decide upon the future of the Empire. Our kinsmen are speaking to us from across the seas; they are calling to us and I hope they will not go unheard. But I feel certain of this—that the gallant struggles and the fights and the victories of our ancestors, by which they handed down to us the magnificent heritage that we call our Empire, will not be forgotten, and that the coming generations will prove themselves as worthy as those who went before them to uphold the flag of which we are all so proud. I will, in conclusion, quote some impressive lines written not long ago by a British Columbian bard:

There is an Empire now. Your isle should be its heart.
The truest loyalty to Britons known
Is to the Mighty Empire which is built
World-wide though centred round the Throne.

Dr. GEORGE R. PARKIN, C.M.G.: Like the speakers who have gone before me, I also am somewhat overwhelmed by the greatness of the toast which has been assigned to me for response. In fact, we all—we British people—have to stretch our imagination in these later days to grasp the conditions and the vastness of the problems with which we have to deal. This Institute was founded on the conception of a United Empire. It works to-day on faith in a future United Empire, and I do not believe that there is any member of this Institute whose faith does not intensify as years go on, both in the greatness of the object at which we aim and in the certainty of its ultimate consummation. And in the very few words which I shall address to you let me review, on one line alone, the ground on which for me and others that faith is based. The thought of the Empire united in permanent national bonds has appealed in the profoundest way to all that is best, all that is greatest, and all that is noblest in our race of the present generation. Let us begin at the highest. We who are still alive and remember the last century know that that century will bear in all time to come one name—the Victorian Age. The great Queen who concentrated in herself for much more than half a century the loyalty of this nation, growing up from her youth with a mind expanding and grasping the idea of the greatness of the people over whom she ruled, was devoted to this thought—this woman whose heart was wrapped up in the welfare of her people placed foremost in her thought the ideal of its remaining a united nation, and almost the last proof of the deep affection she bore to us was in the splendid piece of self-sacrifice which induced her to arrange that her grandson, the successor—though in far-off years, let us hope—to her throne, should go and inaugurate the great Commonwealth of the South, and visit afterwards as part of his preliminary training the whole round of our great Empire. I need say nothing of those daily evidences which we have from his present Majesty of the same profound sentiment which controls his mind, and not only his mind but that of other members of the Royal Family. Let us pass on to what else is noblest and best. British patriotism of the earlier type glows in the pages of Shakespeare, in the lines of Milton, in the verse of Wordsworth. But for this new age and new time and for these expanding modern conditions we have had to have something like a new patriotism created, and when the great master of thought and language, who for so many years ruled the heart of this nation, the late Poet Laureate, struck his lyre to interpret the highest aspiration of this nation, what was it but to warn us against “the craven fear

of being great"—to ask of us from the Colonies in one of his magnificent odes :

Sharers of our glorious past,
Brothers, must we part at last ?

And then he says :

Britain's myriad voices call,
Sons, be welded each and all,
Into one Imperial whole,
One with Britain, heart and soul !
One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne !
Britons, hold your own !

And amid all the honours and reverence which surrounded our supreme poet when he died, and all the happiness he had got from the affection of our English people in his lifetime, I do not believe anything would have filled him with greater happiness than had he lived to know that the son who bears his honoured name and is our distinguished guest to-night was to be enabled, as Governor-General of the great Commonwealth of the South, to carry out, in another and practical field, the great Imperial idea which he had clothed in immortal verse. Another great poet has since arisen, who again has struck the highest note of our national life. He, too, in his "Seven Seas," the "Recessional" and other noble poems has manifestly fixed his thought on our future as that of a great united people. Again, turning to our writers in prose, Sir John Seeley consecrated his historical genius to the working out of this idea, has inspired some of our greatest and best thinkers, and has, indeed, created a large and new school of historical writers.

Turn to our sailors, and reflect how the thought of Imperial unity must impress itself on the mind of every one of them as they see the fleet of a great nation staggering on, apparently to its doom, for lack of that which we possess—ports open to us in every part of the world. Turn to our military men ; reflect on the thoughts of men who fought on the fields of South Africa and knew what it was to have beside them the hardy and vigorous men who poured in from every Colony, men endowed with the versatile energy of new and unsettled countries, such as that in which the operations were carried on. Think, beyond that, of the great public of this country in those dark November days of 1901, when the dislike and even hatred of other nations was surrounding us on every side, and when they scarcely attempted to conceal the hope that the great career of this

Empire was coming to its end. What enabled you then "to face cheerfully your enemies in the gate"? Was it not the telegrams which poured in from Canada and New Zealand and Australia and many another Colony, saying that the sons of the Empire were going to stand by the Mother Land? Passing sentiment! some may say. But what do we see to-day? We see our practical men of commerce meeting together and asking how we shall construct a system of commerce and trade which will enable this nation to remain a United Empire. There may be great differences of opinion as to the method, but we see the remarkable fact of our greatest statesmen staking the whole of their political career and reputation on this idea. We may differ about methods, but I do not hesitate to say that there is not a commercial man in this country, whether he be a free trader or a preferential trader, but will unite on this point, which is the essential one after all, that whether trade is free or preferential, it shall, at least, be secure. And commercial security depends on the continued unity of this Empire. But the men of commerce are not all who recognise this supreme interest. Yesterday I had the privilege of addressing a very large gathering in a neighbouring hall in connection with the National Church of this country. There the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and a great number of distinguished people were collected together to consider the Christian forces influencing this nation, and how best they could be adapted to our national good and to the good of the world. I found the thought just as deep in their minds as in anybody else's, that in carrying the Gospel to distant lands—the Gospel which St. Paul preached as a Roman citizen, as a Greek scholar, and with the fiery religious zeal of the Jew—the missionary depends on a United Empire, and one fleet and flag for safety and protection, as much as the trader. Take again the social economist, who asks what we are going to do with our overflowing population. He looks for his hope to a United Empire, where men of our crowded cities may find under their own flag a settlement in every part of the world and get back to natural conditions upon the land. So you may run through all the spheres of our national thought and action. And here I may say in passing that having had the opportunity of going over much of the Empire for the purpose of organising that remarkable conception of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, under which carefully picked young men are drawn to the centre of the Empire where they can study its problems and returning to their homes will make a great circle and brotherhood of national feeling all over the world, I firmly believe that

this scheme will in years to come more than realise the thought of its founder, and will be one of the greatest forces in the world making for the idea of United Empire. Men of all classes, then—men of thought, men of action, men of sentiment, men of noble position, men who have fought and served in army and navy—all are concerned in this great idea. The last I mention, but by no means the least, is the working man—the man who is weaving wool in Yorkshire or the man who is growing wool in Australia; the working man who eats the wheat in London or the man who grows the wheat on Canadian prairies. Each must hold the Empire together. It is to the common interest that he should help to do so. Therefore I say let us take this *sursum corda* to ourselves—take this for our encouragement—that the supreme interest of our nation from the throne down to the humblest cottage is concentrated in this idea of United Empire. Therefore, your Royal Highness and your Excellency—(I am so accustomed to address Lord Minto by that title that I forget to drop it now), and I may say in passing how glad I am that he should be here this evening to propose this toast after his excellent work in Canada—therefore I say, in conclusion, I thank you for the way you have received the toast and have connected with it the name of our Royal Colonial Institute.

The Right Hon. EARL CARRINGTON, G.C.M.G.: In proposing the health of "The Chairman," my first duty is to offer him in the name of this distinguished gathering our most cordial felicitations on the coming marriage of Princess Margaret of Connaught. May I be permitted also in the name of this great and representative gathering to thank Dr. Parkin for the speech he has made this evening? It has touched our hearts and warmed our blood, and we are proud to think that a speech of that description came from a Briton of the great Dominion of Canada. I think he touched the key-note of the whole question when he called our attention to the great power (I might almost call it magic power) of the late Queen Victoria. Why had she that great power? It was, I believe firmly, because she had in her to so great an extent those two grand qualities, courage and humanity. By courage I mean that in the late Queen's gentle, good heart everything human was as her own. Her kindness to all surrounding her, her generous forbearance, her sympathy and kindness to all in time of trouble, and above all the determination never to say or do anything which could wound the feelings of the most hypersensitive person—these great qualities endeared her to the nation and the Empire; and

these great qualities she has handed down to her children and her children's children as a precious heritage for ever. A friend of mine who has just returned from South Africa, Mr. Thomas Burt, told me a story very characteristic of this feeling. There was a certain Mrs. Maritz who by the fortunes of war had had her house looted and her furniture and chairs taken away. After a somewhat eventful day she tried to get back one of her chairs so as to pass the rest of the evening in her house. She went on to a verandah where some British officers were sitting and tried to take one of the empty chairs, but was rather forcibly reminded that the spoils belonged to the victors. A young officer rose from his seat and he said, "Here, Madam, is my chair. Pray take this, and if your daughters are wanting chairs I feel certain my brother officers will be delighted to give them theirs." That young officer who said that was the grandson of Queen Victoria, a gallant soldier who would have risen to great distinction in his profession had he not unfortunately lost his life in the service of his Queen and country. I am not going for one moment to say that these great characteristic virtues of courage and humanity belong only to the British Royal Family or indeed to any Royal family in any part of the world. I may, however, say that they are nobly represented in our Chairman this evening. We know what a deserved ovation the Duke of Connaught received when he returned to the field of his former service in India; and we know that our fellow-subjects in India who are so prompt to recognise chivalry and kindly conduct gave him that ovation not only because he was in the succession to the throne, not only on account of the good service he had done in his military career, but also because they instinctively knew his great qualities of courage and humanity. They recognised in him the Pucka Sahib, as we welcome him to-night as the true English gentleman; and therefore, my lords and gentlemen, I ask you to drink the health of the Duke of Connaught in the same spirit as I have the honour to propose it—not as a matter of form, but with feelings of loyalty and respect, of deep regard, and I hope I may be permitted to add of genuine affection.

The CHAIRMAN (Field-Marshal H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, K.G., G.C.M.G.): Your Royal Highness, my lords and gentlemen, I find a difficulty in finding words adequately to express what I feel in the great honour you have done me by the reception you have given to this toast. I thank my old friend, Lord Carrington, very warmly for the kind words he has used, and I thank you all, gentlemen, for your kindly expressions of goodwill to my daughter,

who is so soon to be married. I have been proud to occupy the position of your Chairman this evening. I have listened with the deepest interest to the very kind and very patriotic speeches that have been made by different gentlemen here. I would not like to particularise whose speech was finest or most to the point, but I am sure our Canadian friend, Dr. Parkin, who so recently addressed us, struck a key-note in our feelings and, as Lord Carrington said, made the blood boil within us when he referred in those patriotic, those generous and those warm words, to the feelings which should be existent in every Briton of these islands or in any part of His Majesty's Dominions. When I leave you this evening I shall go home feeling that it was a real pleasure to me to have assisted at an occasion like the present banquet. I honestly believe that a large assembly like this, consisting of men of experience, men of thought, men who have given most distinguished services not only to this country but to the whole Empire, is welded together and must be welded together in a strong feeling of loyalty to our sovereign and devotion to our country. I never forget that it has been my good fortune to serve in many parts of His Majesty's Dominions. I cannot forget that the first active service I ever saw was on the shores of Canada repelling the unwarranted invasion of the Fenians in the year 1870. Gentlemen, I honestly can assure you that I do not give way to anybody in this room in my feelings of devotion to the Empire as a whole, and my one wish is that we may say in the future, what I think we are saying at the present time, that more and more all Englishmen of all parts of His Majesty's Dominions recognise that if we are to go on and to remain the great Empire which has been handed down to us by the great men who have made it, we must have union. There is an old saying that "Union is force," and I am sure it never was so more than now. I thank you one and all for the great honour you have done me in the reception you have given me this evening, and I thank you very much for having asked me to be your Chairman to-night.

EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

THE Eighth Ordinary General Meeting of the Session was held at the Whitehall Rooms, Hôtel Métropole, on Tuesday, June 6, 1905, when a Paper on "The British Empire in the Far East" was read by Alleyne Ireland, Esq.

Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G. a member of the Council of the Institute, presided.

The Minutes of the last Ordinary General Meeting were read and confirmed, and it was announced that since that Meeting 32 Fellows had been elected, viz., 10 Resident and 22 Non-Resident.

Resident Fellows :—

Charles G. A. Anson, Samuel M. Bodie, Captain George Capron, Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald N. Custance, K.C.M.G., C.V.O., Frederick Dunsterville, James M. Flegg, Charles F. Forshaw, M.D., Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C.S.I., Milton Sproule, The Rt. Hon. Lord Tennyson, G.C.M.G.

Non-Resident Fellows :—

John Arthur (Queensland), Thomas J. Ball (Transvaal), Hugh H. Beetham (New Zealand), Senator Hon. Robert W. Best (Victoria), Louis Bulau (Mauritius), Malcolm Campbell-Johnston (Transvaal), Capt. Horace J. Carew (Japan), F. J. Collier (Natal), John Deans (New Zealand), R. Court Dent, J.P. (Cape Colony), F. A. Gibson, I.S.O. (Mauritius), Thomas A. Glenney (Transvaal), William J. Green (Transvaal), Charles E. Merrin (Natal), Walter Millar (Natal), Joscelyn B. Percy (Western Australia), Charles B. Pharazyn (New Zealand), Herbert Wm. Sconce (British Guiana), William J. Sowden (South Australia), W. Springorum (Natal), William J. Thorne (Cape Colony), Rory J. L. Tindall, J.P. (Transvaal).

THE CHAIRMAN: A glance at the map of the Empire on the wall before you indicates the two sides of the national problem with which we British people have to deal. In the northern and southern temperate zones are the great self-governing Colonies chiefly inhabited by people of our own race. How to work out some plan by which the interests of these extensive and growing communities may be consolidated has been one of the chief objects of this Institute, and to the study of these countries and their conditions we have always given great attention. But in the tropics another great group of communities are found under the British flag. Here the mass of the community are of different races and speak different languages from our own. How to rule them with justice and for the good of the communities themselves is one of

our largest imperial problems. Upon this question you are to-night to hear the opinion of an expert. Mr. Alleyne Ireland is a British subject, and has been for some time a member of this Institute. After spending some years in the study of colonial conditions he took a professorial position in the University of Chicago. It is a remarkable illustration of the energy and versatility of university life in America and of the way in which our American friends deal with new national problems that when the Philippines and other tropical possessions came under American control, Mr. Ireland was directed by the University of Chicago to make a careful study of the government of the tropical dependencies of all other nations. He has spent the last four years in travel to carry out this mission. The result of his work has partly appeared in the form of letters to the *Times* and the *American Outlook*. The first volume of his report will be published during the present year, and will be followed by several other volumes. You are, therefore, going to listen this evening to a Paper by a man who has given exceptional study to the subject of which he treats, and I feel perfectly sure that Mr. Ireland will deal with the large subject he has in hand in a manner which will at once entertain and instruct us. I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. Alleyne Ireland to this large audience.

Mr. Alleyne Ireland then read his Paper on :

THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE FAR EAST.

IN one sense it is my misfortune that when I selected the subject of my address I did not know that Sir Charles Bruce, in his most interesting and instructive Paper on "The Crown Colonies and Places," would cover so much of the ground which the title of my own Paper marks out as the field of my inquiry.

But in another sense nothing could be more fortunate for me than that a speaker so able and well-informed should have preceded me at such a short interval, for I am enabled from this circumstance to enter at once upon a consideration of my topic, knowing that your interest has already been aroused by one more capable than myself, and feeling free to elaborate my thesis along certain definite lines because the broad and statesmanlike treatment of the subject by Sir Charles Bruce has already provided you with the historical context.

Perhaps the simplest way I could select of dealing with "The British Empire in the Far East," would be to give some account of the acquisition of the various dependencies included in the group, to describe the steps by which the disorder of native rule gave way

to the quiet security of British administration, to present in a few brief but pregnant paragraphs the work of peaceful development, the growth of industry, the triumph of patient, well-directed human energy over the natural obstacles to progress, and to conclude by placing in sharp contrast against an historical background the condition of those territories under their native rulers and under an established government of the British type.

But an address which contained no more than I have implied would stop short at the very point at which I wish to begin, for my object is not to lay before you a great array of facts in regard to our Far Eastern Empire, but to follow out certain lines of thought suggested by the history and condition of those territories.

If in the course of my address I direct your attention to parts of the world very remote from the Far East, my excuse must be that, as in History events do not group themselves with nicety to fit a division of time by centuries, so in Political Science the counting of degrees of longitude gives us no clear line dividing one set of conditions from another, and hence if our method of inquiry is to be effective it must rest upon a basis of intelligent comparison and find an extensive rather than an intensive expression.

The first point which impresses the observer when he considers the British Empire in the Far East is that all the territories comprised in it lie within the great heat-belt which girdles the earth between the northern and southern parallels of 30°. The vital importance of this fact will appear with increasing distinctness as we proceed with our description and analysis of some of the general conditions of civilisation and government to be found in the areas included in our category.

Having determined one geographical characteristic common to all the members of our group, we turn to the sphere of politics to find that here also all the members of our group have one characteristic in common.

The whole of our Far Eastern Empire is under the direct political control of the Mother Country; and we do not find in it a single dependency in which the control of affairs rests unreservedly in the hands of an elected legislature. If we wish to discover this form of government within the British Empire we must go outside the heat-belt—to the Cape, to Australia, to Canada.

But this absence of representative government is characteristic of the French, of the Dutch, and of the German dependencies in the heat-belt of the Far East, and up to the present is true of the American possessions in that part of the world.

Briefly, the political condition of the whole of the Far East may be summed up in two terms :—In that part of the Far East which lies within the heat-belt there is not a single Government which rests upon the popular will, and there is only one Government, that of Siam, which is not a subordinate Government. In that part of the Far East which lies outside the heat-belt are to be found the only independent Governments in the Far East, except Siam, and without any exception the only Government, that of Japan, which includes representative institutions.

This by itself is sufficiently striking ; but if we enlarge the field of our inquiry we find that what is true of the Far East is true of practically the whole of Africa and of the whole of America, in so far as those continents lie within the heat-belt.

At first sight, the existence of republican governments in tropical and in sub-tropical America appears to strike at the validity of our classification. But a closer scrutiny shows that, as a matter of fact, these republics not only fall within our category, but illustrate in the most complete manner the fundamental justice of applying to political institutions the two tests we have selected—namely, the question as to whether a Government is an independent native institution or one of foreign domination, and the other question as to whether the form of government includes a true representation of the natives.

Now, with the single exception of the Republic of Hayti, there is not a Government in tropical or in sub-tropical America which is an independent native institution or which includes a true representation of the natives. I use the term " native " of course in its strict sense, and for this reason, that the object of my address is to set before you some facts and conclusions about actual natives of the tropics and not about those inhabitants of the tropics whose race characteristics have been modified by a serious infusion of non-tropical blood.

The important fact, then, which we get from tropical America in this connection is that, although the republican form of government exists in that area, and although the form includes popular representation, the whole political fabric rests not upon a native foundation but upon a Spanish foundation ; in other words, the political phenomena of tropical America are traceable to the existence of a large population of non-tropical origin and to the presence of a great body of half-castes having non-tropical blood in their veins. It is apparent, therefore, that, as far as the true native population is concerned, the Governments of tropical and of

sub-tropical America are Governments of foreign domination and do not include representation of the native.

In making an exception of Hayti I have been guided by the fact that, although the original native population no longer exists in the island, it has been replaced by another tropical race—the Negro.

If the time at my disposal permitted, I should find it a task of no small interest to discuss the question as to how far, as a matter of fact, the Governments of tropical America are truly representative in character even on their present basis; and I think such a discussion would lead us to the conclusion that the most successful Governments in that area are those which conform in the smallest degree to the true ideal of republicanism. And if this were shown to be the case we should arrive at the interesting fact that, even where the race characteristics of a tropical people have been modified by the intrusion of non-tropical blood and the composition of the population radically changed by a heavy immigration from outside the tropics, representative institutions have proved a complete failure within the heat-belt.

We have before us, then, the facts in regard to the political status of our Far Eastern dependencies, and, further, the very significant fact that these conditions conform to a law which is of universal application to the whole area of the heat-belt, East and West.

Now, it is a stock phrase of the Native press in India that it is the duty of the British Government to devote all its energies to the task of developing in the natives the faculty of self-government and to prepare for a time, not in the very remote future, when the last English official shall turn his back upon a Hindustan ruled by its own people.

It is true that this sentiment does not find expression in Ceylon, in Burma, in the Malay Peninsula, or in Borneo; but what the natives of these places fail to express on their own behalf we may easily discover expressed for them in books and in periodicals published in this country, but chiefly in the United States, by persons holding what is called on the other side of the Atlantic the anti-imperialist view.

In so far as this view is held by Europeans or by Americans it is generally held by persons very ignorant, from personal observation, of tropical conditions; and where the view obtains within our Far Eastern Empire it may be traced to the complete failure of our policy of pseudo-assimilation, which, though its aim may be to make a good Hindu out of a bad Hindu and a better Hindu out of

a good Hindu, has the practical effect of spoiling all sorts of Hindus in a vain attempt to turn them into Englishmen.

It appears to me that those of us who have had occasion to see the tropics at short range, and have thus gained a clear conviction of the political ineptitude of the tropical races, are very apt to underestimate the importance of the slowly growing sentiment in favour of extending representative institutions to tropical dependencies, to laugh down its local expression as unworthy of attention, and to regard its expression in Europe and in America as the mere prattle of the faddist.

It may be true that my long residence in the United States, where the sentiment to which I have alluded is very commonly held, has made me unduly sensitive on this point. But if this is indeed the case I can justify myself by pointing out that the most powerful neighbour of the British Empire in the Far East is the American Empire in the Far East; that any radical step in the direction of throwing political control into the hands of the masses in the Philippine Islands cannot fail to react upon native opinion in our own dependencies; and that, as a matter of fact, this very step is going to be taken in less than two years' time.

I may conveniently focus your attention upon this idea of the democratisation of the tropics by quoting a passage from an address delivered a few years ago by a distinguished American publicist, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, before the American Historical Association. You will no doubt be able to identify Mr. Adams's views with others which have been published in India and in this country :—

"After three rounded centuries of British rule," says Mr. Adams, "the Hindus are in 1900 less capable of independent and ordered self-government than they were in the year 1600, when the East India Company was incorporated under a patent of Elizabeth. What is true of India is true of Egypt. Schools, roads, irrigation, law and order, and protection from attack, she has them all:

But what avail the plow or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?

"A formidable proposition. I state it without limitations, meaning to challenge contradiction. I submit that there is not an instance in all recorded history where a so-called inferior race or community has been elevated in its character, or made self-sustaining or self-governing, or even put on the way to that result, through a condition of dependency or tutelage."

Now it seems to me that the passage I have quoted contains about all the fallacies in regard to tropical government with which

an absence of local knowledge and a narrow and distorted view of history can supply an active mind working in an unfamiliar field.

If I proceed to carry out my own line of thought by means of an analysis of Mr. Adams's views, it is not because I have any doubt that the criticisms I am about to make will not at once occur to each of you, but because my studies have not brought under my notice any clear and succinct statement of the reasonable foundation of a political theory having as its central idea the acceptance of the political incompetence of the tropical races as a permanent factor which cannot be expected to change under merely educational influences.

The question which instantly springs out of a consideration of Mr. Adams's views is this, that if we accept as accurate his description of the political condition of our tropical Empire under British rule, what was the political condition of those countries under their own native rulers before the advent of British power had touched the edifice of native institutions?

It is clear that all adverse comment on the absence of political independence in tropical countries under British rule can rest only on one logical basis—namely, upon the idea that under native rule the natives of these territories would enjoy a greater degree of representation than they do at present; and this idea carries with it the implication that the natives of the tropics would be better off in the wider political life which it is assumed would accompany native rule than they are under a British administration which denies them political rights.

Let us examine these ideas in the light of what we know of the history and condition of the British Empire in the Far East. Fortunately, we are under no necessity of attempting to paint from our imaginations the picture of what India, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Borneo would be if British authority were withdrawn from those countries, for the page of history is open to us, and we have at our command most reliable accounts, drawn from native as well as from foreign records, of what the administrative and social condition of these countries was before the advent of British rule—that is to say, at a time when precisely those conditions prevailed which the extreme autonomists suggest would bring about the salvation of the tropical races if they were now established.

With the state of India under native rule we are all more or less familiar. The annals of Indian history present a tedious monotony of oppression, bloodshed, and disorder, in which our interest is

quickened from time to time when the stage is occupied by the abominations of some great military power like that of the Mahrattas or by the horrible exploits of some powerful chief like Nadir Shah.

There are two features of the history of India, prior to any interference of Europe in the affairs of the Peninsula, which are worthy of particular emphasis. One is that in the whole procession of the centuries during which the people of Hindustan had the shaping of their own destinies, they never developed a form of government which, in anything beyond the management of village affairs, contained the principle of representation of the natives. The other point is that there is no record of any time when the natives of India maintained a Government strong enough to resist foreign invasion or to maintain itself for any great length of time free from the grossest internal disorders.

These phenomena are due to causes so well known that to enumerate them would be a mere waste of time.

When we turn to Burma, however, we find the general conditions of the country far better suited than those of India to the existence of a successful native state.

Instead of a country split up into a thousand principalities, subdivided almost to infinity by racial, tribal, linguistic, and social differences, we have a territory homogeneous in most essential respects; and two powerful elements of cohesion—a common language and a common religion—have afforded in Burma the most favourable basis for political unity. Indeed, for nearly a century prior to the first war between Burma and England the country had been under the administration of one central Government.

Of the complex causes which led, through the agency of three wars, to the absorption of Burma into the British Empire it is only necessary to say that they had their origin ultimately in the barbarity and incompetence of the native Government; but for the purpose of showing what kind of government was produced through the spontaneous activity of the Burmese people I may devote a few moments to a description of Burma under its own kings.

The Burmese sovereign was a complete despot. He ruled his kingdom by means of a complicated hierarchy of officials, made up for the most part of persons nominated by the king and responsible for their acts to him alone.

The higher officials actually attached to the Court received fixed salaries; but all the district officials were allowed to make their living as best they could by extorting from the people under their

jurisdiction as large a sum as possible over and above the revenue to be remitted to the royal treasury. The country was divided into districts or townships called Myo; and the officials in these districts were called Myosa, or "eaters of townships."

The extent to which extortion was practised by the native Burmese officials may be understood when it is recalled that throughout the whole of Burma there never existed a wealthy class. The fear that the tax-gatherer would instantly find an excuse to rob any man who showed the smallest evidence of wealth was so universal that no one dared to expose himself to such a suspicion; and where wealth came in the ordinary course of trade it was at once dissipated in works of religious merit—such as the building of monasteries or pagodas—or in providing free entertainment for everybody within reach.

If we could find that in return for this excessive taxation the people of Burma were provided with decent government, there would be a brighter side of native rule to set against the oppressive character of the revenue system. But the annals of Burma furnish us with no such relief. In the two great functions of government—the protection of life and property and the administration of justice—Burmese rule was a dismal failure. Although things were better under one king, during the reign of Mindon Min for example, and worse under another, under Thibaw Min for instance, the general condition of the country throughout the whole period of native rule was deplorable.

The administration was corrupt to the core; the absence of a proper police force placed the whole territory under the dominion of bands of dacoits or freebooters; rebellion with its attendant horrors reared its head in a dozen places at once; the administration of civil justice resolved itself into a mere question of successful bribery; and if criminal justice was somewhat less corrupt the fact was offset by the barbarous character of the punishments inflicted upon convicted criminals and by the inhuman tortures which were commonly meted out to prisoners and witnesses alike.

To describe the state of Burma at the time of the fall of the Kingdom of Ava would simply entail a recital of every repulsive detail which history teaches us to expect when a vicious Oriental despot, who has waded to a throne through the blood of his relatives, and has maintained himself only by assassination and bribery, has exhausted the patience of his people, has destroyed the fidelity of his companions in crime, and has at last reaped the

reward of offending beyond endurance the susceptibilities of a powerful neighbour.

When the Kingdom of Ava fell in 1885 the days of native administration in Burma were at an end. For centuries, stretching back beyond the time when England was a province of the Roman Empire, the people of Burma were free to develop enlightened institutions; all they had to show at the end was a despotism strong in every element of oppression, formidable in everything which contributed to the unhappiness of the people; but weak and inefficient alike in maintaining decent order within its frontiers and in protecting itself by diplomacy or by war against foreign aggression.

The Malay Peninsula affords an illustration no less striking of what native rule means for the natives of a tropical country.

Here again the form of government evolved through uninfluenced native activity was purely despotic. When we first began to take an interest in the affairs of the country which lay behind our small coast settlements of Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, we found the Peninsula split up into a number of native States under the absolute rule of native sultans, and each State divided in turn into a number of districts administered by lesser chiefs holding their powers under grants from the sultans.

The time at my disposal does not permit of any close analysis of the character of Malay rule. I will simply quote a description of the Government of Pahang, one of the native States on the east coast of the Peninsula, written in 1888 by Sir J. P. Rodger, at present Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, but at that time British Resident in Pahang:—

A system of taxation under which every necessary as well as every luxury of life was heavily taxed; law courts in which the procedure was the merest mockery of justice, the decisions depending solely on the relative wealth or influence of the litigants, and where the punishments were utterly barbarous; a system of debt-slavery under which not only the debtor but his wife, and their most remote descendants, were condemned to hopeless bondage: the right of the Raja to compel all female children to pass through his harem; an unlimited *corvée*, or forced labour for indefinite periods and entirely without remuneration—such are some of the more striking examples, although the list is by no means exhaustive, of administrative misrule in a State within less than twenty-four hours of Singapore. The condition of the Pahang ryot may be briefly expressed by stating that he had practically no rights, whether of person or property, not merely in his relations with the Raja, but even in those with his immediate district chief.

If this was the character of Malay rule in the Peninsula its evils were, if possible, exaggerated in the Archipelago. The territories which are now known as British North Borneo and Sarawak were formerly under the rule of the Malay Sultan of Brunei; and at the time when the British flag was first planted within sight of the great mountain Kina Balu, the sultans of Brunei had reduced Northern Borneo to a state which beggars description. Industry had been completely killed by piracy; the constant raids of slave-hunters had driven the coast population into the dense jungle which clothes the interior of the island; internal strife between Malay and Chinese, between Malay and Dyak, between Malay and Malay, had completely broken up all social and economic relations; the whole population was living under a reign of terror.

What need is there to go further afield? If the history of our Far Eastern Empire teaches one lesson more plainly than another, it is that at the time when each territory came under our rule the natives had already demonstrated their utter unfitness to develop or maintain a decent Government.

The reply which is generally made by the tropical autonomists to an argument based on an historical survey of native rule in the tropics is this, that the tropical peoples should be given more time in which to adopt reasonable administrative methods; that, after all, if we go far enough back in our own history, we reach a time when misrule and oppression were the most striking characteristics of our Government; that it has only been through the agency of revolution, peaceful or otherwise, that England, for example, has attained a civilised Government based on a wide representation of the people; and that, all other questions apart, the natives of the tropics prefer their own government, bad as it is, and have a right to gratify their preference.

These propositions bring us to the very heart of the matter. There seems to be no ground whatever for a belief that if the natives of the tropics were given more time, they would improve their governmental methods and adopt the principle of true representation. I have confined myself to a description of native rule in our own Far Eastern Empire; but if we turn instead to the whole area of the tropics we find this fact to be almost universally true, that at the moment when the first contact occurred between Europe and each part of the tropics, the native States which were found to possess decent government could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and that in these few cases the form of government was removed as far as possible from the representative type.

In regard to our own former bad government and the revolutions by which it has been improved, it is a most striking fact that for every revolution which has occurred in Europe within historic times we can find a dozen in each tropical country. There has been, indeed, a great abundance of revolutions in tropical countries ; but between the European revolutions and the tropical revolutions there has been this vital difference, that in the former the object has nearly always been a reform in the government, to the execution of which the revolutionary party has been pledged, whilst the tropical revolutions have never had any other real aim than to transfer from one party to another control of the corrupt and oppressive agencies of a despotic power.

But it is the final argument, that the natives of the tropics have the right to enjoy their own misrule, which is at once the most plausible and the most fallacious.

If we go far enough back in the history of the world we may, no doubt, reach a time when it might of truth be said of every State that it had the right to its own bad government. But in order to find a period in which this proposition would hold it is necessary to go at least as far back as the time when the whole of human society was in its tribal stage, when each community was self-supporting, and was independent, alike in the matter of supplies and markets, of all other communities—in a word, to a time when navigation and international trade had not created a wider relation than that of individuals within an isolated clan.

From the moment when international commerce had its beginnings the question of the character of Governments ceased to be a purely internal concern of each State, for there then arose a general obligation, based upon obvious considerations of expediency, that no country should maintain a Government so greatly inferior to the best type known at the period as to threaten the existence of the international trade.

To the failure of the European Governments to meet this obligation we may trace the formation of the Hanseatic League ; but this failure and its consequences only serve to emphasise the existence of the obligation.

The elaboration of this idea will lead us to the second division of my subject—namely, the economic aspect of tropical problems ; and with the materials then before us we may hope to formulate some general principles applicable to the control and development of tropical dependencies, which I stated at the beginning of my address it was my object to lay before you.

There is a point in connection with the conquest and subsequent administration of tropical countries by Europeans which throws a strong light upon the subject we are discussing. It is very easy to understand how at a time when the monopolistic theory of international commerce prevailed each of the Great Powers was concerned in securing for its own subjects some portion of the earth's surface as a trading ground; and the policy of mutual exclusion adopted by each nation (a policy which is still followed, to all intents and purposes, by every country except our own) accounts for the gradual absorption of the whole of the tropics into the political system of one or another of the Great Powers.

But whilst this motive accounts for the conquest of the tropics it does not by itself afford any explanation of the overthrow of the native administrations and the assumption by each Power of the expense, the responsibility, and the labour of controlling the internal affairs of the native tropical States under circumstances of great difficulty and danger.

In a word, the desire to obtain exclusive trade areas furnishes us with the key to colonial policy as between the Great Powers, but fails to throw any light upon colonial policy in so far as it concerned the relations between each Power and its own dependencies, for it leaves unanswered the very important question, Why, if trade was the object of colonial policy, did not the Powers content themselves with the trade and let the affairs of internal government alone?

I may make this point more clear by an illustration. We all know the circumstances under which Holland was driven to seek an exclusive trade area in the Eastern seas; and we recall that she succeeded in the seventeenth century in establishing a trade monopoly as complete as the conditions of the period permitted. But when we consider the great extent of the Dutch Asiatic possessions we are apt to overlook the fact that the desire to maintain a general trade control of the Malay Archipelago was only one part of Dutch policy, and that the other part was a desire to avoid, above all things, any conquest of territory or any assumption of administrative responsibilities.

It is, in fact, well known to every student of colonial affairs that the mainspring of Dutch colonial policy was trade-hunger and not land-hunger, and that the beginnings of our own Empire in the Far East lay in the desire for trade and not in the lust of conquest. Yet England and Holland find themselves to-day in possession of vast territories in the Far East, throughout which, for the most part, native administration has been abolished or brought under control.

The abolition of the native administrations is a fact within the domain of political history, but the causes of the fact must be sought in the field of economics.

I have referred to the circumstance that the growth of foreign commerce raised the question of the internal government of trade areas from the national to the international plane; and the history of the Dutch and of the British East Indies shows very clearly that the reason why territorial conquest and administrative control followed upon the heels of political domination was this, that there were found to exist between the conditions of native rule and the conditions under which alone commerce could be advantageously pursued differences which experience soon showed to be irreconcilable.

The history of the expansion of our own Far Eastern Empire, from its beginnings at Fort St. George in India and from the trade centre of Singapore in the Malay Peninsula, points in the most unmistakable manner to a train of economic causes, masked, indeed, to some extent under a political guise because despatches are written in the phraseology of politics and not in that of trade.

But if we trace the growth of British control in India from the time when the French power was finally broken, in the middle of the eighteenth century, we find that our policy was conditioned from first to last chiefly by economic considerations; and that the transfer of the Indian Empire from the Company to the Crown, though at first sight it conveys the impression of a removal of Indian affairs from the economic to the political field, was in reality a measure dictated by an economic policy wider than that of the East India directors.

It is true that the first and second Burmese wars, as the result of which Lower Burma passed under British rule, were due to political causes; but the third Burmese war, which added to our Empire Upper Burma, with an area twice as great as that of Lower Burma, was very largely economic in its causes.

In the Malay Peninsula our assumption of the administration of the native States rested entirely upon economic considerations—chiefly upon the failure of the native sultans to put an end to the piracy which constantly threatened our commerce.

When we turn to Borneo, we find that one part of the British area is actually administered by a commercial company, and that the other part had its origin as a British protectorate in the desire of the first Raja Brooke to reach the natives through the medium of trade and thus to exert a beneficent influence upon the administration of Sarawak.

Without going any further in search of illustrations we may take it as proved that one set of economic causes led to the absorption of the tropics into the political systems of Europe, and that another set of economic causes led to the overthrow of the native administrations in the interests of commercial progress ; it remains to show that the structure and working of the European administrations which replaced native rule throughout the heat-belt reflected in their turn not political but economic necessities.

During the past century the conditions under which international commerce is conducted have undergone extraordinary changes. The sailing vessel has made way for the steamer, and the commercial field has thus been greatly enlarged ; the submarine cable has also had the most powerful effect, because, now that all the important trade centres of the world are in close touch with one another, prices are no longer regulated entirely by the natural relation subsisting between the producer and the consumer, but to a great extent also by the manipulations of a comparatively small body of men who have gathered into their hands the business of collecting and distributing trade products ; finally, trade has become more than ever before in the history of the world the concern of Governments, and international policy is to-day little more than the expression in political terms of the needs of international commerce.

There are very few conditions to which commerce cannot adjust itself. It may be disturbed by the operation of tariffs ; it may be seriously affected by the insidious working of bounties on production ; it feels the effect of great strikes ; it is most sensitive to the influence of climate ; but to these elements and to others of a similar character commerce adjusts itself by means of fluctuating prices, by the flow of capital from one country to another, and from one industry to another, and by a hundred other inner workings of its system.

It is, however, of the utmost importance to realise that there are two conditions to the absence of which commerce cannot adjust itself—two conditions which are absolutely essential to the existence of any great commerce at the present day : one is reasonable protection of life and property, and the other is the presence in every important trade area of competent and impartial courts for the adjustment of commercial disputes and for the enforcement of contracts.

Now these two conditions, without which modern commerce cannot exist, are precisely the conditions which native rule in the

tropics never afforded ; and it is ultimately to this cause that we must trace the substitution of European for native methods of administration throughout the heat-belt.

Taking the Far East as the field from which to draw our evidence, the most superficial examination of the ground shows that every European country represented in that part of the world has been engaged for more than a hundred years in directing all the energies of its local administrations to the task of creating in the Far Eastern tropics such conditions as would most readily respond to the needs of commerce.

First, there is the effort to protect life and property ; then we see the establishment of courts of justice ; this is followed by the making of roads ; and this in turn by the building of railways, the improvement of harbours, the laying of telegraph lines and submarine cables ; and so on through a whole series of acts traceable to the common origin of economic necessity.

To put the matter in a brief formula : in tropical areas the colonial problem as between nation and nation, the colonial problem as between each nation and its own dependencies, and the colonial problem as between each dependent Government and its own sphere of activity, has always been a problem in the domain of economics. Or, to put it even more concisely, the problem of the control and development of tropical dependencies alike in its international, in its national, and in its internal aspects, rests and always has rested upon economic foundations.

If it is suggested that, after all, the facts which I have treated as falling within an economic classification could as well be treated, from another standpoint, as elements in a social category, the suggestion takes us to the root of the whole question of a philosophic treatment of tropical affairs.

If up to the present I have scarcely done more than lay before you a number of familiar facts in a somewhat less familiar juxtaposition, so, now, in bringing my address to a close, I can scarcely claim to be doing more than to apply to colonial history an interpretation which has already, in recent years, been placed upon general history by students in Europe and in the United States—that is to say, an interpretation which looks more towards physical than towards intellectual causes for the explanation of social conditions, which treats history rather as the expression of the interaction between humanity and its environment than of the action and reaction of humanity's units operating upon one another as free agents.

Writers who have chosen the history of the tropics as their theme, in common with those who have worked in the broader spaces of general history, have for the most part laid aside their material after throwing upon it a philosophical illumination whose rays may be followed back to one or another of several clearly indicated sources.

Thus we have had a theistic philosophy of history, and a religious philosophy of history; in Hegel and his followers we trace an idealistic interpretation, in Aristotle and those of his school a political interpretation. It is in the eighteenth century, in the writings of Vico and Montesquieu, that we observe the first trend towards an explanation of history along the lines of what has been termed "historical materialism" or "economic determinism."

This theory has found its most effective expression in the writings of Buckle and of Karl Marx; and its history has been related with striking ability by Professor Seligman in a volume entitled "The Economic Interpretation of History."

From the introduction to this volume I take the following concise statement of the theory:—

The existence of man depends upon his ability to sustain himself. The economic life is, therefore, the fundamental condition of all life. Since human life, however, is the life of man in society, individual existence moves within the framework of the social structure and is modified by it. What the conditions of maintenance are to the individual, the similar relations of production and consumption are to the community. To economic causes, therefore, must be traced in the last instance those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the various manifestations of social life.

If, now, we apply to the facts of tropical history the theory of economic determinism, we shall find some explanation of the fundamental difference between the character of tropical and non-tropical civilisation, which up to this point we have merely described.

But before proceeding to this task it is necessary to carry one step further than I think has yet been done by those who hold the theory which I have outlined to you, the relation between economics and politics.

The economic conditions of Europe, which began to lose their elasticity very shortly after steam replaced muscle as the driving force of commerce, have become during the past fifty years very rigid, under the intense and increasing pressure of modern industrialism.

Humanity, in the old countries of the temperate zone, finding itself face to face with the struggle for existence, has had forced upon it a steadily growing conviction that the only direct relation with its economic environment which promises even a temporary hope of sustaining life is a relation of obedience and submission.

Attempts have been made to modify this direct relation, to relieve man of the unwelcome thought that he is the slave of the economic conditions under which he lives. We know these attempts under the names of co-operative industries, benevolent societies, trade unions, and so on. Whatever benefits may have resulted through these agencies, their strongest advocates do not claim that they have done more than effect a very slight modification in the vital relation between a man's daily work and his daily bread.

But man, impatient of the idea that by the exercise of proper effort he cannot modify any condition of his life, yet forced more and more to realise that his economic environment is unresponsive to his best efforts, has shown, during the past fifty years, a marked tendency to turn his mind from the hopelessness of attempting to change single-handed the immutable law of economic pressure and to seek consolation in the idea that forces which he is powerless to withstand in single combat may be checked in their operation by means of the mighty agencies at the command of a Government.

It is this belief, that what man cannot achieve in direct conflict with his economic environment, he may be able to compass through political action, which, I believe, lies at the back of all movements having as their aim the increased representation of the masses in national government, whether those movements are in their general character anarchistic, socialistic, communistic, or merely democratic.

This theory of the economic origin of political tendencies fits very well with what we know of the workings of the human mind.

When the inexorable economic law is approached by methods of what I may call frontal attack—that is to say, when man flings himself against the direct force of that law in the hope of breaking its close chain of causation—he meets nothing but defeat, and defeat so instant and so complete that his proper pride cannot escape unhurt.

Compared with this, the indirect attack, through political agencies, through the workings of a Government of which each man feels himself a part, ministers in the most seductive manner to man's vanity in his own powers.

Here, if effort does not meet the reward of success, a thousand

explanations are at hand, each one easing the sense of failure. A measure directed to the amelioration of some economic condition may have been unskilfully conceived ; it may require a considerable time before its effects can be expected to appear ; its execution may have been entrusted to incompetent agents.

But the great and overwhelming attraction of the attempt to relieve economic pressure through political agencies is this, that defeat, however often encountered, however long continued, never closes the avenues of hope ; and man, seeking economic salvation along political lines, is never degraded by the sense of utter defencelessness and subjection or compelled to face the constant humiliation of personal defeat.

To close this train of ideas one element remains—that of religion. It is clear that if, on the one hand, man is urged by the inflexibility of his economic environment to seek relief in the field of politics, he is, on the other hand, not less urged towards the same course by the influence of his religious sentiments. For although the suffering, the stress, and the anxiety produced by economic pressure are the most apparent reasons for man's efforts to secure relief, they are, in fact, founded in a deeper cause. It is the threat that man's growing conviction of economic helplessness will destroy his sense of free-will and thus make him a moral as well as an economic slave, which causes him to struggle so violently in the mesh of his economic environment.

In this struggle he is sustained by all the teachings of the Christian religion, for without the idea of free-will Christianity would be an empty creed.

Now wherein lies the application of all this to the problem of tropical government, and what principle is to be formulated for our guidance by applying our theory to the conditions of tropical life ?

Unfortunately, I have taken up so much time in unfolding my theory, that I must confine myself to a very brief application of it. I hope, however, to extend this application at some future time.

The facts before us explain several important points in connection with the history and condition of the tropics. We have seen that in so far as the idea of a political development of tropical peoples finds expression in Europe and America, it can be traced to our own keen sense of the importance of political growth among ourselves.

It has appeared, further, that the reason why our economic conditions have produced the desire for an increasingly popular form of government is not only that economic enslavement produces

suffering which it is hoped may be relieved by legislation, but also that the idea of economic enslavement threatens that belief in free-will which forms part of our religion.

The application of this to the British Empire in the Far East is very clear.

It is obvious that, as there has been in Burma, in the Malay Peninsula, and in Borneo, no pressure of population upon the means of subsistence, that economic pressure which is the root of political ambitions in a people has found no place in the annals of those countries.

When we turn to India, we find a most interesting application of our theory. In India, from very early times, economic pressure has been severe, and to this fact we may trace the existence of the village community, which afforded to small bodies of people the element of representation in regard to the management of petty local affairs. The reasons why the economic pressure in India never led to any development of political representation on a national scale are for the most part very complicated in their origin, but their operation is readily described.

Until after the conquest of India by the British power the village communities of India were for all practical purposes self-contained communities; the economic life was conditioned almost entirely by causes operating within the community itself; and hence there never arose any desire, from economic causes, to carry the political authority of the community beyond its own limits.

When, through the agency of the British administration, the internal trade of India grew to such proportions that there arose a considerable trade intercourse between one community and another, two causes operated to check any movement towards political growth. One was that the higher political control had passed out of native hands, and the other was that, even if such political ambitions had still remained possible of achievement, they were the less likely to arise because the effect of British administration was to increase trade and therefore to reduce the economic pressure.

Again, the extraordinary social conditions of India, and particularly the institution of caste, worked against the prospect of any political growth beyond the stage of the village community.

But in India, as in Europe, religion has played an important part in determining the course of political evolution. In Europe, as we have seen, the religious conception of free-will operated in the same direction as the economic stimulus, and operated with great force. In India, on the other hand, the great mass of the people have always

belonged to religions of which the idea of free-will forms no part, but of which, on the contrary, fatalism is the strongest characteristic.

It is very evident, then, that a conviction of economic enslavement, so far from outraging the moral sentiments of the people of India, would fit their religious beliefs with the utmost nicety ; and it is not less clear that, in a community so deeply religious as the Indian community, the fatalistic idea would be strong enough to check any tendency towards political activity, even if the economic conditions were such as to suggest such ambitions.

In conclusion, the principle which seems to stand clearly forth on a consideration of the facts I have presented to you is this, that as economic pressure and Christian morality have been at the root of political progress in Europe, it is useless to expect that there can be any natural growth of political activity in tropical countries until economic pressure and the idea of free-will take the place of economic ease and the philosophy of fatalism.

Until these changes occur every movement in the direction of popular government in the tropics can rest only upon artificial foundations and can lead only to failure, disappointment, and social chaos.

DISCUSSION.

Sir CECIL CLEMENTI SMITH, G.C.M.G., explained that having only heard the Paper read he was hardly in a position to discuss it with due regard to its importance. But he was aware of Professor Alleyne Ireland's very careful examination on the spot of many problems of the administration of Tropical Colonies, and he had read with great interest the communications he had made on the subject to the *Times*. He, as an old administrator, heartily welcomed such criticisms by so competent an observer, and he desired to take the opportunity of tendering his thanks to the Professor for what he had written and published. He would only touch on one point dealt with in the Paper just read. He gathered that Professor Alleyne Ireland was opposed to the granting of representative institutions to the native races in Tropical Colonies. In that he entirely concurred. It may be that the Professor had forcibly dealt with this phase of government in the way he had done in order to warn our cousins across the water who had recently acquired a Tropical Colony of the dangers and difficulties of such a method of government. However that might be, he (the speaker) could only state that so far as his knowledge and experience of the different native races in the British Tropical

Colonies went, in no case were such institutions likely to prove of advantage to those races. And he ventured to assert that it would be wholly unadvisable to introduce the Western methods of representative government, unless the people themselves desired it, which was not the case in Tropical Colonies.

SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G.: I must begin with an apology. I have on several occasions had the honour of addressing meetings of the Royal Colonial Institute, but I have always had the advantages of sufficient time for the careful consideration of the subjects on which I have spoken. To-day I have not that advantage. I came from Scotland this morning on purpose to hear Mr. Alleyne Ireland's Paper. I have read with great interest the admirable series of articles he contributed to the *Times* last year on the subject of Administration in the Tropics, and I look forward with interest to a study of the very important work on which he is engaged—the expansion of his articles into a complete and exhaustive encyclopædia in ten or twelve volumes. This Institute has been engaged for nearly forty years in educating the people of England into a just appreciation of the value of the Empire which they at one time altogether failed to recognise. Our annual reports encourage us to believe that we are making good headway, but at times we receive a rude shock. A year ago, or a little more than a year ago, Lady Lugard, in the course of her Paper on Nigeria, related that an ex-Cabinet Minister had told her that all he knew of the West African Settlements was that Africa had a hump sticking out into the sea somewhere and he believed that they were there. Quite recently a Cabinet Minister admitted his colossal ignorance of India. There is evidently still room for the operations of the Royal Colonial Institute. And the best way for us to ensure eventual success will be to adhere to the general rule by which we have been guided:—that all who speak here should be able to speak with the authority of personal experience. Of the tropical area included in Mr. Alleyne Ireland's Paper I can only speak with personal experience of Ceylon, where I held for five years an official appointment which brought me into constant and close contact with the native community. So far as concerns Ceylon, I gladly associate myself with what has been said by Sir Cecil Clementi Smith. Under the present form of constitution in Ceylon, the native communities, which include men of the highest intelligence, and enjoying an hereditary influence, the growth of ages, are represented in the Council by nomination of the governors. The election of representatives by any system based on a pecuniary qualification, such as we generally call representative

institutions, is, in my opinion, totally inappropriate to the ethical condition of the native races, and would only result in the substitution for those who are perfectly qualified advisers of the Government, of a class of men who would owe their position to electoral agencies, in no way representative of those national characteristics to which it is our desire to give due weight and consideration. The papers read at the Institute may be divided generally into two categories. Many, perhaps most, of the papers deal with facts elucidating the financial position, the economic and ethical condition, and the development of the resources of individual Colonies or possessions; while other papers have dealt with groups of Colonies or possessions: continental groups in America, Africa, and Australia, or insular groups as in the West Indies and the East. In papers of this class the authors have generally based on a review of their economic and ethical condition and their material resources certain general principles which they desire to be applied to the problems of administration. Mr. Alleyne Ireland's Paper belongs to this class, and a very valuable contribution it is to the productions of the Colonial Institute. It is of especial interest to myself, inasmuch as I am now studying the policy of the United States in the administration of their new tropical possessions. Owing to the courtesy of the American embassy, I have received a quite exhaustive collection of documents relating to American administration, at first in Cuba, and subsequently in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. I am naturally anxious, therefore, to learn Mr. Alleyne Ireland's views on the subject. There can be no doubt that the economic conditions, and the development of the resources of the tropics, and above all, the relation of the white man to the coloured races of the tropics, are questions of the first Imperial importance. My own studies and my practical experience in the tropics, extending over many years, and the more valuable, perhaps, for the responsibility attached to it, have led me to well defined and distinct principles of administration, and I am glad, indeed, to be able to compare them with the principles of administration which Mr. Alleyne Ireland has arrived at by a different process. But I should consider it a poor compliment to him and to the elaborate care he has evidently bestowed on his Paper, to discuss it without much more careful preparation than a single hearing or perusal. At present I can only say that it contains the assertion of principles in which I gladly express my general concurrence, and I will conclude by associating myself with Sir Cecil Clementi Smith in recognising the value of the important and suggestive paper

Mr. Alleyne Ireland has added to his other contributions to the study of administration in the Tropics.

Mr. HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.: It has been suggested that I shall be able to contribute to this discussion some remarks from the point of view of the West Indies, but Professor Ireland has explained in his Paper that his conclusions refer exclusively to the "natives" of the countries concerned, and that by "natives" he means those who are actually indigenous to the lands which they inhabit. In this sense the West Indies may be said to have no "native" population, because the people, white or coloured, who live in these Colonies to-day are all descended from imported immigrants, not from the indigenous inhabitants. Professor Ireland's Paper, therefore, will be seen to apply not at all to the West Indies, and any comments which I may be able to make upon it must be drawn from my Malayan, not from my West Indian experiences. It was my lot in 1887 to be sent by Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who has just addressed you, to reside at the court of a native Sultan to advise him concerning the administration of his State, but with no powers to enforce the adoption of any advice that I might give. The position, as you will readily understand, was frequently irritating, since I found myself the impotent witness of much misery and evil. The condition of the people of this State—Pahang—was subsequently described by Sir John Rodger in an official report, an extract of which has been read to you this evening by Professor Ireland, as one in which there existed for the peasants no "rights of person or of property." To that terse statement I need add nothing, save to note that the system of government under which this state of things existed was a precise counterpart of our own feudal system as it prevailed in Europe in the twelfth century. Now, Professor Ireland has noted the contention often advanced that the natives of the heat-belt preferred their own corrupt and oppressive government to the systems which we have introduced. This is a contention which I, for one, am by no means disposed to dispute. In Pahang—the State of which I have been speaking to you—I have myself seen a generation grow up which had no personal, first-hand recollection of the condition of things that prevailed in the old days under native rule, and I have observed with keen interest, and a certain amount of rather cynical amusement, the growth of a strong regret that the unregenerate and picturesque past has been replaced by the monotonous, dull and orderly present. The people who cherish this feeling are, first and foremost, the chiefs—the men who of old held and abused the

power in which our coming has caused a serious diminution—the men whose claws have been cut by the coming of the white men. Their discontent is natural enough. The regret felt for the past, however, is by no means confined to the chiefs, for the majority of the young men, of those who have attained to manhood since our rule was established, are openly praisers of days that are gone. They have heard tales of the brave times when every man went abroad with a knife in his girdle, and used it without scruple when the occasion offered, of the days when might was right, when the prettiest girl, the best of the kine, and all the property that a man might covet was to be had for the taking by the strongest and the boldest. In imagination these young bloods picture themselves always in the position of the triumphant pillager, never in the unhappy rôle of the ignominiously despoiled, and a keen regret for the past is thus engendered, coupled with something like resentment against the white men who have reduced life to such a dull level of monotony and dullness, and who have proved themselves to be such sorry spoil-sports. Often, after the short dusk has died, when I have been seated in some Malayan house in the dim light cast by the *damar* torches, with old friends gathered around me, and the talk has strayed back to the days which we saw together when we all lived under unfettered native rule, and the picturesque past has been recalled to memory, even I have found myself full of sentimental lamentation over the disappearance of a condition of things which supplied such an abundance of interest and excitement, and I too have fallen to comparing that lurid past to the disadvantage of the ignoble present. But soon I have turned the talk into other channels, and have said to the older men about me, “Do you remember what befell So-and-so’s wife? How Such-a-one lost his kine? The fines that were inflicted on So-and-so for no fault save a chance reputation for wealth,” and at once the faces of my companions have become grave, the old enduring, hunted look has come again into their eyes, and “Allah be thanked,” they have exclaimed, “that the evil days are dead!” But the young men, whose memories hold no such records of misery, remain unconvinced, and these are they who prefer the corrupt and oppressive rule of the native to the justice of the white man. There is one other point upon which I should like to endorse what Professor Ireland has told us concerning the apparent lack of power of political development, as we understand it, in men of the Malayan race. It has often to me been a matter of eager and interesting specula-

tion how far the Malay people, about whom alone I can pretend to speak, were capable of developing anything in the nature of representative institutions. When I lived amongst them they had a feudal system as complete as that which we ourselves possessed in the thirteenth century. They had that system in precisely the same form with all its details intact when Marco Polo made his way back from China, and not by one iota has that system improved or developed. There has been revolution, but the idea of revolution there was merely to change one despot for another, never to change the system itself. As far as I have been able to see, knowing the people as I have said intimately, they have seemed not to lack any of the seeds that might unaided have produced a system of altruistic and democratic government. Their only change would have been from one form of autocracy or oligarchy to another, and it could not be expected they would alter so radically from a feudal system into a system like that which has been developed in this country. I think that among the many papers which this Institute has brought together—and they make a wonderful collection—there will be found none more pregnant with suggestion than that to which we have listened this evening, and in my own name and that of the audience I would like to thank Mr. Ireland for it.

The CHAIRMAN: This Empire furnishes the most wonderful political training given to any race in any part of the world. Some thirty years ago a group of us young men at Oxford used to discuss the affairs of this Empire as if we intended to run it. One of them is here to-night—Sir Thomas Raleigh—who is fresh back from his great post as Legal Member of the Council in India (which Lord Macaulay held in former times), and also as chairman of the Indian Universities Commission. I will ask him to say a few words to us.

Sir THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.: The Chairman described the author of this Paper as an expert, and he has more than justified the description. I cannot claim any such title, for my experience was gained in one part of the large field over which Mr. Ireland has been travelling. But India is a fairly large part of the East, and experience in India makes a man restive under the application of all kinds of abstract theories, however luminous those theories may be. I merely say that in passing, in order to guard myself against its being supposed I passively accept all the reflections thrown out in the course of the paper. I should agree that the East is not visibly on the road to representative government, but in reviewing plans which are impracticable and sometimes absurd I think

Mr. Ireland has carried his theory just a little too far. He has spoken as if there were no possibility of imbuing the natives of the East with English ideas. He spoke of the pseudo-assimilation between Hindus and English. That is bad. "Pseudo" anything is bad, but I can say from experience that there is a very real process of assimilation going on in India. In dealing with my Hindu colleagues, I was often surprised to find how completely they assimilated our English notions of law, not only our legal forms, which they understand better than we do, but our notions of equity and fair play, notions which I believe they have derived from the study of English law, and which they often turn to extremely good account. In a higher sphere I have often been surprised and delighted to find how completely and sympathetically a pious Hindu can appreciate the character of a man—it may be a teacher or official chief—who has been able to command his confidence. We must not forget that assimilation is a process with two sides to it. We are trying to teach the Hindus a good many things, and sometimes things which they are unwilling to learn, but we are also trying to learn a good many things from them. I am profoundly convinced if we are to succeed better in the future than in the past, to avoid some blunders which our administration has made, it can only be by cultivating sincere respect for the ways of thought of Eastern peoples, and by allowing them to teach us to understand their beliefs. Subject to this remark I quite admit that there is much to be said for the main thesis of the paper, that what experience in the East brings home to one is not the points of actual or possible likeness, so much as the great difference which separates the East from the West. We who after a long training here go to India, go with a number of ideas in our mind which we have held unconsciously and then consciously all our lives, and whatever part of Europe we come from, those ideas are homogeneous. When we in England speak of races we are thinking of the difference which separates Englishmen from Irishmen, or Germans from Russians. In certain points all these nationalities are alike, approximately they have the same religion and culture. Then we go to India and we find races who are separated from one another by centuries of civilisation, aboriginal people mixed up with people of the most refined civilisation, people so far separated by differences of religion and language that it is almost impossible for them to have two ideas in common, and there alone is a reason why institutions which have grown up spontaneously in Europe may never grow up in the East at all. One point in which this great collection of races resemble one another is that

they are inferior to Englishmen, I do not say generally, but in one particular point—they have far less than Englishmen have of one particular talent, which I will describe in unscientific language as the talent of keeping other people up to the mark. And that is really the cause of the fact which I believe a few years' practical experience in India would bring home to the mind of any Englishman, and that is that efficiency in business and administration is practically bounded by English supervision. Why? We have, for instance, Hindu and Mahomedan officers who would do credit to any Government, men of the highest intellectual attainment, but they are not as good as Englishmen in keeping other men up to the mark. They have, some of them, a sort of unwillingness in imposing discipline upon other people, and nobody who has had experience on the civil side of administration will deny that. There is another set of considerations which make Indian life unlike anything we are familiar with in this country—conditions of soil and climate. First of all, the climate reduces the life of the ordinary labouring man to great simplicity—in order to live, the working native wants nothing but a handful of grain and a single cotton garment. He looks upon $1\frac{1}{2}d$ or $2d.$ a day as a living wage. Where you have a country containing millions of people in that economic stage you cannot have self-government in any of its European or American forms. Passing to the teaching and governing classes, you find that their life also is restricted by climate in a way which Europeans can hardly realise. There is far less free intercourse between them. I will give you a simple illustration. In going round India, inquiring into the operations of the universities and colleges, I was greatly struck by the isolation of the colleges. You found institutions in the same town all very much of the same class doing good work, which appeared to know nothing of one another, and to have no association one with the other. This was so exceedingly unlike what I was accustomed to at Oxford, that I began to turn the matter over in my mind, and the explanation is, I believe, simply that the climate makes it impossible to go about. When you have got into your own house in India you may come out for a strictly limited period of exercise, but you are not inclined to walk even half a mile down the street and talk to your neighbours about anything. I believe that accounts for certain characteristics of life among the educated classes of India which cannot be explained in any other way: it explains why you may give a man the best English education, and pass him through the highest examinations, and yet, on a sudden, he writes a letter or does some little thing which brings you face to

face with the fact that he is a hundred miles away from your moral and intellectual starting point. These are some of the difficulties which Eastern administration brings home to the mind of every Englishman who has taken an active part in the administration of the Empire. In stating them I have spoken freely, and have occasionally ventured to differ from Mr. Ireland, but I assure him I am not speaking at all in the character of a critic, but only a witness anxious to add his own little quota of information to the discussion.

Admiral the Hon. Sir EDMUND FREMANTLE, G.C.B., C.M.G. : It is quite true, as the Chairman says, that I have had the honour of holding some important commands in India and China, but I do not consider a naval officer as a general rule is one who is thoroughly conversant with the people of the countries whose shores he visits. He sees, as it were, only the rind of the orange, though in my own case I may mention that, having two sons in the Civil Service of India, I have had the pleasure of paying a somewhat lengthened visit to that country, and seeing something of the administration of affairs by the admirable officials of our Indian Government. I had also the pleasure of knowing Sir Cecil Clementi Smith when I was in command of the China Station. I know he made a deep study of the natives, both Malay and Chinese, in the Malay States, and he so entirely agreed with the lecturer, that I feel I ought to do so too. It fell to my lot to visit China more than once, and to see the conditions in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Peking, and other places, and I know something of the views of the people. They are an extraordinary race to deal with. The way they look at things is entirely different from that of the European ; they are easily governed under ordinary circumstances. Nevertheless, when something touches a sort of fanaticism of theirs, they are extremely dangerous. One of the great difficulties Sir Cecil Clementi Smith had to deal with was the Chinese secret societies. The Chinese will live exactly as they like ; you cannot persuade them it is right they should do certain things, even to comply with the edicts of the Government, when these run counter to their prejudices. You all know that the plague is even now very bad in India, where the Government have been unable to get the people to acquiesce in the necessary sanitary regulations, but it first broke out in China. In Hong Kong it was found that in some of the houses—on the second or third floor—there were living Chinese families who kept pigs with them, and the refuse would come down through the ceilings. Naturally the Government attempted to cleanse these Augean

stables, but they encountered opposition, and it was almost impossible for them to carry out sanitary regulations. It is very strange, however, how amenable the people are under ordinary conditions, but touch them on their prejudices, and you are at once in a position of great difficulty. I wish, to a great extent, to agree with what has fallen from the lecturer. At the same time I believe that in the Far East, certainly if we include Japan, there are men of culture, men who have got beyond their prejudices, who are able to look at things more from a European point of view, and under these circumstances I should not be entirely hopeless of the race or some of them improving, and being more or less fit to govern themselves.

The CHAIRMAN (Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G.): I am sure you will all agree that the Paper to which we have listened is a very striking result of careful and conscientious study of one of the most difficult problems with which we have to deal in this Empire. We British people are face to face with two vast questions. The first, perhaps, is one which comes home most often to us—the question of how we are going to organise and hold in a united whole, presenting a united front to all the world, those vast communities of people of our own race scattered over the world, in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand, and those other Colonies where self-government or representative government prevails. That occupies the minds of our politicians; it inflames our politics; it fills our thoughts because upon this permanency and strength of our Empire perhaps chiefly depend. But there is this other vast problem, which one of our poets concentrated into the expression “the white man’s burden.” It almost paralyses the imagination to understand what that means. There are 40,000,000 people in these islands; there are 400,000,000 of people nearly of what we call the weaker races (you may perhaps prefer to apply some other term) whom we are called upon to govern. Some way or other that task has been laid upon us; it is the great test which is going to be applied to the character and power of this nation. I am perfectly certain Sir Thomas Raleigh is right when he lays emphasis upon the fact that our success in an immense range of that field is going to depend on the development in ourselves of a quality which is not striking in the English character, and that is the quality of entering sympathetically and instinctively into the feelings of other nation and races. The field we have for development in that direction is something absolutely unlimited—the opportunity that there is of taking these peoples and religions and allowing for all that is good

in them—the opportunity that there is for making our own English character and Christianity command the respect of these people. But there is another great problem. Not merely have we got to enter into these things, but we have got to have our character stand the strain put upon it. Take South Africa. Of all the problems the British people have had to face, that problem is going to prove in the centuries to come the most trying. In India you have an ancient civilisation, old religions, all the material which gives cohesion to the thought and spiritual life of the people. In Africa you have nothing of this; you have a Continent which, for thousands of years, as far as history goes, contained millions of people, not one of whom ever wrote a book, built a bridge, invented a machine, painted a picture, built even a house beyond the kraal which might be burnt and set aside to-morrow. That has gone on thousands of years, and now we—one in twelve South of the Zambesi—among a population which is going to increase in an immensely increasing ratio, since we have given them security—we, I say, have to face that problem; we have to prevent ourselves in the first place being dragged down as whites are unless they hold high moral purposes before them when they come into contact with lower races. We have to elevate them with this depressing condition—that the closer you lift them up towards the level of our own civilisation the more intense the line of division becomes. As the coloured man of the Southern States approaches more closely the civilisation of the white man the intensity of the line of division increases. I have pointed out these enormous problems, and all I can say is, face to face with them, a people like ourselves, who have this prodigious task placed upon us, cannot be too thankful to any clear thinker who devotes himself to their study and to getting at the fundamental principles which apply to them. I have now to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Ireland for his able and carefully written Paper, from which we have derived so much useful information.

MR. ALLEYNE IRELAND: In the presence of so many Colonial Administrators my position is rather peculiar, for I have been called upon to discuss as an outsider a number of questions of which these gentlemen have a very intimate knowledge based upon many years of actual work. My object has been to approach the subject of the control and development of tropical dependencies from a practical standpoint, and to throw some light on the present condition and future prospects of tropical races by examining into their conditions before we Europeans interfered in any way with native institutions.

We have fallen into a number of errors in regard to tropical races from our habit of dividing the world into East and West instead of into North and South. The former division gives us no contrasts at all comparable with those which confront us when we compare the condition and achievements of countries lying within the tropics with those of countries lying outside the tropics.

In conclusion, I may say this, that we are apt to lay far too much stress upon intellectual attainments as a factor in government; the fact is that good government lies not so much in knowledge as in wisdom, not so much in the intellect as in the character; and we should take this into account when we are discussing the political future of tropical countries.

THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVERSAZIONE.

THE Thirty-second Annual Conversazione was held at the Natural History Museum, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, on Friday, June 30, 1905, and was attended by a large number of guests, representing all parts of the British Empire. The String Band of the Royal Artillery, conducted by Cavaliere L. Zaverthal, M.V.O., played in the Central Hall, and the Meister Glee Singers, who recently returned from a tour in Canada, performed in the Bird Gallery.

The Central Hall was decorated with choice flowers and palms, and refreshments were served throughout the evening in various parts of the building. The guests were received in the Central Hall by the following Vice-President and Councillors:

Vice-President: Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G. *Councillors:* Admiral Sir Nathaniel Bowden-Smith, K.C.B.; Allan Campbell, Esq.; F. H. Dangar, Esq.; Frederick Dutton, Esq.; Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B.; Major-General Sir Henry Green, K.C.S.I., C.B.; Alfred P. Hillier, Esq., B.A., M.D.; Walter H. James, Esq., K.C.; Sir George S. MacKenzie, K.C.M.G., C.B.; S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq.; Sir E. Montague Nelson, K.C.M.G.; Dr. G. R. Parkin, C.M.G.; Sir Westby B. Perceval, K.C.M.G.; Major-General C. W. Robinson, C.B.

APPENDIX

DOUBLE INCOME TAX.

The following correspondence with the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies is published by direction of the Council for general information :—

Royal Colonial Institute,
Northumberland Avenue, London,
11th April, 1905.

The Rt. Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, K.C., M.P., &c. &c. &c., Secretary of State for the Colonies.

SIR,—

I have the honour, by direction of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute, respectfully to bring to your notice their Annual Report to the Fellows (copy herewith) as presented at a General Meeting on 21st February and unanimously adopted by those present.

In such Report reference is made (on page 6) to the hardships arising out of the levy within the Empire of double income tax on the same income, and this expression of opinion was fully endorsed in the course of the discussion.

The Council are constantly receiving strong protests against the existing system, the effect of which is to place British Colonies on a similar footing to Foreign Countries, whereas they form an integral part of the King's Dominions.

The Council would like to draw your attention to a Memorial sent by them on behalf of the Royal Colonial Institute to the Rt. Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 15th April, 1896, and their subsequent letter to the Chancellor of 28th June, 1898 (copies herewith), and they respectfully suggest that the time has now come when an effort should be made to find some means of amending the provisions of the law relating to the levy and payment of income tax, so as to exempt income earned in any part of the Empire outside the United Kingdom from the payment of income tax in the

United Kingdom, where it can be shown that such income has already been charged with income tax in that part of the Empire where it was earned.

Besides giving rise to widespread irritation within the British Isles, the question has recently been attracting attention in other parts of the Empire, as the following instances will serve to illustrate :—

(a) The Bengal Chamber of Commerce urged through the Government of India that all income received in England after having paid income tax in India should, to the extent of such payment, be relieved from liability to assessment in this country.

(b) The Madras Chamber of Commerce represented to the Government of India that the double impost levied under the existing system on moneys invested in India by persons domiciled at home is a hindrance to Madras development.

(c) At a General Meeting of Chambers of Commerce held in Adelaide, South Australia, a Resolution was passed "That it is inequitable that income tax be levied in the United Kingdom on profits made in British Colonies and Possessions, and it is equally inequitable that income tax be paid in any British Colony or Possession on profits made in the United Kingdom, and that representations be made to the Federal Government to urge the repeal of enactments imposing double income tax on British subjects by the laws of the separate States and of Great Britain."

During the last ten years there has been much development in the business of public companies of great importance whose operations are partly conducted in this country and partly in a Colony, and which have registers of shareholders both at home and in the Colonies. Questions involving duplication of stamp duties as well as of income tax are hence becoming every year increasingly large and important.

Several years have now elapsed since the Council first brought the question of double income tax before H.M. Government, and the general desire to bring the Mother Country and the outlying parts of the Empire into closer union has more recently become greatly emphasised—as indicated by the speeches of prominent statesmen and press publications—and the Council venture to hope therefore that these important questions may now receive renewed consideration.

Our Colonial Possessions are largely dependent for the development of their resources upon British capital. In former years the ruling rates of interest offered a strong inducement to British

capitalists to invest money in the Colonies. Various circumstances have combined of late years to alter the disproportion in this respect, and in this position the fact that a Colonial investment in many cases exposes the lender to a duplication of income tax, as well as other forms of taxation, is well calculated to turn the scale against such a form of investment and to hamper business generally. The consequence must necessarily be that the development of the resources of the Colonies and the conduct of business in such a way as is best suited to the requirements of companies and individuals will be retarded. The importance in these circumstances of the question of avoiding any duplication of taxation is such as to deserve the immediate consideration of His Majesty's Government with a view to the mitigation of the hardships thereby occasioned and the unpopularity of a system under which such duplication becomes possible.

The Council venture to submit that the whole question of duplication of taxation within the Empire could with advantage form the subject of some detailed form of inquiry, so as to ascertain the extent to which such duplication occurs under the present laws, and what practical steps can be taken to avoid such duplication in the future.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. S. O'HALLORAN, Secretary.

Reply.

Colonial Office, April 14, 1905.

SIR,—

Mr. Lyttelton desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th instant, which will receive his most careful attention.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

BERNARD HOLLAND.

J. S. O'Halloran, Esq., Secretary,
Royal Colonial Institute,
Northumberland Avenue, S.W.

DOUBLE INCOME TAX, ETC.

The following letter is published, by permission, for general information:—

April 25, 1905.

To the Right Honourable the Secretary for the Colonies.

Sir,—Many of the duties which are imposed for revenue purposes in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies are by virtue of the laws imposing them assessed in respect of the same property, that is in many cases the same property pays corresponding duties both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

Estate Duty, Duty on transfer of property and Income Tax are amongst these Duties, and the following illustrations may be given:—

If a man dies domiciled in the United Kingdom possessed of personal or movable property situated abroad, Estate Duty is payable in respect of that property in the United Kingdom, and a corresponding duty is payable (subject to the exception hereinafter referred to) in respect of it in the Colonies if it is locally situated in a Colony where such a duty is payable. This twofold payment of duty, besides the burden it imposes upon the owner of the property, generally necessitates administration to the Estate of the deceased being taken out in both the United Kingdom and the Colony with the consequential delay and expense.

Again, if property situated in a Colony is on sale transferred by document executed within the United Kingdom, *ad valorem* stamp duty is payable in the United Kingdom, notwithstanding that a corresponding duty may be payable in the Colony. Thus shares in a Company established in a Colony, but having a Branch Register in the United Kingdom (as is very common with regard, e.g. to Transvaal Companies), would be property in respect of which the twofold transfer duty would be payable if such a duty be payable in the Colony in which the Company is established.

It is contended on behalf of the Crown that Income Tax is payable in the United Kingdom in respect of the whole profits of a Company whose business or whose main business is carried on in a Colony if the Company be established in or even only managed in the United Kingdom; and is also payable in respect of the whole profits of a Company established in a Colony but whose business or whose main business is carried on in the United Kingdom, and such of the same profits as are earned in the Colony are generally liable also to Income Tax in the Colony in which they are earned if there be such a tax there.

We venture to point out that the double incidence of duties and the delay and expense consequent upon their assessment are hindrances to business between the United Kingdom and the British Possessions, and the causes of hardship to the peoples of the Empire; and although of course we

have not any authority to bind the Possessions we represent to, or even to suggest on their behalf, any reductions of or abatements in the duties payable therein, yet personally we should be glad if you would cause the whole matter to be enquired into in order to see if some practical simplification of duties and some course in connection therewith beneficial to the peoples of the Empire cannot be suggested; and we would remind you that with regard to Estate Duty by virtue of the British Finance Act, 1894, section 20 and Orders in Council applicable to many British Possessions, the same property only pays in effect the greater duty, *e.g.*: if the duty on it in the United Kingdom is at the rate of 5 per cent., and in any one of these British Possessions at the rate of 3 per cent. both rates would not be payable, but only 5 per cent. in all; and as this difficulty has been met, some corresponding provision might be made applicable with regard to the other duties above mentioned.

If a small Committee could be appointed such as the Committees now sitting in connection with the Joint Stock Companies Acts and the incidents relating to English Income Tax, no doubt valuable information could be supplied to His Majesty's Government; but it is submitted that it is most desirable that a representative or representatives selected from the Agents-General should sit on such Committee.

We are, sir, your most obedient servants,

STRATHCONA (*High Commissioner for Canada*).

W. P. REEVES (*Agent-General for New Zealand*).

THOS. E. FULLER (*Agent-General for Cape of Good Hope*).

ALFRED DOBSON (*Agent-General for Tasmania*).

H. ALLERDALE GRAINGER (*Agent-General for South Australia*).

J. W. TAVERNER (*Agent-General for Victoria*).

WILLIAM ARBUCKLE (*Agent-General for Natal*).

WALTER JAMES (*Agent-General for Western Australia*).

R. M. STEWART (*Acting Agent-General for Queensland*).

A. COGHLAN (*Agent-General for New South Wales*).

REDUCTION OF POSTAGE TO AND FROM AUSTRALIA.

Royal Colonial Institute,
Northumberland Avenue: April 11, 1905.

Sir,—I am directed to transmit, for your information, a copy of a Resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute at a meeting held this day—over which Lieut.-General Sir J. Bevan Edwards, K.C.M.G., C.B., presided—on the proposal of Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., seconded by Mr. Frederick Dutton:

“The Council of the Royal Colonial Institute desire to congratulate His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom and in the Common-

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wealth of Australia on the reduction of postage on letters between the two countries, believing as they do that the cheapening of Imperial postal facilities is calculated to promote trade and strengthen the bonds which unite the King's Dominions."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

J. S. O'HALLORAN, *Secretary.*

The Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., Prime Minister, &c. &c. &c.
10 Downing Street, S.W.¹

Reply.

10 Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W.:

April 13, 1905.

Dear Sir,—Mr. Balfour desires me to acknowledge the receipt of the Resolution which you have forwarded on behalf of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute.

He notes with satisfaction that your Council approve of the reduction of postage on letters between the United Kingdom and Australia.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

NEWPORT.

J. S. O'Halloran, Esq.,
Secretary, Royal Colonial Institute.

INTERCHANGE OF STUDENTS BETWEEN HOME AND COLONIAL UNIVERSITIES.

The following extract from the Proceedings of the House of Commons on May 18, 1905, has an important bearing on a Paper read before the Royal Colonial Institute by Mr. Hubert Reade on February 28, 1905, entitled "English Schools and Colonial Universities: how can they be Linked?"

"Sir James Rankin.—To ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, with a view to facilitate the interchange of students between the Universities in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies, he will take into his consideration the desirability of issuing from time to time a circular letter to the British Colonies, somewhat after the manner of the letter of December 27, 1902, sent out by Lord Onslow, enclosing memoranda from any of the Universities in the United Kingdom stating their rules and regulations for the reception of Colonial students, and inviting the Colonies on their part to inform the Universities of the United Kingdom and the

¹ A similar letter has been addressed to the Rt. Hon. G. H. Reid, K.C., Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia.

Colonial Office what rules and regulations are laid down by their universities and technical schools for the reception of students from the Universities of the United Kingdom.

"Mr. Secretary Lyttelton.—The circular despatch of December 27, 1902, was sent in consequence of a communication received from the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, followed by a conference between representatives of the University and the representatives of the Colonies. I shall always be glad to give all possible assistance in the direction indicated by my honourable friend to any University the authorities of which may express a desire for such action."

GRANT

UNTO THE

ROYAL COLONIAL INSTITUTE

OF

Her Majesty's Royal Charter of Incorporation,

DATED 26TH SEPTEMBER, 1882.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India, **To all to whom** these Presents shall come Greeting.

Whereas HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., and HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., have by their Petition humbly represented to Us that they are respectively the President and Chairman of the Council of a Society established in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, and called by Our Royal Authority the

Royal Colonial Institute, the objects of which Society are in various ways, and in particular by means of a place of Meeting, Library and Museum, and by reading papers, holding discussions, and undertaking scientific and other inquiries, as in the said Petition mentioned, to promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge respecting as well Our Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions, as Our Indian Empire, and the preservation of a permanent union between the Mother Country and the various parts of the British Empire, and that it would enable the said objects to be more effectually attained, and would be for the public advantage if We granted to His Royal Highness ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, K.G., WILLIAM DROGO MONTAGU, DUKE OF MANCHESTER, K.P., and the other Fellows of the said Society, Our Royal Charter of Incorporation.

And whereas it has been represented to Us that the said Society has, since its establishment, sedulously pursued the objects for which it was founded by collecting and diffusing information ; by publishing a Journal of Transactions ; by collecting a Library of Works relating to the British Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions, and to India ; by forming a Museum of Colonial and Indian productions and manufactures, and by undertaking from time to time scientific, literary, statistical, and other inquiries relating to Colonial and Indian Matters, and publishing the results thereof.

Now know We that We, being desirous of encouraging a design so laudable and salutary, of Our especial

grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have willed, granted and declared, and **do** by these presents for Us, Our heirs and successors, will, grant and declare in manner following, that is to say :—

1. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, and HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER, and such other of Our Loving Subjects as now are Fellows of the said Society, or shall from time to time be duly admitted Fellows thereof, and their successors, are hereby constituted, and shall for ever hereafter be by virtue of these presents one body politic and corporate by the name of the Royal Colonial Institute, and for the purposes aforesaid, and by the name aforesaid, shall have perpetual succession and a Common Seal, with full power and authority to alter, vary, break, and renew the same at their discretion, and by the same name to sue and be sued in every Court of Us, Our heirs and successors, and be for ever able and capable in the law to purchase, receive, possess, hold and enjoy to them and their successors, any goods and chattels whatsoever, and to act in all the concerns of the said body politic and corporate as effectually for all purposes as any other of Our liege subjects, or any other body politic or corporate in the United Kingdom, not being under any disability, might do in their respective concerns.

2. **The Royal Colonial Institute** (in this Charter hereinafter called the Institute) may, notwithstanding the statutes of mortmain, take, purchase, hold and enjoy to them and their successors a Hall, or House, and any

such messuages or hereditaments of any tenure as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Institute, but so that the yearly value thereof to be computed at the rack rent which might be gotten for the same at the time of the purchase or other acquisition, and including the site of the said Hall, or House, do not exceed in the whole the sum of TEN THOUSAND POUNDS. ~~And We~~ **do** hereby grant Our especial Licence and authority unto all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate (otherwise competent), to grant, sell, alien and convey in mortmain unto and to the use of the Institute and their successors any messuages or hereditaments not exceeding the annual value aforesaid.

3. ~~There~~ shall be a Council of the Institute, and the said Council and General Meetings of the Fellows to be held in accordance with this Our Charter shall, subject to the provisions of this Our Charter, have the entire management and direction of the concerns of the Institute.

4. ~~There~~ shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, and a Secretary of the Institute. The Council shall consist of the President, Vice-Presidents, and not less than twenty Councillors; and the Secretary, if honorary.

5. HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, shall be the first President of the Institute, and the other persons now being Vice-Presidents and

Members of the Council of the Institute shall be the first Members of the Council, and shall continue such until an election of Officers is made under these presents.

6. ~~The~~ General Meeting of the Fellows of the Institute shall be held once in every year, or oftener, and may be adjourned from time to time, if necessary, for the following purposes, or any of them :—

(a) The election of the President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, and other Members of the Council.

(b) The making, repeal, or amendment of rules and bye-laws for the Government of the Institute, for the regulation of its proceedings, for the admission or expulsion of Fellows, for the fixing of the number and functions of the Officers of the Institute, and for the management of its property and business generally.

(c) The passing of any other necessary or proper resolution or regulation concerning the affairs of the Institute.

7. ~~The~~ General Meetings and adjourned General Meetings of the Institute shall take place (subject to the rules of the Institute and to any power of convening or demanding a Special General Meeting thereby given) at such times as may be fixed by the Council.

8. ~~The~~ existing rules of the Institute, so far as not inconsistent with these presents, shall continue in force

until and except so far as they are altered by any General Meeting.

9. ~~The~~ Council shall have the sole management of the income, funds, and property of the Institute, and may manage and superintend all other affairs of the Institute, and appoint and dismiss at their pleasure all salaried and other officers, attendants and servants as they may think fit, and may, subject to these presents and the rules of the Institute, do all such things as shall appear to them necessary and expedient for giving effect to the objects of the Institute.

10. ~~The~~ Council shall once in every year present to a General Meeting a report of the proceedings of the Institute, together with a statement of the receipts and expenditure, and of the financial position of the Institute, and every Fellow of the Institute may, at reasonable times to be fixed by the Council, examine the accounts of the Institute.

11. ~~The~~ Council may, with the approval of a General Meeting, from time to time appoint fit persons to be Trustees of any part of the real or personal property of the Institute, and may make or direct any transfer of such property necessary for the purposes of the trust, or may at their discretion take in the corporate name of the Institute Conveyances or Transfers of any property capable of being held in that name. Provided that no sale, mortgage, incumbrance or other disposition of any hereditaments belonging to the Institute shall be made unless with the approval of a General Meeting.

12. **No Rule, Bye-law, Resolution** or other proceeding shall be made or had by the Institute, or any Meeting thereof, or by the Council, contrary to the General Scope or true intent and meaning of this Our Charter, or the laws or statutes of Our Realm, and anything done contrary to this present clause shall be void.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness Ourself at Our Palace at Westminster, the Twenty-sixth of September in the Forty-sixth year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command.

L.S.

CARDEW.

LIST OF FELLOWS.

Patron: HIS MAJESTY THE KING.

(Those marked * are Honorary Fellows.)
(Those marked † have compounded for life.)

RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of Election.	
1897	†A-ABARELTON, ROBERT, F.R.E.S., P.O. Box 33, Pretoria, Transvaal; and Secretary, Lands Commission, P.O. Box 322, Maritzburg, Natal.
1898	AARONS, LEWIS, The Hayes, Kenley, Surrey; and 21 Gresham House, E.C.
1891	ABERDEEN, THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., 58 Grosvenor Street, W.; and Haddo House, Aberdeen, N.B.
1872	ABRAHAM, AUGUSTUS B., Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1886	†ACLAND, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM A. DYKE, BART., C.V.O., Rocklands, Chudleigh, Devon; United Service Club, and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1889	ACUTT, R. NOBLE, 109 Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.
1886	†ADAM, SIR CHARLES E., BART., 5 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.; and Blair-Adam, Kinross-shire, N.B.
1904	ADAMS, CHARLES WELDON, The Lawn, Guildford.
1893	ADAMS, GEORGE, 108 Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.
1889	ADAMS, JAMES, 9 Gracechurch Street, E.C.
1901	ADAMSON, WILLIAM, C.M.G., 2 Billiter Avenue, E.C.
1896	AGAR, EDWARD LARPENT, Hilly Mead, Wimbledon, S.W.
1887	AGIUS, EDWARD T., 22 Billiter Street, E.C.; and Malta.
1879	AITKEN, ALEXANDER M., Airdanair, Pitlochry, N.B.
1895	AKKROYD, JAMES B., 16 Gordon Street, W.C.
1886	ALCOCK, JOHN, 111 Cambridge Gardens, North Kensington, W.
1885	†ALDENHOVEN, JOSEPH FRANK, Messrs. W. Eldon & Co., St. Dunstan's Buildings, St. Dunstan's Hill, E.C.
1900	ALLCROFT, WALTER L., 97 Wood Street, E.C.; and Sports Club, St. James's Square, S.W.
1898	†ALLEN, ARTHUR A., 47 Onslow Square, S.W.; and Hillside, Swanage, Dorset.
1901	ALLEN, JAMES F., M.D., 70 Clapham Road, Bedford.
1880	†ALLEN, ROBERT, Summerhayes, Betchworth, Surrey.
1899	ALLEN, REV. W. OSBORN B., M.A., Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.
1893	ALSOPE, THOMAS W., Falkirk Iron Co., 67 Upper Thames Street, E.C.
1880	ANDERSON, F. H., M.D., 3 Courtfield Gardens, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1900 ANDERSON, GEORGE GRAY, 16 *Philpot Lane, E.C.*
 1876 †ANDERSON, EDWARD R.
 1897 ANDERSON, KENNETH S., 5 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
 1891 ANDERSON, W. HERBERT, *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1905 ANDERSON, WILLIAM BAKER, *Berkeley House, Hay Hill, Berkeley Sq., W.*
 1905 ANSON, CHARLES G. A., *c/o Messrs. Coutts & Co., 440 Strand, W.C.*
 1905 ANSON, FREDERICK A., M.A., *The Lodge, Stanton Harcourt, Oxford.*
 1904 ARBUCKLE, HON. SIR WILLIAM (*Agent-General for Natal*), 26 *Victoria St.,*
 1873 ARBUTHNOT, COLONEL G., R.A., *Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.* [S.W.]
 1894 ARBUTHNOT, WM. REIERSON, *Plaw Hatch, East Grinstead.*
 1900 ARCHIBALD, R. BRUCE, J.P., *Roxborough, Tobago, West Indies.*
 1898 ARDAGE, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN C., R.E., K.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., C.B.,
 113 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
 1878 †ARGYLL, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., *Kensington Palace, W.*
 1904 ARKELL-HARDWICK, ALFRED, F.R.G.S., *Arkell, Muswell Rd., Muswell Hill, N.*
 1900 †ARKWRIGHT, JOHN S., M.P., 7 *King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.*
 1883 †ARMITAGE, JAMES ROBERTSON.
 1891 ARMSTRONG, W. C. HEATON-, 30 *Portland Place, W.*
 1888 †ARMYTAGH, GEORGE F., 35 *Kensington Court Mansions, W.*
 1888 †ARMYTAGH, OSCAR FERDINAND, M.A., 59 *Queen's Gate, S.W.; and*
New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1895 †ASHCROFT, EDGAR A., M.I.M.M., M.I.E.E., 82 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1902 ASHLEIGH-BODDINGTON, ERNEST.
 1874 ASHLEY, RIGHT HON. EVELYN, *Broadlands, Romsey, Hants.*
 1891 †ASHMAN, REV. J. WILLIAMS, M.A., M.D.
 1896 ASHTON, RALPH S., B.A., 19 *Belmont Park, Lee, S.E.*
 1898 ASPINALL, ALGERNON E., *West India Committee, 15 Seething Lane, E.C.*
 1889 ASTLE, W. G. DEVON, 6 *Lombard Court, E.C.*
 1883 †ASTLEFORD, JOSEPH, *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
 1874 †ATKINSON, CHARLES E., *Algoa Lodge, Brackley Road, Beckenham, Kent.*
 1892 ATTENBOROUGH, MARK, 6 *Hillbury Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.*
 1879 ATTLEE, HENRY, 10 *Billiter Square, E.C.*
 1902 AUERBACH, JULIUS, *Messrs. Dreyfus & Co. Ltd., 101 Leadenhall St., E.C.*
 1871 AVEBURY, RT. HON. LORD, 6 *St. James's Sq., S.W.; and 15 Lombard St., E.C.*
 1902 AYERS, EBENEZER W., 18 *St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*
- 1880 BADCOCK, PHILIP, 4 *Aldridge Road Villas, Baywater, W.*
 1893 BAILEY ALLANSON, *Oberland, Guernsey.*
 1883 BAILEY, FRANK, *Filgate Forest Lodge, Crawley; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1888 BAILLIE, JAMES R., 1 *Akenside Road, Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.*
 1882 †BAILWARD, W. A., 64 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1902 BAIN, ROBERT R., 126 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
 1902 BAIN, WILLIAM P. C., *Lochrin Ironworks, Coatbridge, N.B.*
 1897 BAIRD, BORTHWICK R., 8 *Argyle Crescent, Joppa, Portobello, N.B.*
 1885 †BALDWIN, ALFRED, M.P., *Kensington Palace Mansions, W.; and Wilden House, near Stourport.*
 1884 BALFOUR, B. R., *Townley Hall, Drogheda, Ireland.*
 1901 BALLOT, JOHN, 62 *London Wall, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1885 BALME, CHARLES, 61 *Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1881 †BANKS, EDWIN HODGE, *High Moor, Wigton, Cumberland.*
- 1892 BARBER, ALFRED J., *Castlemere, Hornsey Lane, N.; and Midland Railway Company of Western Australia, 14 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1897 BARCLAY, HUGH GURNEY, *Colney Hall, Norwich.*
- 1894 BARCLAY, JOHN, *Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1889 †BARING-GOULD, F., *Marrow Grange, Guildford.*
- 1884 BARNARD, H. WYNDHAM, 62 *St. George's Square, S.W.*
- 1883 BARRATT, WALTER, 1 *Upland Terrace, Falmouth.*
- 1895 BARRON, THOMAS M., *Church Row, Darlington.*
- 1894 BATLEY, SIDNEY T., 16 *Great George Street, S.W.; and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1904 BATTY, JAMES H., 40 *Harley House, Marylebone Road, N.W.*
- 1887 BAXTER, ALEXANDER B., *Australian Joint Stock Bank, 2 King William Street, E.C.*
- 1897 BAYLISS, THOMAS A., *The High House, King's Norton, Birmingham.*
- 1904 BAYLY, CECIL, 35 *Cambridge Mansions, Battersea, S.W.*
- 1896 BAYNES, DONALD, M.D., 43 *Hertford Street, W.*
- 1885 †BAZLEY, GARDNER SEBASTIAN, *Hatherop Castle, Fairford, Gloucestershire.*
- 1879 BEALEY, SAMUEL, 55 *Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.*
- 1893 †BEAR, GEORGE A., 5 *Holyrood Place, Plymouth.*
- 1890 BEARE, SAMUEL PRATER, *The Oaks, Thorpe, Norwich.*
- 1890 BEARE, PROF. T. HUDSON, B.Sc., *Engineering Laboratory, The University, Edinburgh.*
- 1885 †BEATTIE, JOHN A. BELL, *Gordon Lodge, St. Andrews, N.B.; and Constitutional Club, W.C.*
- 1884 BEATTIE, WM. COPLAND, *The Wilderness, Milltimber, Aberdeenshire, N.B.*
- 1899 †BEAUCHAMP, THE RIGHT HON. EARL, K.C.M.G., *Madresfield Court, Malvern Link.*
- 1890 BEAUCHAMP, HENRY HERRON, *The Retreat, Park Hill, Beasley, Kent.*
- 1896 †BECK, A. CECIL, *Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1904 BEDFORD, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., 15 *Belgrave Square, S.W.; and Woburn Abbey, Beds.*
- 1901 BEDFORD, EDWARD, C.E., *Delbrook, Picardy Road, Belvedere, Kent.*
- 1884 BEDWELL, COMMANDER E. P., R.N., 33 *Church Street, Southport; and National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
- 1900 BEER, WILLIAM A., *Garth View, Pen Hill, Cardiff.*
- 1884 BERTHAM, GEORGE, 11 *Gledhow Gardens, S.W.; and Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1876 BERTON, HENRY C., 2 *Adamson Road, South Hampstead, N.W.; and 33 Finsbury Circus, E.C.*
- 1889 BEGG, F. FAITHFULL, *Bartholomew House, E.C.*
- 1899 BRIGHTON, THOMAS DURANT, 3 *Lancaster Street, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1902 BRIT, ALFRED, 26 *Park Lane, W.*
- 1900 BELILIOS, EMANUEL R., C.M.G., 134 *Piccadilly, W.*
- 1900 BELILIOS, RAPHAEL E., 134 *Piccadilly, W.*
- 1878 BELL, JOHN, 13 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1900 BELL, ROBERT M., 2 *Cardigan Gate, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1890 BELL, THOMAS, 47 *Belsize Avenue, N.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 BELL, WILLIAM, *Hill Crest, Walmer, Kent; and Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1888 BELLAMY, HENRY F., A.M. Inst. C.E., F.R.M.S., 19 *Carfrae Terrace, Lipson, Plymouth.*
- 1886 †BENSON, ARTHUR H., 62 *Ludgate Hill, E.C.*
- 1891 BENSON, MAJOR-GENERAL F. W., C.B., *Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1897 BERRSFORD, VICE-ADMIRAL LORD CHARLES, K.C.B., K.C.V.O., *Coombe Cottage, Coombe Lane, Kingston-on-Thames.*
- 1894 †BERLEIN, JULIUS, 39 *Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.*
- 1898 BERRILL, W. J., *Messrs. Gordon & Gotch, 15 St. Bride Street, E.C.*
- 1886 †BETHRAND, WM. WICKHAM, *St. Clements, Walton, Clevedon.*
- 1883 †BETHELL, CHARLES, *Cheam Park, Cheam, Surrey, and 22 Billiter St., E.C.*
- 1884 BEVAN, FRANCIS AUGUSTUS, 27 *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*
- 1881 BEVAN, WILLIAM ARMIN, 50 *Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1904 BEWLEY, ROBERT, 16 *Beacon Hill, Camden Road, N.*
- 1894 BHUMGARA, JAMSITJEE S., 8 *Loudoun Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.*
- 1886 BIDDISCOMBE, J. R., *Elmington, 91 Eltham Road, Lee, S.E.; and 101 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1889 †BILLINGHURST, H. F., 7 *Oakcroft Road, Blackheath, S.E.*
- 1891 †BINNIE, GEORGE, 4D *Station, Quirindi, New South Wales.*
- 1895 BIRBECK, JOHN, *Stillyans Tower, Horeham Road, Sussex.*
- 1868 BIRCH, SIR ARTHUR N., K.C.M.G., *Bank of England, Burlington Gardens, W.*
- 1897 BIRCHENOUGH, HENRY, C.M.G. 79 *Eccleston Square, S.W.; and Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1898 BIRT, F. BECKETT, *The Copse, Wimbledon, S.W.*
- 1902 BISHOP, ALBERT E., 1 *Metal Exchange Buildings, E.C.*
- 1887 BLACK, SURGEON-MAJOR WM. GALT, 2 *George Square, Edinburgh.*
- 1890 BLACKWOOD, GEORGE R., *St. James's Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1882 †BLAGROVE, COLONEL HENRY J., C.B., *Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1901 BLAKENEY, STEWART, *Belton Rectory, Loughborough.*
- 1883 BLEOKLY, CHARLES ARNOLD, 61 *Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
- 1896 BLIGH, WILLIAM G., M. Inst. C.E., c/o *Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W.*
- 1902 †BLYTHE, SIR JAMES, BART., 33 *Portland Place, W.; and Blythwood, Stansted, Essex.*
- 1902 BOHM, HENRY, 17 *Holland Villas Road, W.; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1881 BOIS, HENRY, 5 *Astwood Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1882 BOLLING, FRANCIS, 2 *Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*
- 1898 BOLTON, JOHN, 15 *Cranley Gardens, Highgate, N.*
- 1902 BOLTON, MAJOR ROBERT FITZROY M., 17 *Matheson Road, West Kensington, W.*
- 1873 BONWICK, JAMES, *Melbourne, South View Road, Southwick, Brighton.*
- 1897 †BOOTH, ALFRED E., 18 *New Union Street, E.C.*
- 1905 BOOTH, RT. HON. CHARLES, F.R.S., D.C.L., 24 *Gt. Cumberland Place, W.*
- 1895 BORROW, REV. HENRY J., B.A., 38 *Nevern Square, S.W.*
- 1883 †BORTON, REV. N. A. B., M.A., *Burwell Vicarage, Cambridge.*
- 1894 BOSANQUET, RICHARD A., *Mardens, Hildenborough, Kent.*

Year of
Election.

- 1886 †BOSTOCK, SENATOR HON. HEWITT, *The Ranch, Monte Creek, British Columbia.*
- 1889 †BOSTOCK, SAMUEL, *Lainston, near Winchester.*
- 1890 BOSWELL, W. ALBERT, 45 *Leinster Square, Bayswater, W.*
- 1882 †BOULTON, HAROLD E., M.A., M.V.O., 64 *Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1882 †BOULTON, SIR SAMUEL B., BART., *Copped Hall, Totteridge, Herts.*
- 1889 BOURNE, H. R. FOX, *Greencroft, St. Albans.*
- 1892 BOURNE, ROBERT WILLIAM, C.E., 18 *Hereford Square, S.W.*
- 1901 BOWDEN, ARTHUR, 31 *Bennett Park, Blackheath, S.E.*
- 1899 †BOWDEN-SMITH, ADMIRAL SIR NATHANIEL, K.C.B., 16 *Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.*
- 1904 BOWMAN, GEORGE MILLAR, *Logie, Cupar, N.B.*
- 1903 BOWRING, COLONEL F. T. N. SPRATT, R.E., C.B., 6 *Nevill Park, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1904 BOYLE, COLONEL GERALD E., 48 *Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.*
- 1885 †BOYLE, FRANK, *c/o Post Office, Sebakwe, Rhodesia.*
- 1904 BOYLE, LEWIS C., 133 *Fielding Road, Bedford Park, Chiswick, W.*
- 1887 †BRADBERRY, THOMAS R., 8 *Drapers Gardens, E.C.*
- 1898 BRAMSTON, SIR JOHN, G.C.M.G., C.B., 18 *Berkeley Place, Wimbledon, S.W.*
- 1878 BRASSEY, RT. HON. LORD, K.C.B., 24 *Park Lane, W.*
- 1889 BRASSEY, THE HON. THOMAS ALLNUTT, *Park Gate, Battle.*
- 1904 BRAUN, SAMUEL P., 30 *Coleman Street, E.C.; and National Liberal Club, S.W.*
- 1902 BRAUND, FREDERICK W., 96 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1888 BREITMEYER, LUDWIG, 29 & 30 *Holborn Viaduct, E.C.*
- 1874 BRIDGE, H. H., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
- 1881 BRIDGES, REAR-ADMIRAL WALTER B., *c/o Messrs. Woodhead & Co., 44 Charing Cross, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1884 BRIGHT, CHARLES E., C.M.G., 98 *Cromwell Road, S.W.; and Wyndham Club, S.W.*
- 1882 BRIGHT, SAMUEL, 5 *Huskisson Street, Liverpool; and Raleigh Club, Regent Street, S.W.*
- 1886 BRISCOM, WILLIAM ARTHUR, *Longstowe Hall, Cambs.*
- 1905 BROCK, JOHN E., *c/o Messrs. Beckett, Son & Morton, Suffolk House, E.C.; and Standerton, Transvaal.*
- 1889 BROCKLEHURST, EDWARD, J.P., *Kinnersley Manor, Reigate.*
- 1898 BROOKE, MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD T., 65 *Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- 1900 BROOKE, STOPFORD W. W., 34 *De Vere Gardens, W.*
- 1897 †BROOKMAN, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1879 †BROOKS, HERBERT, 17 *Prince's Gardens, S.W.; and 11 St. Benet Place, Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
- 1888 BROOKS, H. TABOR, 11 *St. Benet Place, Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
- 1900 BROUSSON, ROBERT PERCY, 9 *Albemarle Mansions, Heath Drive, Hampstead, N.W.; and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1882 BROWN, ALEXANDER M., M.D., 7 *South Villas, Camden Square, N.W.*
- 1881 BROWN, ALFRED H., *St. Elmo, Calverley Park Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1896 BROWN, JAMES B., 8 *Bolton Gardens, S.W.*
- 1885 BROWN, OSWALD, M. INST. C.E., 32 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1902 BROWN, PROFESSOR W. JETHRO, LL.D., *Mintaro, North Road, Aberystwyth.*

Year of
Election.

- 1881 BROWN, THOMAS, 119 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
 1884 BROWN, THOMAS, 59 Mark Lane, E.C.
 1892 BROWNE, ARTHUR SCOTT, Buckland Filleigh, Highampton, North Devon.
 1902 BROWNE, EDWARD WILLIAM, 91 Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
 1888 BROWNE, LEONARD G., Springfield, Parkstone, Dorset.
 1898 BROWNING, ARTHUR HERVÉ, 16 Victoria Street, S.W.
 1877 BROWNING, S. B., c/o Bank of New Zealand, 1 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 1904 BRUCE, COLONEL DAVID, C.B., F.R.S., R.A.M.C., 68 Victoria Street, S.W.
 1884 BRUCE, SIR CHARLES, G.C.M.G., Arnot Tower, Leslie, N.B.
 1898 BRUCE, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JAMES A. T., K.C.M.G., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1896 BRUCE-JOY, ALBERT, R.H.A., F.R.G.S., Chase Lodge, Haslemere; and Athenæum Club, S.W.
 1892 BRUNING, CONRAD, 22 Billiter Street, E.C.
 1884 BUCHANAN, BENJAMIN, 2 Ulster Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W.
 1889 BUCHANAN, JAMES, 6 Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W.; and 24 Holborn, E.C.
 1896 BUCKLAND, JAMES.
 1898 †BUCKLAND, THOMAS, c/o Bank of New South Wales, 64 Old Broad Street, E.C.
 1891 BUDD, JOHN CHAMBER, International Banking Corporation, 31 Threadneedle Street, E.C.
 1902 BULKELEY, CAPTAIN HENRY, 30 Lower Belgrave Street, S.W.; and 42 Belvidere Place, Dublin.
 1886 BULL, HENRY, 1 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.; and 28 Milton Street, E.C.
 1902 BULL, JAMES, 1 Albion Road, Clapham, S.W.
 1869 BULWER, SIR HENRY E. G., G.C.M.G., 17A South Audley Street, W.; and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1899 BURGOYNE, PETER B., 5 Dowgate Hill, E.C.
 1900 BURN, JOHN, 17 Upper Phillimore Place, Kensington, W.
 1902 BURNIE, EDWARD A., Donnybrook, Bromley, Kent; and 165 Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1897 BURSTALL, JOHN F., 57 Gracechurch Street, E.C.
 1889 BURT, FREDERICK N., Inworth Grange, Kelvedon, Essex.
 1903 BURT, T. ROSS, B.E., A.M.I.M.E., Eldon Street House, E.C.
 1902 BUTCHER, JOHN G., K.C., M.P., 32 Elvaston Place, S.W.
 1887 BUTT, JOHN H., Thornleigh, Avenue Road, West Hill, Wandsworth, S.W.
 1890 BUTTERWORTH, ARTHUR R., 7 Fig Tree Court, Temple, E.C.; and 47 Campden House Road, W.
 1894 †BUXTON, NOEL E., M.P., Brick Lane, E.
 1878 BUXTON, SIR T. FOWELL, Bart., G.C.M.G., 2 Prince's Gate, S.W.; and Warlies, Waltham Abbey, Essex.
 1897 †BUXTON, T. F. VICTOR, M.A., J.P., Woodredon, Waltham Abbey, Essex.
 1898 BYRNE, J. O., 12 New Court, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.
 1903 BYRON, JOHN, Wyefield, 4 The Knoll, Beckenham; and 4 East India Avenue, E.C.
 1902 CADBURY, RICHARD, Rose Hill, Worcester.
 1903 CAILLARD, SIR VINCENT H. P., J.P., 42 Half Moon Street, W.
 1904 CAIRD, JAMES, The Cottage, East Sheen, Surrey.
 1904 †CALDECOTT, REV. PROFESSOR ALFRED, D.D., Frating Rectory, Colchester.

Year of
Election.

- 1890 †CALDICOTT, HARVEY, *Sports Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
 1889 CALVERT, JAMES, 4 *Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
 1896 CAMERON, SIR EWEN, K.C.M.G., 41 *Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1895 †CAMERON, MAJOR MAURICE A., R.E., C.M.G., 27 *Brunswick Gardens, W.*
 1881 †CAMPBELL, ALLAN, 21 *Upper Brook Street, W.*
 1880 CAMPBELL, FINLAY, *Brantridge Park, Balcombe, Sussex.*
 1894 CAMPBELL, GORDON H., *c/o Messrs. Weddel & Co., 16 St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
 1902 CAMPBELL, HENRY E., *Messrs. Burns, Philp & Co., 61 Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
 1896 CAMPBELL, J. STUART, 1 *Gresham Buildings, Basinghall Street, E.C.*
 1884 †CAMPBELL, W. MIDDLETON, 23 *Rood Lane, E.C.*
 1893 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, CONWAY S., 3 *Morpeth Terrace, Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1896 CANTLIE, JAMES, M.B., F.R.C.S., 140 *Harley Street, W.*
 1897 CAPPEL, SIR ALBERT J. LEPPOC, K.C.I.E., 27 *Kensington Court Gardens, W.*
 1897 CARLILL, ARTHUR J. H., *Exchange Chambers, St. Mary Axe, E.C.*
 1905 CARRICK, AITKEN, 108a *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
 1891 CARRINGTON, RIGHT HON. EARL, G.C.M.G., 53 *Princes Gate, S.W.*
 1883 †CARRINGTON, SIR JOHN W., C.M.G., *Kentons, Tylehurst Road, Reading.*
 1888 CARBUTHERS, JOHN, M. Inst. C.E., 19 *Kensington Park Gardens, W.*
 1894 CARTER, FREDERIC, *Marden Ash, Ongar, Essex.*
 1904 CARTER, GILLMORE T., *Lowther Villa, Rocklease Avenue, Sneyd Park, Bristol.*
 1880 †CARTER, WILLIAM H., B.A., 7 *Ironmonger Lane, E.C.*
 1902 CARTWRIGHT, S. HAMILTON, *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1885 CAUTLEY, COLONEL HENRY, R.E., *United Services Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1898 CAVENDISH, HENRY S. H., 75 *Fitzjohn's Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1884 CATFORD, EBENEZER, *Elstree Grange, Meads, Eastbourne; and 146 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
 1879 CHADWICK, OSBERT, C.E., C.M.G., 16 *West Halkin Street, S.W.*
 1886 CHALLINOR, E. J., 7f *Cornwall Residences, Clarence Gate, N.W.*
 1889 †CHAMBERS, FREDERICK D., 70 *Grafton Road, Acton, W.*
 1898 CHAMNEY, ROBERT WM., *Nascot Grange, Watford, Herts.*
 1892 †CHAPLIN, HOLROYD, B.A., 29 *Palace Gardens Terrace, W.*
 1900 CHAPMAN, MAJOR WILLIAM E., 49 *Lancaster Gate, W.*
 1884 CHAPPELL, JOHN, J.P., 26 *Lewes Crescent, Brighton.*
 1883 †CHARRINGTON, ARTHUR F., *East Hill, Oxted, Surrey; and Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1885 †CHARRINGTON, HUGH SPENCER, *Dove Cliff, Burton-on-Trent.*
 1894 †CHREADLE, FRANK M., *The Poplars, Mill Lane, Chadwell Heath, Essex.*
 1886 CHREADLE, WALTER BUTLER, M.D., 19 *Portman Street, Portman Square, W.*
 1901 CHESHIRE, JOHN K. C., *Springbank, Wribbenthal, Bewdley.*
 1873 CROWN, T. C., *Glenmore, Silverhill, St. Leonards-on-Sea; and Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1868 CHRISTIAN, H.R.H. PRINCE, K.G., G.C.V.O., *Cumberland Lodge, Windsor Great Park.*
 1894 CHURCH, WALTER, 19 *Nevern Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W.*
 1895 †CHURCHILL, COLONEL MACKENZIE, *Suffolk House, Cheltenham; and Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1895 CIANTAR, UMBERTO, *c/o Bank of Scotland, 19 Bishopsgate St. Within, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1883 CLARENCE, LOVELL BURCHETT, *Coaxden, Arminster.*
 1888 CLARK, ALFRED A., *Rosemount, Byfleet, Surrey; and St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
 1872 CLARK, CHARLES, *45 Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E.*
 1903 CLARK, CUMBERLAND, *29 Chepstow Villas, Bayswater, W.*
 1897 †CLARK, EDWARD G. U., *Lapsewood, Sydenham Hill, S.E.*
 1900 CLARK, LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR JAMES R. A., BART., C.B., F.R.C.S.E., *Tidmarsh Manor, Pangbourne.*
 1891 CLARK, JONATHAN, *1A Devonshire Terrace, Portland Place, W.*
 1890 CLARKE, COLONEL SIR GEORGE SYDENHAM, R.E., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., *101 Onslow Square, S.W.*
 1884 †CLARKE, HENRY, J.P., *Cannon Hall, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1886 CLARKE, PERCY, LL.B., *College Hill Chambers, E.C.*
 1889 †CLARKE, STRACHAN C., *Messrs. J. Morrison & Co., 5 Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
 1905 CLARKE, WILLIAM J. T., *Wadhurst Castle, Sussex.*
 1882 †CLARKSON, J. STEWART, c/o Messrs. Finney, Isles & Co., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1899 CLAUSON, MAJOR JOHN E., R.E., C.M.G., *44 Stanhope Gardens, S.W.*
 1886 †CLAYTON, REGINALD B. B., *88 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
 1896 CLEAVER, WILLIAM, *The Rock, Reigate.*
 1893 CLEGHORN, ROBERT C., *14 St. Mary Axe, E.C.*
 1877 CLENCH, FREDERICK, M.I.M.E., *102 Salter Gate, Chesterfield.*
 1902 CLOUGHER, THOMAS R., *"Toronto Globe," 225 Strand, W.C.*
 1903 COATES, JOSEPH, *9 Albert Mansions, Crouch Hill, N.; and 79 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
 1896 †COATES, MAJOR EDWARD F., M.P., *99 Gresham Street, E.C.*
 1881 COBB, ALFRED B., *52 Penn Road Villas, Holloway, N.*
 1903 COBB, E. POWYS, *Nythfa, Brecon.*
 1877 COCHRAN, JAMES, *38 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
 1895 COCHRANE, HON. THOMAS H., M.P., *Home Office, S.W.; and Crawford Priory, Springfield, Fife, N.B.*
 1898 COCKBURN, HON. SIR JOHN A., M.D., K.C.M.G., *10 Gatestone Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.*
 1905 COGHLAN, TIMOTHY A., I.S.O. (*Agent-General for New South Wales*), *9 Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1901 †COHEN, CHARLES WALEY, *11 Hyde Park Terrace, W.*
 1886 †COHEN, NATHANIEL L., *11 Hyde Park Terrace, W.; and Round Oak, Englefield Green, Surrey.*
 1891 COLEBROOK, ALBERT E., *The Cottage, Highwood Hill, Mill Hill, N.W.*
 1885 COLES, WILLIAM R. E., *1 Adelaide Buildings, London Bridge, E.C.*
 1900 COLLARD, JOHN C., *16 Grosvenor Street, W.*
 1902 COLLES, RAMSAY, LL.D., J.P.
 1888 †COLLEY, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, *Stockton Rectory, Rugby.*
 1902 COLLIER, REV. HENRY N., M.A., *The Vicarage, East Finchley, N.*
 1882 †COLLUM, REV. HUGH ROBERT, M.R.I.A., F.S.S., *Leigh Vicarage, Tonbridge, Kent.*
 1882 COLMER, JOSEPH G., C.M.G., *29 Eldon Road, W.*
 1872 COLOMB, RT. HON. SIR JOHN C. R., K.C.M.G., M.P., *Dromquinna, Kenmare, Co. Kerry, Ireland; 75 Belgrave Road, S.W.; and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1894 COLQUHOUN, ARCHIBALD R., 43 Bedford Gardens, Kensington, W.
 1902 COMPTON, GEORGE W., 4 Cleveland Road, Ealing, W.
 1905 CONNAUGHT, FIELD MARSHAL H.R.H. THE DUKE OF, K.G., G.C.M.G.,
Clarence House, St. James's, S.W.; and Bagshot Park, Surrey.
 1889 CONNOR, EDWIN C., Holmhurst, Sherbrook Avenue, Maxwell Park, Glas-
 gow; and Belize Estate and Produce Co., 27 Austin Friars, E.C.
 1898 CONRAD, JULIUS, 22 Basinghall Street, E.C.
 1899 CONYBEARE, REV. WM. JAMES, M.A., Cambridge House, 131 Camberwell
 Road, S.E.
 1880 COODE, J. CHARLES, C.E., 19 Freeland Road, Ealing, W.
 1874 †COODE, M. P., c/o Messrs. A. Scott & Co., Rangoon, Burma.
 1901 COOKE, CLEMENT KINLOCH, B.A., LL.M., 3 Mount Street, W.
 1886 †COOKE, HENRY M., 12 Friday Street, E.C.
 1903 COOKE-TAYLOR, RICHARD WHATELEY, F.S.S., F.R.Hist.S., 3 Harley House,
 Marylebone Road, N.W.
 1882 COOPER, REV. CHARLES J., 20 Hertford Street, Cambridge.
 1899 COOPER, RICHARD A., Ashlyns Hall, Berkhamsted.
 1884 COOPER, ROBERT ELLIOTT, C.E., 81 Lancaster Gate, W.; and 8 The
 Sanctuary, Westminster, S.W.
 1891 COOPER, WILLIAM C., Whittlebury Lodge, Towcester.
 1890 CORBET, F. H. M. (Hon. Executive Officer for Ceylon, Imperial Institute),
 1 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.
 1895 CORDING, GEORGE, 304 Camden Road, N.W.
 1900 CORRY, SIR WILLIAM, BART., 9 Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.
 1887 COTTON, SYDNEY H., 58 Curzon Street, W.; and Devonshire Club, St.
 James's Street, S.W.
 1892 COURTHOPE, WILLIAM F., National Club, 1 Whitehall Gardens, S.W.
 1904 †COUTTS, WILLIAM SCOTT, Monastery Close, St. Albans; and 2 Billiter
 Avenue, E.C.
 1902 COWEY, W. R., 44 Compayne Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
 1902 COWIE, ARCHIBALD, Barrs, Cardross, N.B.
 1886 COWIE, GEORGE, 11 Courtfield Road, S.W.; and 113 Cannon Street, E.C.
 1886 COX, ALFRED W., 30 St. James's Place, S.W.
 1889 COX, FRANK L., 118 Temple Chambers, E.C.
 1896 COX, GEORGE CURLING, Burnbrae, College Road, Ripon.
 1888 †COXHEAD, COLONEL J. A., B.A., C.B., Rawal Pindi, India.
 1889 COXWELL, CHARLES F., M.D., The Cedars, 50 Lee Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1872 CRANBROOK, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.S.I., Hemsted Park, Cran-
 brook.
 1887 †CRAWLEY-BORVEY, ANTHONY P., Birchgrove, Crosswood, Aberystwyth; and
 Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.
 1896 CREAGH, CHARLES VANDELEUR, C.M.G., 32 Charlton Road, Blackheath, S.E.
 1896 CRESSETY, GEORGE H., M.R.C.S., Timaru, Cockington, Torquay.
 1895 CREW, JOSIAH, Tavistock Hotel, Covent Garden, W.C.
 1885 CRICHTON, ROBERT, The Mardens, Caterham Valley.
 1886 CRITCHELL, J. TROUBRIDGE, 105 Rodenhurst Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
 1903 CROOKSHANK, EDGAR M., J.P., Saint Hill, East Grinstead.
 1897 CROSS, ANDREW L., 19 Murrayfield Avenue, Murrayfield, Edinburgh.
 1889 CROW, JAMES N. HARVEY, M.B., C.M., Ardrishaig, Argyllshire.
 1890 CUFF, WILLIAM SYMES, 34 Lambolle Road, Hampstead, N.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1901 CULVER, ROBERT, 34 Newark Street, Stepney, E.
 1890 CUNNINGHAM, GRANVILLE C., 37 Craven Hill Gardens, W.
 1896 CUNLIFFE, WM. GILL, c/o Natal Bank, 18 St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.
 1882 CURLING, REV. JOSEPH J., M.A. (late Lieut. R.E.), Hamble House, Hamble
Southampton.
 1892 †CURLING, ROBERT SUMNER.
 1874 CURRIE, SIR DONALD, G.C.M.G., 4 Hyde Park Place, W.
 1882 †CURTIS, SPENCER H., 24 Longridge Road, Earl's Court, S.W.
 1903 CUSACK-SMITH, SIR BERRY, K.O.M.G., Redlands, Maidenhead Court,
Maidenhead; and Junior Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1905 CUSTANCE, VICE-ADMIRAL SIR REGINALD N., K.C.M.G., C.V.O., 42 Half
Moon Street, W.
 1897 CZARNIKOW, CESAR, 103 Eaton Square, S.W.
 1884 DALTON, REV. CANON JOHN NEALE, M.A., C.V.O., C.M.G., *The Cloisters,*
Windsor.
 1899 D'AMICO, CARMELO D., M.D., M.R.C.S., 34 Brunswick Square, W.C.
 1894 DANGAR, D. R., Holkham, Inner Park Road, Wimbledon Common, S.W.
 1880 DANGAR, F. H., Lyndhurst, Cleveland Road, Ealing, W.
 1903 †DANGERFIELD, JAMES.
 1883 DANIELL, COLONEL JAMES LEGGITT, *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1900 DARBYSHIRE, EDWARD, Stoneleigh, Bedwardine Road, Upper Norwood,
S.E.
 1881 DARRY, H. J. B., *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1887 D'ARCY, WILLIAM KNOX, 42 Grosvenor Square, W.; and *Stanmore Hall,*
Stanmore.
 1889 DARLEY, CECIL W., I.S.O., M. Inst. C.E., 34 Campden Hill Court, Kensington,
W.
 1897 DARNLEY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, Cobham Hall, Gravesend.
 1902 DAUBNEY, HORACE, *Leeuw House, Wilford Lane, W. Bridgford, Nottingham.*
 1904 DAVIDSON, LEYBOURNE F., *York Villa, Cullen, N.B.*
 1899 †D'AVIGDOR-GOLDSMID, OSMOND E., *Somerhill, Tonbridge, Kent.*
 1884 DAVIS, CHARLES PERCY, 23 Lowndes Street, S.W.; and *Conservative Club,*
St. James's Street, S.W.
 1901 DAVIS, REAR-ADMIRAL E. H. M., C.M.G., *Rathedmond, Amherst Road,*
Bezhill-on-Sea; and Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
 1897 †DAVSON, EDWARD R., 20 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
 1878 †DAVSON, SIR HENRY K., 20 Ennismore Gardens, S.W.
 1880 DAVSON, JAMES W., 42 Lansdowne Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
 1903 DAW, JOHN W., 4 Gunnersbury Avenue, Ealing, W.
 1904 †DAWES, HENRY HALFORD, 112 Fenchurch Street, E.C.
 1904 DAWES, WILLIAM C., *Mount Ephraim, Faversham, Kent.*
 1900 DAWKINS, SIR CLINTON E., K.C.B., 38 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.; and
Brooks's Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1882 DAWSON, JOHN EUGENE, F.R.G.S., 4 Park Place, St. James's, S.W.
 1883 †DAWSON, RANKINE, M.A., M.D., 35 Lansdowne Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
 1902 DEANE, HERMANN F. W., M.A., F.S.A., *Gower Lodge, Windsor.*
 1891 †DEBENHAM, ERNEST R., 17 Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
 1883 DEBENHAM, FRANK, F.S.S., 1 Fitzjohn's Avenue, N.W.
 1880 †DE COLYAR, HENRY A., K.C., 24 Palace Gardens Terrace, W.

Year of
Election.

- 1897 DEND, WALTER, C.E., *Burleigh Lake Cottage, Malborough, Kingsbridge, Devon.*
- 1898 D'EGVILLE, HOWARD H., *32 Talbot Road, W.*
- 1881 DELMEGE, EDWARD T., *17 St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1904 DE NORDWALL, CHARLES F., *2 Observatory Gardens, W.; and A. E. G. Electrical Co. of South Africa, 125 Charing Cross Road, W.C.*
- 1885 †DENT, SIR ALFRED, K.C.M.G., *Belgrave Mansions, S.W.; and Ravensworth, Eastbourne.*
- 1894 DEPREE, CHARLES FINNEY, *3 Morley Road, Southport.*
- 1884 DE SATGÉ, HENRY, *Hartfield, Malvern Wells; and Reform Club, S.W.*
- 1902 DE SATGÉ, H. VALENTINE B., *Wellington Club, Grosvenor Place, S.W.*
- 1883 DE SATGÉ, OSCAR, *Elysée, Shorncliffe Road, Folkestone; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1882 D'ESTERRE, J. C. E., *Elmfield, Hill, Southampton.*
- 1890 †DE VILLIERS, JACOB N., *6 Vine Villas, Dartford Road, Sevenoaks.*
- 1895 DEVITT, THOMAS LANE, *12 Fenchurch Buildings, E.C.*
- 1879 DEVONSHIRE, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., *Devonshire House, 78 Piccadilly, W.*
- 1902 DEWSBURY, FREDERICK, *36 Newgate Street, E.C.*
- 1882 †DICK, GAVIN GEMMELL, *Queensland Government Office, 1 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1896 DICKINSON, JAMES W., *Queensland National Bank, 8 Princes Street, E.C.*
- 1883 DICKSON, RAYNES W., *23 Cambridge Road, Hove, Sussex.*
- 1900 DIETZSCHE, FERDINAND, *652 Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.*
- 1903 DILLON, CORMAC GRONLY, *80 Coleman Street, E.C.*
- 1889 DOBBIE, HARRY HANKEY, *6 Tokenhouse Yard, E.C.*
- 1891 DOBSON, HON. ALFRED, C.M.G. (*Agent-General for Tasmania*), *5 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1902 DOBSON, WILLIAM H., *26 Newberry Terrace, Weymouth.*
- 1882 DONNE, WILLIAM, *18 Wood Street, E.C.*
- 1894 DOOLETTE, GEORGE P., *9 St. Mildred's Court, Poultry, E.C.*
- 1894 DOUGLAS, ALEXANDER, *232 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale, W.*
- 1894 DOUGLAS, JOHN A., *Waterside, Keir, Thornhill, N.B.*
- 1905 DOUGLAS, SIR ARTHUR PERCY, BART., *6 Glendower Place, S.W.*
- 1901 DOUGLAS, PROFESSOR ROBERT LANGTON, M.A., *110 Piccadilly, W.*
- 1897 DOWLING, JOSEPH, *Ridgewood House, Uckfield, Sussex.*
- 1889 DRAGE, GEOFFREY, *United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1890 DRAYSON, WALTER B. H., *Daneshill, Stevenage.*
- 1901 DREYSDALE, GEORGE R., *c/o Australian Mortgage Co., 13 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1888 †DUCIE, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, *Tortworth Court, Falfield, Glos.*
- 1902 DUCKLES, THOMAS E., *3 Howbeck Road, Orton, Birkenhead.*
- 1889 †DUDGEON, ARTHUR, *27 Rutland Square, Dublin.*
- 1894 †DUDLEY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.V.O., *The Castle, Dublin; and 7 Carlton Gardens, S.W.*
- 1904 DUFFUS, W., *360 Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W.*
- 1879 DUNCAN, CAPTAIN ALEXANDER, *2 Downie Terrace, Crail, Fife, N.B.*
- 1889 DUNCAN, JOHN S., *Natal Bank, 18 St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*
- 1895 †DUNCAN, ROBERT, *Whitefield, Govan, N.B.*
- 1892 DUNCAN, WM. H. GREVILLE, *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 DUNDAS, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON CHARLES L., M.A., *Charmminster Vicarage, Dorchester.*
- 1886 DUNDONALD, MAJOR-GENERAL THE EARL OF, C.V.O., C.B., 34 *Portman Square, W.*
- 1894 †DUNELL, OWEN R., *Garboldisham Manor, East Harling, Norfolk; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1885 †DUNN, H. W., 5 *Springfield Place, Lansdown, Bath.*
- 1885 DUNN, SIR WILLIAM, BART, M.P., *Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1878 †DUNRAVEN, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.P., C.M.G., 27 *Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.; Kenry House, Putney Vale, S.W.; and Carlton Club, S.W.*
- 1896 DURRANT, WM. HOWARD, *Ellery Court, Beulah Hill, S.E.; and 26 Milton Street, E.C.*
- 1897 †DURLACHER, ALFRED F., *Crosby, Waldegrave Park, Twickenham.*
- 1880 †DUTTON, FRANK M., 74 *Lancaster Gate, W.; and Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1890 DUTTON, FREDERICK, 112 *Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.; and Birch Hall, Windlesham, Surrey.*
- 1887 DYER, CHARLES, 31 *The Drive, Hove, Sussex.*
- 1887 DYER, FREDERICK, *The Penlands, Park Hill Road, Croydon; and 17 Aldermanbury, E.C.*
- 1890 †DYER, JOSEPH, c/o *Messrs. A. H. Wheeler & Co., Temple Chambers, E.C.*
- 1902 DYMCK, WILLIAM, 16 *Southwick Street, W.*
-
- 1905 EARNSHAW, HENRY, *Tantallon, Park Hill Road, Shortlands, Kent.*
- 1895 EATON, HENRY F, 95 *Parliament Hill Mansions, Lissenden Gardens, N.W.*
- 1895 ECKERSLEY, JAMES C., M.A., *Ashfield, Wigan; Carlton Manor, Yeadon, Leeds; and United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1889 †ECKSTEIN, FREDERICK, 18 *Park Lane, W.*
- 1894 EDE, N. J., *Oakhurst, Netley, Hants.*
- 1898 EDGE-PARTINGTON, J., care of C. H. Read, Esq., *British Museum, W.C.*
- 1887 †EDWARDES, T. DYER, 5 *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.; and Princknash Park, Painswick, Stroud.*
- 1904 EDWARDS, HARRY WOODWARD, *Stapleton, Brackley Road, Beckenham.*
- 1890 EDWARDS, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR J. BEVAN, K.C.M.G., C.B., 9 *Wilbraham Place, S.W.*
- 1900 EDWARDS, NEVILLE P., *Elton, Littlehampton.*
- 1876 †EDWARDS, S.
- 1882 †ELDER, FREDERICK, 21 *Cleveland Gardens, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1882 †ELDER, WM. GEORGE, 7 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1889 ELIAS, COLONEL ROBERT, *Rendham Barnes, Sarumdhham; and Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1889 ELWELL, WM. ERNEST, *West Dean Cottage, Chichester.*
- 1902 ELWELL, WILLIAM R. G., 3 *Downside Road, Clifton, Bristol.*
- 1895 EMMETT, FREDERICK W., 22 *Birch Grove, Ealing Common, W.*
- 1892 ENGLEDEU, COLONEL WILLIAM J., R.E., *Osborne House, Watts Road, Tavistock.*
- 1874 ENGLEHART, SIR J. GARDNER D., K.C.B., 28 *Curzon Street, W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1886 †ENGLISH, FREDERICK A., *Addington Park, East Croydon.*
 1885 ERSLOH, E. C., *21 Great Winchester Street, E.C.*
 1904 EVERSON, WALTER H., *c/o Messrs. Hopkin & Williams, 16 Cross Street, Hatton Garden, E.C.*
 1881 EVISON, EDWARD, *Blizewood Park, Caterham, Warlingham Station, Surrey.*
 1885 EWART, JOHN, *Messrs. James Morrison & Co., 5 Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
 1896 EYLES, GEORGE LANCELOT, C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., *12 Dean's Yard, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1898 FAIRBAIRN, ANDREW D., *64 Cannon Street, E.C.*
 1883 FAIRCLOUGH, R. A., *25 Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*
 1899 FAIRFAX, CHARLES B., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1885 †FAIRFAX, E. ROSS, *Macquarie, Tunbridge Wells.*
 1889 †FAIRFAX, J. MACKENZIE, *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1900 †FARRAR, SIDNEY H., *54 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 1883 FAWNS, REV. J. A., *c/o Messrs. H. Meade-King & Son, Bristol.*
 1895 FEARNSIDES, JOHN WM., *4 Brick Court, Temple, E.C.; and 5 Davies Street, Berkeley Square, W.*
- 1879 FELL, ARTHUR, *46 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
 1900 FENTON, REV. HERBERT O., B.A., *96 Newlands Park, Sydenham, S.E.*
 1893 FERGUSON, A. M., *Frogna! House, Frogna!, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1891 FERGUSON, JOHN A., *Green Bank, Tunbridge Wells.*
 1875 FERGUSON, RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES, BART., M.P., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., *80 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.; Carlton Club; and Kilkerran, N.B.*
- 1883 FERGUSON, COLONEL JOHN A., *St. Philip's Lodge, Cheltenham; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1889 FERNAU, HENRY S., *21 Wool Exchange, E.C.*
 1899 FESTING, LIEUT.-COLONEL ARTHUR H., C.M.G., D.S.O., *Bois Hall, Addlestone, Surrey; and Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1898 FIFE, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.T., G.C.V.O., *15 Portman Square, W.*
 1904 FINLAYSON, DANIEL, F.L.S., *Redfern, Trinity Road, Wood Green, N.*
 1889 FINLAYSON, DAVID, *13 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
 1901 FINLAYSON, JOHN, *c/o Anglo-Egyptian Bank, 27 Clements Lane, E.C.*
 1895 †FITZGERALD, WILLIAM W. A., *Carrigoran, Newmarket-on-Fergus, Clare, Ireland; and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1891 FINUCANE, MORGAN I., M.R.C.S.E., *46 Marsham Street, Westminster, S.W.*
 1905 FLEGG, JAMES MINTER, *Fairview, Stanmore; and 3 Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*
- 1881 FLEMING, SIR FRANCIS, K.C.M.G., *9 Sydney Place, Onslow Square, S.W.; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1883 FLETCHER, HENRY, *14 The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.*
 1900 FLINT, JOSEPH, C.M.G., *The Niger Company, Ltd., Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.; and Glen Lyn, Honor Oak Park, S.E.*
- 1901 FLOWER, ALFRED, *Rookwood, Lovelace Road, Surbiton.*
 1884 FLUX, WILLIAM, *Waterton, Cirencester.*
 1896 FORD, SYDNEY, *St. Johns, The Avenue, Kew Road, Richmond, S.W.*
 1901 FORGAN, THOMAS H., *The Ley, Northwich.*
 1889 FORLONG, CAPTAIN CHARLES A., R.N., *Gore Vale, Emsworth, Hants.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 FORRESTER, FRANK W., 66 Mark Lane, E.C.; and Junior Carlton Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1905 FORSEAW, CHARLES F., M.D., F.R.S.L., *Baltimore House, Bradford.*
- 1868 FORTESCUE, THE HON. DUDLEY F., 9 Hertford Street, Mayfair, W.
- 1898 FOSTER, ARTHUR L., *Sandy, Limpsfield, Surrey.*
- 1892 FOWLER, WILLIAM, 4 Nevill Park, Tunbridge Wells.
- 1890 FOWLER, WILLIAM, 15 Coleman Street, E.C.
- 1904 FOX, FRANCIS DOUGLAS, M.A., M.Inst.C.E., 19 Kensington Square, W.
- 1902 FOX, HENRY WILSON, 4 Halkin Street, S.W.
- 1888 FRANCIS, DANIEL, 191 Gresham House, E.C.
- 1903 †FRASER, JOHN C., *Bracknove, Dundee; and Messrs. Stephen, Fraser & Air,*
65 London Wall, E.C.
- 1890 †FRASER, WILLIAM M., *Grosvenor House, Gunnersbury, W.*
- 1905 FREEMAN, REGINALD F. LYNE, 63 Elizabeth Street, Eaton Square, S.W.
- 1900 †FERMANTLE, ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR EDMUND R., G.C.B., C.M.G.,
44 Lower Sloane Street, S.W.
- 1898 FRERE, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HUGH CORRIE, *The Church House, Beyrout,*
Syria.
- 1896 FREWEN, MORETON, B.A., 37A Great Cumberland Place, W.
- 1893 FRIENDLANDER, WALDEMAR, 11 Kensington Park Gardens, W.; and Junior
Constitutional Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1901 FULLER, SIR THOMAS E., K.C.M.G. (*Agent-General for Cape of Good*
Hope), 100 Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1883 FULLER, W. W., 24 Burlington Road, Bayewater, W.
- 1881 FULTON, JOHN, 26 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, W.
- 1898 GALBRAITH, JOHN H., 32 Victoria Street, S.W.
- 1885 GAME, JAMES ATYWARD, *Yeeda Grange, Trent, New Barnet, Herts; and*
3 Eastcheap, E.C.
- 1889 GAMMIDGE, HENRY, *Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.*
- 1902 GARDINER, EDWARD B., 4E Bickenhall Mansions, Portman Square, W.
- 1879 †GARDNER, STEWART, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1894 GARNETT, WILLIAM J., c/o "Melbourne Age" Office, 160 Fleet Street, E.C.
- 1884 GARRICK, SIR JAMES FRANCIS, K.C.M.G., 12 Upper Phillimore Gdns., W.
- 1890 GARRISON, W. HERBERT, F.R.G.S., 46 Albany Mansions, Albert Bridge
Road, S.W.
- 1889 GAWTHROP, ARNOLD E., 12 College Court, Hammersmith, W.
- 1891 GEORGE, DAVID, *Bank of New South Wales, 64 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1902 GEORGE, MAJOR F. NELSON, *Lovell House, Crawley; and Junior Athenaeum*
Club, Piccadilly, W.
- 1901 GIBBERD, HARRY, *Portland House, 73 Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1883 GIBBERD, JAMES, *Portland House, 73 Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1902 GIBBINGS, MAJOR HENRY CORNWALL C., *Junior United Service Club,*
Charles Street, S.W.
- 1905 †GIBBONS, WILLIAM PIKE, J.P., *Ruiton House, Dudley.*
- 1895 GIBBS, HENRY J., *Blythwood, Leigham Court Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.;*
and 34 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1891 GIBSON, FRANK WM., 8 Finsbury Square, E.C.
- 1882 †GIFFEN, SIR ROBERT, K.C.B., F.R.S., *Chanctonbury, Haywards Heath.*
- 1898 GILBERT, ALFRED, *Mutual Life Association of Australasia, 5 Lothbury, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1899 †GILBERTSON, CHARLES, 16 Gloucester Walk, Kensington, W.
1886 †GILCHRIST, WILLIAM, c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.
1882 †GILCHRIST, WILLIAM OSWALD, 200 Queen's Gate, S.W.
1902 GILFILLAN, SAMUEL, 2 Billiter Avenue, E.C.
1897 GILLANDERS, JAMES, 41 Tooley Street, S.E.
1903 GILLESPIE, WILLIAM, 23 Crutched Friars, E.C.
1891 GILLING, HENRY R., 13 Ravenscroft Park, Barnet.
1903 GINSBERG, ISRAEL, 84 Greencroft Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.
1903 GIRDLESTONE, NELSON, c/o Messrs. H. Chaplin & Co., 9 Fenchurch St., E.C.
1889 GIRDWOOD, JOHN, J.P., 128 Oakwood Court, W.
1883 GLANFIELD, GEORGE, Hale End, Woodford, Essex.
1892 GLASGOW, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., Kelburne, Fairlie, N.B.
1883 GLENESK, RIGHT HON. LORD, 139, Piccadilly, W.
1902 GOAD, SAMUEL, 35 Vicarage Road, Hastings.
1888 GODBY, MICHAEL J., c/o Union Bank of Australia, 71 Cornhill, E.C.
1888 †GODFREY, RAYMOND, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S. (late of Ceylon), 79 Cornhill, E.C.
1894 GODSAL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, R.E., Wootton Bassett S.O., Wilts.
1894 GODSON, EDMUND P., Castlewood, Shooter's Hill, Kent.
1869 GODSON, GEORGE R., Kensington Palace Mansions, Kensington, W.
1899 GOLDIE, RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE T., K.C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.
1891 GOLDMANN, C. SYDNEY, 34 Queen Anne's Gate, S.W.
1880 GOLDNEY, SIR JOHN T., J.P., Monks Park, Corsham, Wilts.
1885 GOLDBERG, A. R., Transvaal Chamber of Mines, 202 Salisbury House, E.C.
1882 GOLDSWORTHY, MAJOR-GENERAL WALTER T., Yaldham Manor, Wrotham, Kent.
1874 GOODLIFFE, JOHN, Junior Athenæum Club, Piccadilly, W.
1893 GOODSIR, GEORGE, Messrs. W. Weddel & Co., 16 St. Helen's Place, E.C.
1890 †GORDON, CHARLES G., A.M. Inst.C.E., 1 Grove Terrace, Thorpe, Norwich.
1885 †GORDON, GEORGE W., The Brewery, Caledonian Road, N.
1904 †GORDON, JOHN WILLIAM, 11 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.
1893 †GORDON, JOHN WILTON, 9 New Broad Street, E.C.
1869 GOSCHEN, RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, Seacox Heath, Hawkhurst, Kent.
1892 GOW, WILLIAM, 13 Rood Lane, E.C.
1886 †GOWANS, LOUIS F., 1 Creffield Road, Ealing, W.
1886 GRAHAM, FREDERICK, C.B., Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.
1868 GRAIN, WILLIAM, Lancaster House, Beckenham, Kent.
1885 †GRANT, CARDROSS, Brunsfield, Beckenham, Kent.
1884 GRANT, HENRY, Sydney Hyatt, Chichester Road, Croydon.
1882 GRANT, J. MACDONALD, Queensland Government Office, 1 Victoria St., S.W.
1903 GRANT, WILLIAM TARVER, Blenheim Club, 12 St. James's Square, S.W.
1880 GRAY, AMBROSE G. WENTWORTH, 31 Great St. Helen's, E.C.
1891 GRAY, BENJAMIN G., 4 Inverness Gardens, Kensington, W.
1883 GRAY, HENRY F., Sharrow, Holland Road, Sutton, Surrey.
1881 GRAY, ROBERT J., 27 Milton Street, E.C.
1898 †GRAY, ROBERT KAYE, M.Inst.C.E., Lessness Park, Abbey Wood, Kent.
1888 GREEN, MAJOR-GEN. SIR HENRY, K.C.S.I., C.B., 93 Belgrave Road, S.W.
1881 †GREEN, MORTON, J.P., 322 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.
1888 GREEN, W. S. SEBRIGHT.

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Election.

- 1902 GREENER, CHARLES E., *St. Mary's Square, Birmingham.*
 1901 GREIG, HENRY R. W., *Spynie, Elgin, N.B.*
 1898 GREINER, GOTTHELF, *10 Milton Street, E.C.*
 1900 GREENFELL, LIEUT.-GENERAL RT. HON. LORD, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., *4 Savile Row, W.*
 1892 GRESWELL, ARTHUR E., M.A., *2 The Colony, Burnham, Somerset.*
 1882 GRESWELL, REV. WILLIAM H. P., M.A., *Dodington Rectory, near Bridgewater, Somerset.*
 1882 GRETTON, MAJOR GEORGE LE M., *49 Drayton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
 1889 †GREY, H.E., RT. HON. EARL, G.C.M.G., *Government House, Ottawa, Canada.*
 1884 GRIBBLE, GEORGE J., *22 St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C.*
 1897 GRIEVE, NORMAN W., *Cozleigh, Groombridge, Sussex.*
 1876 GRIFFITH, W. DOWNES, *4 Bramham Gardens, Wetherby Road, S.W.*
 1903 GRIFFITH, W. L., *Canada Government Office, 17 Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1887 †GRIFFITHS, WILLIAM, *Oldwell, Penylan, Cardiff.*
 1885 GRIMLINTON, SIR JOHN J., *Rose Hill, Middle Wallop, Stockbridge, Hants.*
 1879 GUILLEMARD, ARTHUR G., *Eltham, Kent.*
 1892 GULL, SIR WILLIAM CAMERON, BART., *10 Hyde Park Gardens, W.*
 1878 GUTHRIE, CHARLES, *c/o London Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1886 †GWILLIAM, REV. S. THORN, *Hampton Poyle Rectory, Oxford.*
 1885 GWYN, WALTER J., *22 Billiter Street, E.C.*
 1885 GWYNNE, JOHN, *Kenton Grange, The Hyde, N.W.; and 81 Cannon Street, E.C.*
 1887 GWYTHER, J. HOWARD, *13 Lancaster Gate, W.*
- 1891 †HAGGARD, EDWARD, *7 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
 1898 HAINES, FIELD-MARSHAL SIR F. PAUL, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1897 HALCROW, JAMES, *5 Moorgate Street Buildings, E.C.*
 1876 HALIBURTON, RT. HON. LORD, G.C.B., *57 Lowndes Square, S.W.*
 1899 HALIDAY, JOHN, *5 Holland Park, W.; and Chicklade House, near Salisbury.*
 1882 HALSWELL, HUGH B., J.P., *26 Kensington Gate, Hyde Park, W.*
 1905 HAMBLING, WILLIAM G. A., *Forest House, Queen's Road, Reading.*
 1900 HAMILTON, CAPTAIN JAMES DE COURCY, R.N., *82 Southwark Bridge Road, S.E.*
 1902 HAMILTON, FREDERICK H., *10 Austin Friars, E.C.*
 1885 †HAMILTON, JAMES G., *c/o Post Office, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1883 HAMILTON, JOHN JAMES, *1 Barkston Gardens, Earl's Court, S.W.; and 17 St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
 1895 HAMPDEN, RT. HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.M.G., *5 Grosvenor Gardens, S.W.; and The Hoo, Welwyn, Herts.*
 1889 HANHAM, SIR JOHN A., BART., *St. Stephen's Club, Westminster, S.W.*
 1884 HANKEY, ERNEST ALERS, *Notton House, Chippenham.*
 1891 HANLEY, THOMAS J., *66 Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
 1905 HANNAN, CHARLES J., F.C.I.S., *Suan Brewery, Blackburn.*

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Election.

- 1888 HARDIE, GEORGE, 17 Ravenscroft Park, High Barnet.
- 1892 HARR, REGINALD C., *Western Australian Government Office, 15 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1903 †HARE, SHOLTO H., F.R.G.S., 7 Lifield Place, Clifton, Bristol.
- 1897 HAREWOOD, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, Harewood House, Leeds.
- 1898 HARFORD, CHARLES F., M.A., M.D., *Livingstone College, Knott's Green, Leyton, N.E.*
- 1894 HARMSWORTH, SIR ALFRED C., BART., 36 Berkeley Square, W.; and Elmwood, St. Peter's, Kent.
- 1904 HARPER, ALEXANDER FORREST, *Manor House, Pilton, Shepton Mallet.*
- 1898 HARPER, REGINALD TRISTRAM, 87 Ebury St., S.W.; and *Badminton Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1900 HARRIS, REV. EDWARD, D.D., *Bullinghope Vicarage, Hereford.*
- 1895 HARRIS, WALTER H., C.M.G., *Rusthall Beacon, Tunbridge Wells; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1877 †HARRIS, WOLF, 197 Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1889 HARRISON, ARTHUR, L.R.C.P. (*Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service*), Grove Avenue, Yeovil.
- 1886 †HARRISON, GENERAL SIR RICHARD, R.E., G.C.B., C.M.G., *Ashton Manor, Dunsford, Exeter.*
- 1884 HARROLD, LEONARD FREDERICK, 14 Fenchurch Street, E.C.
- 1893 HARROWER, G. CARNABY, *College Hill Chambers, E.C.*
- 1889 HARRY, CAPTAIN THOMAS ROW, 10 Barworn Terrace, St. Ives, Cornwall.
- 1881 †HARSANT, SYDNEY B.
- 1896 HART, E. AUBREY, *Spencer House, Adelaide Road, Surbiton.*
- 1901 HARVEY, THOMAS EDWIN, *Kenmore, Shepherd's Hill, Highgate, N.*
- 1884 HARVEY, T. MORGAN, J.P., *Salesmere, Camden Park, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1884 HARWOOD, JOSEPH, 90 Cannon Street, E.C.
- 1902 HASLAM, LEWIS, 44 Evelyn Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1886 †HASLAM, RALPH E., *Park Lodge, Church Street, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1881 HATHERTON, RIGHT HON. LORD, C.M.G., 55 Warwick Square, S.W.; and *Teddesley, Penkridge, Staffordshire.*
- 1884 HAVELOCK, SIR ARTHUR E., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., *Babbacombe, Torquay; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1902 HAWKER, REV. BERTRAM R., M.A., 7 Egerton Terrace, S.W.
- 1893 †HAWTHORN, REGINALD W. E., *care of F. W. Diamond, Esq., P.O. Box 360, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1900 †HAWTHORN, WALTER, *The Harbour, Rhyl.*
- 1902 †HAY, MAJOR ARTHUR E., *Late R.A., 22 Ryder Street, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1896 †HAY, COLONEL CHARLES, *Robin's Croft, Chilham, Canterbury.*
- 1886 HAY, SIR JAMES SHAW, K.C.M.G., 42 Lesham Gardens, W.
- 1899 HAYES-SADLER, COLONEL SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., 73 Queen's Gate, S.W.
- 1892 HAYMAN, HENRY, 18 Pembroke Square, W.; and 3 Coleman Street, E.C.
- 1890 HAYNES, T. H., 1 Endsleigh Terrace, Tavistock; and *Montebello Islands, North-West Australia.*
- 1882 HAYWARD, J. F., *Aroona, Freshford, Bath.*
- 1903 HEAD, JAMES, 40 Lowndes Square, S.W.; and *Inverailort, Inverness-shire.*
- 1880 HEALEY, EDWARD C., 86 St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1899 HEALEY, GERALD E. CHADWYCK, B.A., 20 Rutland Gate, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1890 HEATH, COMMANDER GEORGE P., R.N.
 1888 HECTOR, ALEXANDER, 2 Loveday Road, Ealing, W.
 1901 HEDGES, GEORGE A. M., 5 Essex Villas, Kensington, W.
 1886 HEDGMAN, W. JAMES, The Firs, Upper Richmond Road, Putney, S.W.
 1887 HEGAN, CHARLES J., Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
 1898 HEINKEKY, ROBERT B., 36 Egerton Gardens, S.W.
 1877 HEMMANT, WILLIAM, Bulimba, Sevenoaks.
 1897 †HENDERSON, GEORGE T., 7 Billiter Square, E.C.
 1908 HENDERSON, JAMES A. LEO, Ph.D., F.G.S., 1 Kingswood Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.
 1898 HENDERSON, JOHN, 26 Queen's Gardens, Bayswater, W.
 1897 †HENNING, RUDOLF H., 2 Mount Street, W.
 1889 HENWOOD, PAUL, Moorgate Court, Moorgate Street, E.C.
 1886 HEPBURN, ANDREW, 24 St. Mary Axe, E.C.
 1884 HERIOT, MAJOR-GENERAL JAMES A. MACKAY, R.M.L.I., c/o Messrs. Stikwell & Sons, 42 Pall Mall, S.W.
 1883 HERVEY, DUDLEY F. A., C.M.G., Westfields, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
 1895 HERVEY, MATTHEW W., M.Inst.C.E., East Bilney Hall, East Dereham, Norfolk.
 1895 HERVEY, VALENTINE S., 33 Hyde Park Gate, S.W.
 1884 HESSE, F. E., Eastern Extension, &c., Telegraph Co., Limited, Electra House, Moorgate, E.C.
 1902 HIDDINGH, P. C. v.D. P., c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.
 1880 †HILL, JAMES A., 19 Jones Street, Kimberley, Cape Colony.
 1885 †HILL, SIDNEY, Langford House, Langford, near Bristol.
 1897 HILLIER, ALFRED P., B.A., M.D., 30 Wimpole Street, W.
 1895 HILLMAN, VALENTINE A., C.E., Moorambine, 38 Woodstock Road, Redland Green, Bristol.
 1897 HILLSON, JOHN C., The Bungalow, Symond's Yat, Ross, Herefordshire.
 1886 †HILTON, C. SHIRREFF B., 41 Roland Gardens, S.W.
 1901 HILTON, ERNEST F., 14 Southwell Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
 1903 HIME, LIEUT.-COLONEL RIGHT HON. SIR ALBERT H., K.C.M.G., 61 Burton Court, Chelsea, S.W.
 1889 HIND, T. ALMOND, Goldsmith Building, Temple, E.C.
 1903 HIND-SMITH, WILLIAM, The Chestnuts, Copers Cope Road, Beckenham.
 1902 HIND-SMITH, WM. WILSON, F.R.G.S., Tamworth, 196 Kingshall Road, Beckenham.
 1904 †HINDLIP, RIGHT HON. LORD, 33 Hill Street, Berkeley Square, W.; and Hindlip Hall, Worcester.
 1883 †HINDSON, ELDRED GRAVE.
 1883 HINGLEY, SIR GEORGE B., BART., High Park, Droitwich.
 1886 HOARE, EDWARD BRODIE, Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; and Tenchleys, Limpsfield, Surrey.
 1903 HOATHER, CHARLES A., 185 Earl's Court Road, S.W.
 1886 HODGKIN, THOMAS, D.C.L., Barmoor Castle, Beal, Northumberland.
 1898 †HODGSON, GERALD TYLSTON, B.A., Ockbrook House, Derby.
 1879 †HODGSON, H. TYLSTON, M.A., Harpenden, Hertfordshire.
 1886 HOFFMEISTER, C. R., 64 Queensborough Terrace, W.
 1895 HOGAN, JAMES F.

Year of
Election.

- 1887 †HOGARTH, FRANCIS, *Sackville House, Sevenoaks.*
1891 HOGG, HENRY ROUGHTON, 6 *Clanricarde Gardens, Bayswater, W.; and*
Cheniston, Upper Macedon, Victoria.
1901 HOLLAND, ALFRED R., *Leasons, St. Paul's Cray, Chislehurst, Kent.*
1902 HOLLEY, GEORGE H., 29 *Abbey Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.*
1880 HOLMSTED, ERNEST A., *Falkland House, Linden Road, Bedford.*
1888 HOOPER, GEORGE N., F.R.G.S., F.S.S., *Elmleigh, Hayne Road,*
Beckenham.
1884 HOPKINS, EDWARD, *Claremont, Nutfield, Surrey.*
1884 HOPKINS, JOHN, *Little Boundee, Southborough, Tunbridge Wells; and*
79 Mark Lane, E.C.
1890 HOPKINS, T. HOLLIS, *Leconfield, Mount Park Road, Ealing, W.; and*
9 Fore Street Avenue, E.C.
1879 HORA, JAMES, 123 *Victoria Street, S.W.; and 147 Cannon Street, E.C.*
1903 HORDERN, LIEUT. LIONEL H., R.N., *Chart Lodge, Weybridge.*
1892 HORN, THOMAS SUTHERLAND, 6 *St. Helens Place, E.C.*
1895 HORN, WM. AUSTIN, *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
1876 †HOUSTOUN, GEORGE L., *Johnstone Castle, Johnstone, Renfrewshire,*
N.B.
1886 HUGHES, GEORGE, F.C.S., 155 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.; and Bridgetown,*
Barbados.
1881 †HUGHES, JOHN, F.C.S., 79 *Mark Lane, E.C.*
1880 †HUGHES, COMMANDER R. JUKES, R.N., *Whiddon, Newton Abbot.*
1884 †HULL, W. WINSTANLEY, *St. Ann's Heath, Virginia Water, Surrey.*
1893 HUMBY, HENRY G., M.Inst. C.E., 50 *Campden Hill Court, Kensington, W.*
1902 HUNT, FRANK, *Earls Colne, Essex.*
1904 HUTCHINSON, H. CHARLES, *Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Surrey House, Victoria*
Embankment, W.C.
1896 HUTTON, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EDWARD T. H., K.C.M.G., C.B., 34 *Eaton*
Place, S.W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1897 HYAMS, FRANK, 128 *New Bond Street, W.*

1900 IBS, PERCY MAYON, 140 *Blomfield Terrace, W.*
1889 †IYERS, GEORGE M., *Oakgrove, Killinardish, Cork, Ireland.*
1902 †IMROTH, GUSTAV, 427 *Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.*
1883 †INGLIS, CORNELIUS, M.D., 252 *St. James's Court, S.W.; and Athenæum*
Club, S.W.
1881 INGRAM, SIR WILLIAM J., BART., 65 *Cromwell Road, S.W.*
1880 IRVINE, THOMAS W., 17 *Aldermanbury, E.C.*
1893 LEWELL, HERMAN, 11 *Park Square West, Regent's Park, N.W.; and 24*
Coleman Street, E.C.
1884 ISAACS, JACOB, 9A *Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
1893 LEARD, WALTER G., C.E., 10 *The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.*

1883 JACK, A. HILL, *National Insurance Co. of New Zealand, 9 Gracechurch*
Street, E.C.
1886 †JACKSON, JAMES, J.P., 42 *Campden House Court, W.*
1903 JACKSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL ANDREW M., *Victoria Chambers, Hull.*

- Year of Election.
- 1889 †JACKSON, SIR THOMAS, BART., *Stansted House, Stansted, Essex.*
- 1901 JACOBS, JOHN L., 3 *Gloucester Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1886 JACOMB, REGINALD B., 61 *Moorgate Street, E.C.*
- 1900 JAMES, R. BOUCHER, *Hallsawmery, Bideford.*
- 1904 JAMES, WALTER H., K.C. (*Agent-General for Western Australia*), 15 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1890 †JAMIESON, WILLIAM, *care of Broken Hill Proprietary Company, 31 Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 JARVIS, LIEUT.-COLONEL A. WESTON, C.M.G., M.V.O., 66 *Park Street, Grosvenor Square, W.*
- 1898 JEANS, RICHARD W., *Bank of Australasia, 4 Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1894 JEFFERSON, HARRY WYNDHAM, 26 *Austin Friars, E.C.*
- 1884 †JEFFRAY, R. J., 46 *Elm Park Road, S.W.*
- 1902 JENKINS, SIR JOHN J., D.L., J.P., *The Grange, Swansea.*
- 1890 JENKINSON, WILLIAM W., 6 *Moorgate Street, E.C.*
- 1895 JENNINGS, GILBERT D., 28 *Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
- 1889 JERNINGHAM, SIR HUBERT E. H., K.C.M.G., 14 *Bruton Street, W.; and Longridge Towers, Berwick.*
- 1890 †JERSEY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., *Osterley Park, Isleworth; and Middleton Park, Biester.*
- 1903 JOHNSON, CAPTAIN J. VINEY, *St. Julians, Milborne Port, Somerset.*
- 1884 JOHNSON, FREDERICK WM., A.M. Inst. C.E., *Maybank, Staplehurst, Kent.*
- 1889 JOHNSON, GENERAL SIR ALLEN B., K.C.B., 60 *Lexham Gardens, W.*
- 1894 JOHNSON, GODFREY B., 8 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1896 JOHNSON, L. O., 1 *Snow Hill, E.C.*
- 1888 JOHNSTON, ALEXANDER, 120 *Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
- 1902 JOHNSTON, GEORGE LAWSON, 29 *Portman Square, W.*
- 1893 JONES, SIR ALFRED L., K.C.M.G., *Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., 6 Water Street, Liverpool.*
- 1884 †JONES, HENRY, *Bramley Dene, Brunsome Park, Bournemouth.*
- 1899 JONES, CAPTAIN HENRY M., V.C., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1892 JONES, J. D., 26 *Brondesbury Park, N.W.*
- 1902 JONES, RODERICK, *West Kent Carlton Club, Point House, The Grove, Greenwich, S.E.; and Reuter's Telegram Co., 24 Old Jewry, E.C.*
- 1884 JONES, SIR W. H. QUAYLE, *Barton Mere, Bury St. Edmunds.*
- 1889 JONES, WILLIAM T., 17 *Stratton Street, W.*
- 1896 JONES, W. WOODGATE, M.A., *Hill Side, White Hill, Bletchingley, Surrey.*
- 1887 JOSKPE, JULIAN, 6 *Holland Park, W.*
- 1898 JOSHUA, ABRAM, 12 *Collingham Gardens, S.W.*
- 1886 JOSLIN, HENRY, *Gaynes Park, Upminster, Essex.*
- 1868 JULYAN, SIR PENROSE G., K.C.M.G., C.B., *Stadacona, Torquay.*
- 1889 JUSTICE, MAJOR-GENERAL W. CLIVE, C.M.G., *Hinstock, Farnborough, Hants.*
- 1876 KARUTH, FRANK, 29 *NeVERN Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1898 †KAUFMAN, CHARLES, 12 *Berkeley Street, W.*
- 1894 KEARNE, SAMUEL R., *Kingswood, Lyndhurst Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1890 KEARTON, GEORGE H., *Hurst Dene, Ore, Sussex.*
- 1885 KEEP, CHARLES J., 1 *Guildhall Chambers, Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1902 KEEP, RONALD, *Woollet Hall, North Cray, Fools Cray, S.O., Kent.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 KEHRMANN, L., *c/o Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clements Lane, E.C.*
- 1871 KEITH-DOUGLAS, STEWART M., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1903 KEMP, HENRY C., *7 Thavies Inn, Holborn, E.C.*
- 1887 KEMP-WELCH, JAMES, *Olatye, Weybridge.*
- 1881 KENDALL, FRANKLIN R., *1 The Paragon, Blackheath, S.E.; and St. Stephen's Club, S.W.*
- 1877 KENNEDY, JOHN MURRAY, *Knockralling, Dalry, Galloway, N.B.; and New University Club, S.W.*
- 1898 †KENNEDY, PITT, *14 Pembroke Place, W.; and United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1895 KENNION, RT. REV. GEORGE WYNDHAM, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, The Palace, Wells, Somerset.*
- 1888 KENT, ROBERT J., *24 Portland Place, W.*
- 1896 †KENTON, JAMES, *Walshaw Hall, Bury.*
- 1894 KESWICK, JAMES J., *Cowhill Tower, Dumfries, N.B.*
- 1881 †KESWICK, WILLIAM, M.P., *Eastwick Park, Leatherhead.*
- 1903 KEY, REV. SIR JOHN K. C., BART., *Little Wittenham Rectory, Abingdon.*
- 1874 KIMBER, SIR HENRY, BART., M.P., *79 Lombard Street, E.C.*
- 1894 KING, CHARLES WALLIS, *Newnham House, Marshgate, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1901 †KINGDON, HENRY F., *Quethiock, Castle Road, Horsell, Woking.*
- 1886 KINMAIRD, RIGHT HON. LORD, *1 Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1898 KITCHING, HENRY, J.P., *The Grange, Great Ayton, Yorks.*
- 1903 KITCHING, JOHN, *Oaklands, Kingston Hill, Surrey; and Branksome Hall, Darlington.*
- 1899 KLEIN, WALTER G., *24 Belsize Park, N.W.*
- 1889 KNOTT, MAJOR MICHAEL E.
- 1902 KNOWLES, SIR JAMES, K.C.V.O., *Queen Anne's Lodge, St. James's Park, S.W.*
- 1902 †KRAUSS, HENRY J., *101 Hatton Garden, E.C.*
- 1902 KREGOR, C. H., *Bonnington, Canons Park, Edware.*
- 1891 KROHN, HERMAN A., B.A., *Maldon Court, Maldon, Essex.*
- 1891 †LAING, JAMES ROBERT, *7 Australian Avenue, E.C.*
- 1902 LANCE, CHARLES C., *Kingsdown, North Drive, Streatham Park, S.W.; and 33 Eastcheap, E.C.*
- 1876 †LANDALE, WALTER, *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1905 LANDAU, MAX, *47 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1887 LANE, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RONALD B., K.C.V.O., C.B., *14 Curzon Street, W.*
- 1901 LANG, ALEXANDER, *24 Gledhow Gardens, S.W.; and Bank of Montreal, 22 Abchurch Lane, E.C.*
- 1904 LANGMORE, LESLIE G., *34 Randolph Gardens, Maida Vale, W.*
- 1881 LANGTON, JAMES, *Hillfield, Reigate.*
- 1883 †LANSLOWNE, RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF, K.G., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.L.E., *Lansdowne House, 54 Berkeley Square, W.; and Bowood, near Calne, Wiltshire.*
- 1884 †LANSSELL, GEORGE, *Bendigo, Victoria.*
- 1876 †LARDNER, W. G., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1900 LARKINS, REV. FREDERICK, *Rose Gill, Westward Ho! North Devon.*
 1881 LAUGHLAND, JAMES, 50 *Lime Street, E.C.*
 1904 LAURIE, WM. FORBES, 66 *Palace Gardens Terrace, W.*
 1875 LAWRENCE, W. F., M.P., 27 *Eaton Square, S.W.*; *Cornesfield House, Salisbury*; and *New University Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1885 LAWRIE, ALEXANDER, 1 *Nutley Terrace, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1886 †LAWRIE, ALEX. CECIL, 14 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.*
 1892 LAWSON, ROBERTSON, 34 *Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 1894 LEAKE, WM. MARTIN, *Ceylon Association, 61 Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
 1896 LEE, ARTHUR M., *Winsley House, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.*
 1886 LEE, HENRY WILLIAM, 24 *Cleveland Square, Hyde Park, W.*
 1899 LEECHMAN, CHRISTOPHER A., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1896 LEESON, WILLIAM F., *P.O. Box 250, Durban, Natal.*
 1889 LE GROS, GERVAISE, *Seafeld, Jersey.*
 1892 LE MAISTRE, JOHN L. B., *Messrs. G. Balleine & Co., Jersey.*
 1889 LEUCHARS, JOHN W., 24 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.*
 1902 †LEWIS, WM. HESKETH, *Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough, Chester*; and *109 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
 1873 LEVEY, G. COLLINS, C.M.G., *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
 1899 LEVY, B. W., *Messrs. D. Cohen & Co., 17 Tokenhouse Yard, E.C.*
 1902 LEWIS, E. J., F.E.S., F.L.S., 4 *Clement's Inn, W.C.*
 1885 LEWIS, ISAAC, 14 *Stratton Street, W.*; and *Threadneedle House, E.C.*
 1887 LEWIS, JOSEPH, 10/11 *Austin Friars, E.C.*
 1890 LEWIS, OWEN, *Fern Cottage, Laleham Road, Shepperton, Middlesex.*
 1889 †LINLITHGOW, MOST HON. THE MARQUIS OF, K.T., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., *Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*; and *Hopetown House, South Queensferry, N.B.*
 1897 LISTER, R. A., J.P., *The Towers, Dursley.*
 1884 LITTLE, J. STANLEY, *Authors' Club, Whitehall Court, S.W.*
 1886 †LITTLEJOHN, ROBERT, 8 *Cavendish Square, W.*
 1874 LITTLETON, THE HON. HENRY S., 16 *Lennox Gardens, S.W.*
 1888 LIVESNY, SIR GEORGE, *Shagbrook, Reigate.*
 1900 †LLOYD, ARTHUR, 12 *Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.*
 1890 LLOYD, F. GRAHAM, 40 *King Street, Cheapside, E.C.*
 1899 †LLOYD, FRANK, *Coombe House, Croydon*; and *4 Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*
 1881 LLOYD, RICHARD DUPPA, 2 *Addison Crescent, Addison Road, W.*
 1887 †LOWENTHAL, LEOPOLD, *Lionsdale, Hampton Wick, Middlesex.*
 1886 †LONGSTAFF, GEORGE B., M.A., M.D., *Highlands, Putney Heath, S.W.*; and *Twicken, Morthoe, near Ilfracombe.*
 1889 LORING, ARTHUR H., 18 *Nevern Square, S.W.*
 1886 †LOTJIAN, MAURICE JOHN, *Redwood, Spylaw Road, Edinburgh.*
 1884 LOVE, WILLIAM MCNAUGHTON, 8 *Bunhill Row, E.C.*
 1875 †LOW, W. ANDERSON, 6 *Sussex Gardens, Westgate-on-Sea, Kent.*
 1899 LOWE, SAMUEL, *Meadowbank, Hadley Wood, Middlesex.*
 1877 LUBBOCK, SIR NEVILLE, K.C.M.G., 20 *Eastcheap, E.C.*; and *65 Earl's Court Square, S.W.*
 1886 LYALL, ROGER CAMPBELL, *United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
 1879 †LYELL, CAPTAIN FRANCIS H., 2 *Elvaston Place, S.W.*; and *Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1886 LYELL, JOHN L., 30 *Christchurch Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*
1904 LYNN, HUGH SPENCER, 118 *Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.*
1885 †LYON, GEORGE O., *Eton, Berwick, Victoria.*
1886 †LYTTLETON, THE HON. G. W. SPENCER, C.B., 49 *Hill Street, Berkeley Square, W.*
- 1885 MACALISTER, JAMES, *Ethelstane, 32 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
1885 †MACAN, J. J., M.A., M.D., M.R.C.S., *Crossgates, Cheam, Surrey; and Rockhampton, Queensland.*
1901 †MACARTNEY, REV. HUSSEY B., M.A., 78 *Elm Park Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.*
1887 MACBRIDE, ROBERT K., C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1899 MACCAW, WILLIAM J. M., 194 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
1896 MACDONALD, GEORGE, 2 *Amherst Park, Stamford Hill, N.*
1900 †MACDONALD, HECTOR, 481 *Bourke Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
1873 †MACFARLAN, ALEXANDER, *Torish, Helmsdale, N.B.*
1889 †MACFARLANE, JAMES G., *Messrs. W. Dunn & Co., Broad St. Avenue, E.C.*
1889 †MACFIE, JOHN W., *Rowton Hall, Chester.*
1881 †MACIVER, DAVID, M.P., 16 *Brunswick Street, Liverpool.*
1881 MACKAY, A. MACKENZIE, 50 *Lime Street, E.C.*
1895 †MACKAY, DAVID J., *Dunkeld, 27 Arkwright Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
1893 MACKAY, DONALD, *Reay Villa, Bodenham Road, Hereford.*
1897 †MACKAY, SIR JAMES L., G.C.M.G., K.C.I.E., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1885 †MACKENZIE, COLIN.
1890 MACKENZIE, SIR GEORGE S., K.C.M.G., C.B., 52 *Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W.*
1899 †MACKINNON, DUNCAN, 16 *Hyde Park Square, W.*
1903 †MACKINNON, JOHN, 8 *Hyde Park Gardens, W.; and Balinakill, Clackan, Argyleshire.*
- 1902 MACINTOSH, DUNCAN, 5 *Adamson Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
1889 MACLEAR, ADMIRAL J. P., *Beaconscroft, Chiddingfold, Godalming; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1896 †MACLEAY, SINCLAIR, 1 *Norfolk Street, Park Lane, W.*
1887 MACMILLAN, MAURICE, *St. Martin's Street, Leicester Square, W.C.*
1892 MACPHAIL, ALEXANDER J., 10 *St. Helens Place, E.C.*
1882 MACROSTY, ALEXANDER, *West Bank House, Esher.*
1869 MCARTHUR, ALEXANDER, 79 *Holland Park, W.*
1886 MCARTHUR, JOHN P., 18 *Silk Street, Cripplegate, E.C.*
1883 MCARTHUR, WM. ALEXANDER, M.P., 12 *Buckingham Gate, S.W.; and 18 & 19 Silk Street, Cripplegate, E.C.*
- 1885 McCAUL, GILBERT JOHN, *Creggandarroch, Yester Road, Chislehurst.*
1892 †McCONNELL, ARTHUR J., 8 *Collingham Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
1893 McCONNELL, FREDERICK V., 37 *Cranley Gardens, S.W.*
1890 †McCULLOCH, GEORGE, 184 *Queen's Gate, S.W.*
1883 McDONALD, JAMES E., 4 *Chapel Street, Cripplegate, E.C.*
1887 †McDONALD, JOHN, 30 *Broad Street House, E.C.*
1882 McDONELL, ARTHUR W., 2 *Rectory Place, Portsmouth Road, Guildford.*
1882 MCEACHARN, SIR MALCOLM D., *Kiplin, Northallerton; and Billiter Square Buildings, E.C.*
1882 MCEVEN, DAVID PAINTER, 24 *Pembroke Square, W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 MCFARLANE, WILLIAM, *Messrs. W. Dunn & Co., Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1899 MCGAW, JOHN THOBURN, *Broomhall, Warrnam, Horeham.*
- 1879 MCILWRAITH, ANDREW, *Billiter Square Buildings, E.C.*
- 1884 MCINTYRE, J. P., *3 New Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1905 MCKERROW, WILLIAM, *39 Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead, N.W.; and
72 Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
- 1886 MCLEAN, NORMAN, *West Hall, Sherborne, Dorset.*
- 1882 MCLEAN, T. M., *61 Belsize Park, N.W.*
- 1885 MCMAHON, GENERAL C. J., R.A., *Mount Wolseley, Tullow, co. Carlow,
Ireland; and Junior Army and Navy Club, St. James's Street, W.*
- 1902 MCPHERSON, HENRY A., *32 Bedford Square, W.C.*
- 1899 MAGUIRE, THOMAS MILLER, M.A., LL.D., *12 Earl's Court Square, S.W.*
- 1895 MALCOMSON, DAVID, *care of Messrs. Coutts & Co., 440 Strand, W.C.*
- 1883 MANLEY, WILLIAM, *106 Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1901 †MANNERS, CHARLES, *237 King's Road, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1898 MARCUS, HERMAN W., *Merryland's Hotel, Great Bookham, Surrey.*
- 1892 MARDEN, WILLIAM, *5 East India Avenue, E.C.*
- 1886 MARKS, DAVID, *c/o National Provincial Bank, 88 Cromwell Road, S.W.*
- 1904 MARLBOROUGH, HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF, K.G., *38B Curzon Street, W.;
and Blenheim Palace, Woodstock.*
- 1885 MARDEN, THE RIGHT REV. BISHOP, D.D., *Dyrham Lodge, Clifton Park,
Bristol.*
- 1881 MARSHALL, ERNEST LUXMOORE, *9 St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1889 †MARSHALL, HENRY B., *3 Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.*
- 1901 MARSHALL, LEIGH R. H., *Blackie House, University Hall, Edinburgh.*
- 1882 †MARTIN, FRANCIS, *The Grange, Wroxham, Norfolk.*
- 1889 MARTIN, JAMES, *Sunnyside, 58 Palace Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.; and
Suffolk House, Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*
- 1884 MATHERS, EDWARD P., *6 Queen's Gate Terrace, S.W.; and 50 Old Broad
Street, E.C.*
- 1886 †MATHESON, SENATOR ALEX. PERCEVAL, *Parliament House, Melbourne,
Victoria.*
- 1901 MATHEWSON, JAMES FRANCIS, M.A., *13 Langland Gardens, Finchley
Road, N.W.*
- 1890 †MATHIESON, JOHN, *General Manager's Office, Midland Railway, Derby.*
- 1893 MATON, LEONARD J., B.A., *15 Cornwall Gardens, S.W.*
- 1886 MATTHEW, JAMES, *Lemington Hall, Scotswood R.S.O., Northumberland.*
- 1894 MAURICE, JOHN A., *Elm Grove, Dawlish.*
- 1902 MAWSON, GEORGE, *171 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1894 MEAD, FREDERICK, *The Moorings, St. Albans.*
- 1903 †MEDHURST, FRANCIS HASTINGS, *13 Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1899 †MEESON, EDWARD FICKER, R.N., *2 Marchmont Gardens, Richmond,
Surrey.*
- 1899 †MEESON, FREDERICK, *2 Marchmont Gardens, Richmond, Surrey.*
- 1878 MEINERTZGAGEN, ERNEST LOUIS, *4 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1886 MELHUISE, WILLIAM, *Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue,
W.C.*
- 1889 METCALFE, SIR CHARLES H. T., BART., *Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall,
S.W.*
- 1877 †METCALFE, FRANK E., *Gloucester House, Stonebridge Park, N.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 METCALFF, JOSEPH, 151 *Queen's Road, Finsbury Park, N.; and Broad Street Avenue, E.C.*
- 1878 MEWBURN, WILLIAM R., J.P., *c/o Union Bank of Australia, 71 Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1899 †MICHAELIS, MAX, *Tandridge Court, Oxted, Surrey.*
- 1889 MILLER, CHARLES A. DUFF, 9 *Warwick Square, S.W.*
- 1903 MILLER, EDWARD HOLL, 81 *Chardmore Road, Stoke Newington, N.*
- 1903 MILLER, JAMES, *The Cottage, Highwood Hill, Mill Hill, Middlesex; and 2 Billiter Avenue, E.C.*
- 1901 †MILLIGAN, GEORGE, *Messrs. Debenham & Co., 15 St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C.*
- 1897 †MILLS, THOMAS, *Longdown House, Sandhurst, Berks.*
- 1895 MILNER, THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 47 *Duke Street, St. James', S.W.; and Brooks's Club, S.W.*
- 1901 MILNER, THOMAS J., 25 *Albany Road, Stroud Green, N.*
- 1898 MINTO, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., 6 *Audley Square, W.; and Minto House, Hawick, N.B.*
- 1902 MITCHELL, ERNEST J. D., M.A., M.B., M.R.C.S., 1F *Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, W.*
- 1898 †MITCHELL, JAMES, *Lanherne, Shillingford Hill, Wallingford, Berks.*
- 1895 †MITCHELL, JOHN STEVENSON, 8 *Chiswell Street, E.C.*
- 1878 MOCATTA, ERNEST G., 4 *Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.*
- 1885 MOIR, ROBERT N., 44 *Gondar Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1883 MOLESWORTH, THE REV. VISCOUNT, 13B *Lansdown Crescent, Bath.*
- 1895 MOLTEÑO, PERCY ALLPORT, 10 *Palace Court, Baywater, W.*
- 1904 MONK-BRETTON, RIGHT HON. LORD, C.B., 16 *Princes Gardens, S.W.; and Conyboro, Lewes.*
- 1884 †MONRO, MALCOLM, 42 *Queen's Drive, Crosshill, Glasgow.*
- 1884 MONTEFIORE, HERBERT B., 11 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1885 MONTEFIORE, JOSEPH G., 14 *Westbourne Park Road, W.*
- 1889 MONTEFIORE, LOUIS P., 9 *Coburg Place, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1903 MONTGOMERY, RT. REV. BISHOP H. H., D.D., *Society for Propagation of the Gospel, 19 Delahay Street, S.W.*
- 1894 †MOON, EDWARD R. P., M.P., 6 *Onslow Gardens, S.W.*
- 1886 MOORE, ARTHUR CHISOLM, 23 *Essex Street, Strand, W.C.*
- 1884 MOORE, JOHN, 23 *Knightrider Street, E.C.*
- 1903 MOORE, MAJOR ARTHUR T., R.E., *The Grange, Gillingham, Kent.*
- 1891 MOORE, YORK T. G., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., 1 *Lewisham Hill, S.E.*
- 1903 MOORHEAD, EDWARD, *c/o Messrs. R. P. Houston & Co., 8 St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1898 MOORHEAD, JAMES, *c/o Messrs. R. P. Houston & Co., 10 Dale St., Liverpool.*
- 1888 †MOORHOUSE, EDWARD, *care of Bank of New Zealand, 1 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
- 1887 MOOR-RADFORD, ALFRED, 59 *Queen's Gardens, Hyde Park, W.; and 4 Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E.C.*
- 1885 MOREING, CHARLES ALGERNON, M.Inst.C.E., F.G.S., *Moore Place, Esher.*
- 1903 MORGAN, BENJAMIN H., 4 *Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1891 MORGAN, LIEUT.-COLONEL A. HICKMAN, D.S.O., 14 *Grosvenor Place, S.W.*
- 1894 †MORGAN, GWYN VAUGHAN, 1 *St. James's Place, S.W.*
- 1900 MORGAN, PENRY VAUGHAN, 7 *Park Lane, W.*
- 1868 MORGAN, SEPTIMUS VAUGHAN, 37 *Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.; and 42 Cannon Street, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1900 MORGAN, ALDERMAN WALTER VAUGHAN, 42 Cannon Street, E.C.
 1884 MORGAN, WILLIAM PRITCHARD, 1 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
 1903 MORSE, GILBERT, Crown Brewery, Lowestoft.
 1897 MORRELL, JOHN BOWES, 30 St. Mary's, York.
 1900 MORRISON, JAMES K., 10 Eton Road, South Hampstead, N.W.; and
Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1887 †MORRISON, JOHN S., *Thatched House Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1886 MORRISON, WALTER, Malham Tarn, Settle; and 77 Cromwell Road, S.W.
 1869 MORT, WILLIAM, 1 Stanley Crescent, Notting Hill, W.
 1904 MORTON, RICHARD F., 38 Grange Crescent, Sharrow, Sheffield.
 1904 MOSELY, ALFRED, C.M.G., West Lodge, Hadley Wood, Barnet.
 1902 MOSENTHAL, GEORGE J. S., 190 Queen's Gate, S.W.
 1885 MOSENTHAL, HARRY, 19 Green Street, W.
 1891 MÜCK, FRED A. E., Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
 1903 MUIR, WILLIAM CLARK, Blackwood House, Ecclefechan, N.B.
 1902 MULLER, ROBERT, c/o G. E. Staenglan, Esq., 2 Broad St. Place, E.C.
 1897 MUNN, WINCHESTER, Laverstoke, near Whitchurch, Hants.
 1902 MURDOCH, JOHN, 52 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
 1896 MURE, SIR ANDREW, 4 McLaren Road, Newington, Edinburgh.
 1899 MURRAY, THE HON. ALEXANDER O. (MASTER OF ELIHANK), M.P., *Juniper
 Bank, Walkerburn, Peeblesshire; and Brooks's Club, St. James's Street,
 S.W.*
 1885 †MURRAY, CHARLES, Eastcote Place, Pinner, Middlesex.
 1888 MURRAY, DAVID, 30 Pembroke Square, W.
 1901 MURTON, SIR WALTER, C.B., Saxbys, Chislehurst; and Devonshire Club,
St. James's Street, S.W.
 1901 †MUSGRAVE, CAPTAIN HERBERT, R.E., Hurst-on-Clays, East Grinstead.
 1889 MYERS, ALEXANDER, 125 Sutherland Avenue, Maida Vale, W.
 1893 MYERS, ISAAC, Thorganby, Westfield Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
- 1875 †NAIEN, JOHN, Napier, New Zealand.
 1881 NATHAN, N. ALFRED, 28 Finsbury Street, E.C.
 1889 NATHAN, GEORGE J., c/o Messrs. I. Salaman & Co., 46 Monkwell Street, E.C.
 1887 †NATHAN, JOSEPH E., 23 Pembroke Gardens, W.
 1885 NATHAN, LOUIS A., Dashwood House, 9 New Broad Street, E.C.
 1886 †NEAME, ARTHUR, Woodlands, Selling, Faversham.
 1881 NEAVE, EDWARD S., 7 Great St. Helen's, E.C.
 1894 NEIL, WILLIAM, 35 Walbrook, E.C.
 1888 †NEISH, WILLIAM, The Laws, Dundee; and Hogarth Club, Dover Street, W.
 1903 NELSON, SEPTIMUS G., Messrs. Merryweather & Sons, Greenwich Road, S.E.
 1881 NELSON, SIR E. MONTAGUE, K.C.M.G., 3 Whitehall Court, S.W.
 1893 NELSON, HAROLD, 26 St. Mary's Mansions, St. Mary's Terrace, Padding-
 ton, W.
 1904 NESBITT, ROBERT C., 26 Palace Court, W.; and 7 Devonshire Square,
Bishopsgate, E.C.
 1882 NESS, GAVIN PARKER, 19 Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, W.
 1889 NESTLE, WILLIAM D., Royal London Yacht Club, 2 Savile Row, W.
 1888 NEUMANN, SIGMUND, 146 Piccadilly, W.
 1896 NEVILLE, GEORGE W., 18 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, N.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1896 †NEWMARCH, JOHN, *c/o Messrs. Turnbull, Gibson & Co., 44 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1886 NICHOL, ROBERT, 11 *Bunhill Row, E.C.*
- 1904 †NICHOLAS, WILLIAM, F.G.S., 16 *Iverna Court, Kensington, W.*
- 1891 NICHOLLS, ALFRED M., 8 *Courtfield Gardens, S.W.*
- 1903 NICHOLLS, HORACE W., 9 *Amherst Avenue, Ealing, W.*
- 1896 NICHOLS, ARTHUR, *Bank of Egypt, 26 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1889 †NIVISON, ROBERT, 8 *Finch Lane, E.C.*
- 1878 NORTH, FREDERIC WILLIAM, F.G.S., 60 *Cheapside, E.C.*
- 1891 †NORTHBK, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 6 *Hans Crescent, S.W.*
- 1901 NUSSBAUM, HERMANN.
- 1902 NUTT, ROBERT RUSSELL, 33 *St. Swithin's Lane, E.C.*
- 1904 OAK, WILLIAM PERCIVAL, M.Inst.C.E., *Dawson Place Mansions, Pembridge Square, W.*
- 1901 OGLE, FRANK B., *P.O. Box 5979, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 OMMANNY, CHARLES H., C.M.G., 3 *Great Winchester Street, E.C.*
- 1888 OMMANNY, SIR MONTAGU F., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., I.S.O., *Colonial Office, Downing Street, S.W.*
- 1889 ONSLOW, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G., 7 *Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, S.W.; and Clandon Park, Guildford.*
- 1904 OPPENHEIMER, BERNARD, 76 *Bickenhall Mansions, W.*
- 1903 ORFORD, CHARLES T., 43 *Bloomsbury Square, W.C.*
- 1904 OSBORN, EDWARD B., 41 *Grove End Road, N.W.*
- 1883 †OSBOENE, CAPTAIN FRANK, *The Cedars, Leamington.*
- 1897 OSTROG, COUNT STANISLAUS J., F.R.G.S., 5 *Netherton Grove, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1889 OTTERSON, ALFRED S., *Darward House, Kensington Court, W.*
- 1872 OTWAY, RIGHT HON. SIR ARTHUR JOHN, BART., 34 *Eaton Square, S.W.; and Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1904 OWEN-JONES, JOHN, *Trigfa, Shortmead Street, Biggleswade.*
- 1897 PAGE, DAVID S., *Ivy Cottage, Newton Stewart, N.B.*
- 1902 PAIM, JAMES C., JUN., 9 *St. Mary Axe, E.C.; and Manhattan, Mitcham Lane, Streatham, S.W.*
- 1902 †PALOOGUS, AUGUSTUS L., 47 *Beckenham Road, Beckenham.*
- 1897 PALMER, CAPT. RICHARD E., *Oaklands Park, Newdigate, Surrey.*
- 1899 †PALMER, THOMAS.
- 1880 PARBURY, CHARLES, 3 *De Vere Gardens, Kensington, W.*
- 1889 †PARFITT, CAPTAIN JAMES L., *Logan, Blake Hall Road, Wanstead, N.E.*
- 1879 PARFITT, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, 62 *Foyle Road, Westcombe Park, Blackheath, S.E.*
- 1890 †PARKER, SIR GILBERT, M.P., 20 *Carlton House Terrace, S.W.*
- 1889 †PARKER, HENRY, *Vale View Cottage, Tring Hill, Tring*
- 1893 †PARKIN, GEORGE R., C.M.G., M.A., LL.D., 40 *Elvaston Place, S.W.*
- 1886 PARKINGTON, COLONEL SIR J. ROPER, J.P., D.L., 24 *Crutched Friars, E.C.; 6 Devonshire Place, W.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1902 PARKINSON, THOMAS W., M.D., 77 *Sloane Street, S.W.*
- 1897 PARR, REV. EDWARD G. C., 1 *Bolton Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*

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- 1888 PASTEUR, HENRY, *Wynches, Much Hadham, Herts.*
 1886 †PATERSON, J. GLAISTER, 27 *Pembridge Gardens, Bayswater, W.*
 1898 PATERSON, JAMES.
 1902 PATERSON, JAMES GOWANS, *Billiter Buildings, E.C.*
 1887 †PATTERSON, MYLES, *Southover, Tolpuddle, Dorchester; and Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1898 PAUL, ALEXANDER, 32 *Upper Park Road, Haverstock Hill, N.W.*
 1881 PAUL, HENRY MONCREIFF, 12 *Lansdowne Crescent, Notting Hill, W.*
 1880 PAYNE, JOHN, *Park Grange, Sevenoaks.*
 1881 †PEACE, SIR WALTER, K.C.M.G., I.S.O., 39 *Hyde Park Gate, S.W.*
 1877 PEACOCK, GEORGE, 27 *Milton Street, Fore Street, E.C.*
 1885 †PEAKE, GEORGE HERBERT, B.A., LL.B., *West Retford House, Retford.*
 1877 †PEARCE, EDWARD, *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
 1896 †PEARSON, SIR WESTMAN D., BART., M.P., *Paddockhurst, Worth, Sussex; and 10 Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1896 †PEMBERTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL ERNEST, R.E., *Beechwood, Plympton.*
 1903 PERE, THE HON. GEORGE, M.A., 3 *Cleveland Square, St. James's, S.W.*
 1894 PENDER, SIR JOHN DENISON, K.C.M.G., *Eastern Telegraph Co., Electra House, Moorgate, E.C.*
 1884 PENNEY, EDWARD C., 8 *West Hill, Sydenham, S.E.*
 1899 PERCEVAL, SPENCER A., 36 *Eccleston Square, S.W.*
 1892 PERCEVAL, SIR WESTEY B., K.C.M.G., 20 *Cophall Avenue, E.C.*
 1890 PERKINS, HENRY A., *Stoneleigh, Ewell, Surrey.*
 1896 PERKS, ROBERT WM., M.P., A.M.Inst.C.E., 11 *Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*
 1880 PERRING, CHARLES, *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1902 PERRY, ROBINSON G., *Glendyne, Eaton Rise, Ealing, W.*
 1879 †PETHERICK, EDWARD A., 18 *Hopton Road, Streatham, S.W.*
 1872 †PHILIPSON-STOW, F. S., *Blackdown House, Fernhurst, Sussex; and Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
 1903 PHILLIPS, HENRY JOSHUA, F.I.C., F.C.S., A.Inst.C.E., *The Nook, Tredegar, Monmouthshire.*
 1884 †PHILLIPS, LIONEL, 38 *Grosvenor Square, W.; and Tylney Hall, Winchfield.*
 1897 PIPER, WILLIAM F., c/o J. A. Smallbones, Esq., 27 *Milton Street, E.C.*
 1897 PITTS, THOMAS, C.B., *St. Stephen's House, Victoria Embankment, S.W.*
 1888 †PLANT, EDMUND H. T., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
 1882 PLEYDELL, T. G., 63 *St. James's Street, S.W.; and East Sussex Club, St. Leonards-on-Sea.*
 1904 PLUMTRE, JOHN VALLIS NICHOLL, 133 *Thurlow Park Road, West Dulwich, S.E.*
 1897 †PONSONBY, REV. S. GORDON, *The Rectory, Devonport; and 57 St. James's Street, S.W.*
 1900 PONTIFEX, ARTHUR R.
 1884 POOLE, JOHN BADDELEY, *Copseland, New Milton, Hants.*
 1869 †POORE, MAJOR R., *Old Lodge, Salisbury.*
 1892 PORTER, ROBERT, 37 *Chalmers Street, Edinburgh.*
 1885 †POTTER, JOHN WILSON, 2 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
 1878 PRANCE, REGINALD H., *The Ferns, Frogna, Hampstead, N.W.*
 1882 PRANKERD, PERCY J., *Woolacombe, Park Hill, Carshalton, Surrey.*
 1904 PRATT EDWIN A., 11 *Rollscourt Avenue, Herne Hill, S. E.*

**Year of
Election**

- 1868 PRATT, J. J., 79 *Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.*
 1901 PRATT, J. JERRAM, JUN., *Windermere, Woodberry Down, N.; and 79 Queen Street, Cheapside, E.C.*
 1885 PREECE, SIR WM. HENRY, K.C.B., F.R.S., M.Inst.C.E., *Gothic Lodge, Wimbledon, S.W.*
 1883 PRÉVITÉ, JOSEPH WEEDON, *Oak Lodge, Pond Road, Blackheath, S.E.*
 1898 †PRICE, HENRY J., 75 *Widmore Road, Bromley, Kent.*
 1886 PRILLEVITZ, J. M., *Margaret Lodge, 94 Finchley Road, N.W.*
 1873 PRINCE, JOHN S., 28 *De Vere Gardens, W.*
 1900 PRINCE, JULIUS C., 22 *Upper Wimpole Street, W.*
 1891 PRITCHARD, LIEUT.-GENERAL GORDON D., R.E., C.B., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1882 PROBYN, LESLKY CHARLES, 79 *Onslow Square, S.W.*
 1899 PROBYN, LIEUT.-COLONEL CLIFFORD, J.P., 55 *Grosvenor Street, W.*
 1897 PRYNN, FRED, *Messrs. Stuttaford & Co., 11 New Union Street, Moor Lane, E.C.*
 1901 PUCKLE, HENRY LEONARD, *North Queensland Insurance Co., Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, E.C.*
 1894 PULESTON, SIR JOHN HENRY, 2 *Whitehall Court, S.W.*
 1882 PURVIS, GILBERT, 5 *Bow Churchyard, E.C.*
 1901 QUENNEL, CECIL, c/o *W. Hall, Esq., 7 Angel Court, E.C.*
 1905 QUILTER, FREDERIC R., 68 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1899 QUILTER, SIR W. CUTHBERT, BART., M.P., 74 *South Audley Street, W.; and Bawdsey Manor, Woodbridge.*
 1884 RADCLIFFE, P. COFLESTON, *Derriford, Crown Hill R.S.O. Devon; and Union Club, S.W.*
 1882 RAINEY, MAJOR-GENERAL ARTHUR MACAN, *Drumboe, Rostrevor, co. Down.*
 1888 RAIT, GEORGE THOMAS, 70 & 71 *Bishopsgate Street Within, E.C.*
 1905 RALEIGH, SIR THOMAS, K.C.S.I., *Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1881 RALLI, PANDELI, 17 *Belgrave Square, S.W.*
 1884 RAMSAY, ROBERT, *Howletts, Canterbury.*
 1872 RAMSDEN, RICHARD, *Sydenhurst, Chiddingfold, Godalming.*
 1889 RAND, EDWARD E., *National Liberal Club, Whitehall Place, S.W.*
 1889 †RANDALL, EUGENE T., c/o *Commercial Bank of Sydney, 18 Birchin Lane, E.C.*
 1887 RANKEN, PETER, *Furness Lodge, East Sheen, Surrey.*
 1880 †RANKIN, SIR JAMES, BART., M.P., 35 *Ennismore Gardens, S.W.; and Bryngwyn, Hereford.*
 1902 RANSOME, BERTRAM C., *Shirleigh, St. Edmund's Road, Ipswich.*
 1855 †RAW, GEORGE HENRY, 96 *Gresham House, Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 1894 RAWES, LIEUT.-COLONEL WM. WOODWARD, R.A., *Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W.*
 1892 READMAN, JAMES BURGESS, D.Sc., *Mynde Park, Tram Inn, R.S.O., Hereford.*
 1881 †REAY, RT. HON. LORD, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., 6 *Great Stanhope Street, W.*
 1901 REEVE, WYBERT, 121 *Bishop's Mansions, Bishop's Park Rd., Fulham, S.W.*
 1894 REEVES, HUGH WM., 42 *Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 1896 REEVES, HON. WILLIAM PEMBER (*High Commissioner for New Zealand*), 13 *Victoria Street, S.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1893 REID, EDWARD V., *Messrs. Dalgety & Co., 94 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
 1904 REMINGTON, JOHN S., *Aynsme, Grange-over-Sands, Lancs.*
 1893 RENNIE, GEORGE B., *20 Lowndes Street, S.W.*
 1883 RENNIE, GEORGE HALL, *6 East India Avenue, E.C.*
 1900 †RENTON, J. H., *Messrs. R. A. Bosanquet & Co., 5 Whittington Avenue, E.C.*
 1902 REYNOLDS-BALL, EUSTACE A., B.A., *16 Eaton Rise, Ealing, W.; and 27 Chancery Lane, W.C.*
 1903 REYNOLDS, EDWARD C., *National Bank of South Africa, London Wall Buildings, Circus Place, E.C.*
 1897 †RICHARDS, GEORGE, *3 Kensington Palace Gardens, W.*
 1900 RICHARDS, ROGER C., *Basildon House, Moorgate Street, E.C.*
 1898 RICHARDSON, CAPTAIN ERNALD E., J.P., *Glanbrydan Park, Carmarthenshire.*
 1878 RICHMOND, JAMES, *Monzie Castle, Crieff, N.B.*
 1902 RIDDELL, PATRICK, *Messrs. F. Bailey & Co., 59 Mark Lane, E.C.*
 1896 RIDGEWAY, RT. HON. SIR J. WEST, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., *Athenaeum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1896 RIPPON, JOSEPH, *33 Old Broad Street, E.C.*
 1891 RIVINGTON, W. JOHN, "*British Trade Journal*," *24 Mark Lane, E.C.; and 21 Gledhow Gardens, S.W.*
 1894 ROBERTS, G. Q., M.A., *St. Thomas's Hospital, S.E.*
 1902 ROBERTS, JAMES, *Perran House, Perranporth R.S.O., Cornwall.*
 1895 ROBERTS, RICHARD NEVILL, *95 Finchley Road, N.W.*
 1902 ROBERTSON, SIR GEORGE SCOTT, K.C.S.I., *11 Harley House, Harley St., W.*
 1860 ROBINSON, MAJOR-GENERAL C. W., C.B., *Beverley House, 38 Eaton Rise, Ealing, W.; and Army & Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1903 ROBINSON, FREDERICK A., A.Inst.C.E., M.I.M.E., *54 Old Broad St., E.C.*
 1894 †ROBINSON, JOSEPH B., *Dudley House, Park Lane, W.; and 1 Bank Buildings, Lothbury, E.C.*
 1889 †ROBINSON, THOMAS B., *Messrs. McIlwraith, McEacharn & Co., Billiter Square Buildings, E.C.*
 1878 ROBINSON, SIR WILLIAM, G.C.M.G., *28 Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.; and Windham Club, St. James's Square, S.W.*
 1896 ROBSON, CHARLES R., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
 1905 ROGER, GEORGE, *10 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.; and 4 Lloyd's Avenue, E.C.*
 1898 ROLLO, THE HON. GILBERT, *Oaklands, Highbrook, Ardingly, Hayward's Heath.*
 1885 ROME, ROBERT, *2 Harewood Place, Hanover Square, W.*
 1888 †RONALD, BYRON L., *14 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.*
 1876 RONALD, R. B., *Pembury Grange, near Tunbridge Wells.*
 1888 ROPER, FREEMAN, M.A. OXON., *Bovey House, Beer, Exminster.*
 1878 ROSE, B. LANCASTER, *1 Cromwell Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
 1879 ROSE, CHARLES D., M.P., *53 Berkeley Square, W.; and Hardwick House, Pangbourne, Reading.*
 1881 †ROSEBERRY, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, K.G., K.T., *38 Berkeley Square, W.; and Dalmeny, near Edinburgh, N.B.*
 1906 ROSS, ARTHUR, *St. Clements, Carshalton Road, Sutton, Surrey.*
 1906 ROSE, ARTHUR, JUN., F.I.C., F.C.S., *1 Glengall Road, Peckham, S.E.*
 1906 ROSS, JAMES W. G., *143 Mitcham Lane, Streatham, S.W.*

Year of
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- 1880 ROSS, JOHN, *Morven*, 6 North Hill, Highgate, N.; and 119 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.
- 1882 ROSS, J. GRAFTON, *Oriental Club*, Hanover Square, W.
- 1881 †ROTH, H. LING, *Briarfield*, Shibden, Halifax.
- 1883 †ROTHSCHILD, A. A., 80 Lancaster Gate, W.; and Warnford Court, E.C.
- 1894 ROTHWELL, GEORGE, 5 Throgmorton Avenue, E.C.
- 1890 ROYDS, EDMUND M., *Windham Club*, St. James's Square, S.W.
- 1881 †RUDD, CHARLES D., 8 Old Jewry, E.C.; and 21 Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- 1899 RUDD, FRANK M., *New Oxford and Cambridge Club*, Pall Mall, S.W.
- 1883 †RUNCHEMAN, M. S., 3 Adams Court, Old Broad Street, E.C.
- 1899 RUNGE, ADOLPHUS, 4 East India Avenue, E.C.
- 1879 RUSSELL, CAPTAIN A. H., *Fyning House*, Rogate, Petersfield.
- 1875 RUSSELL, THOMAS, *Haremere*, Etchingham, Sussex.
- 1898 RUSSELL, THOMAS J., *London & Westminster Bank*, 41 Lothbury, E.C.
- 1875 RUSSELL, T. PURVIS, *Warroch*, Milnathort, Kinross-shire, N.B.
- 1879 †RUSSELL, T. R., 18 Church Street, Liverpool.
- 1891 RUSSELL, WM. CECIL, *Haremere*, Etchingham, Sussex.
- 1889 RUTMEERFORD, H. K., *Polmont*, Kenley, Surrey.
- 1886 SAALFELD, ALFRED, *The Elms*, Bickley, Kent.
- 1881 †SAILLARD, PHILIP, 87 Aldersgate Street, E.C.
- 1902 SAMUEL, SIR EDWARD L., BART., 3 Lancaster Gate, W.
- 1902 SAMUEL, HENRY, 11 Cleveland Square, Hyde Park, W.
- 1898 SANDERMAN, ALASTAIR C., 62 Mark Lane, E.C.
- 1887 SANDOVER, WILLIAM, *Ashburton*, Richmond Hill, S.W.; and 3 Lloyds Avenue, E.C.
- 1873 SASOON, ARTHUR, 12 Leadenhall Street, E.C.
- 1891 †SAUNDERS, FREDERIC J., F.R.G.S., *Cambridge House*, Harmondsworth, Yiewsley, Middlesex.
- 1899 SAUNDERS, SIR FREDERICK R., K.C.M.G., 47 The Drive, Hove, Sussex; and *Conservative Club*, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1898 SAVAGE, PERCY H., *Blomfield House*, 85 London Wall, E.C.
- 1885 SAVAGE, WM. FREDK., *Blomfield House*, 55 London Wall, E.C.
- 1897 SAVILL, WALTER, 9 Queen's Gardens, West Brighton.
- 1904 SAWTELL, WILLIAM ARTHUR, 39 Deauville Road, Clapham Park, S.W.
- 1883 SAWYER, ERNEST E., M.A., C.E., 20 Devonshire Terrace, Lancaster Gate, W.
- 1895 SCAMMELL, EDWARD T., 61 Marmora Road, Honor Oak, S.E.
- 1885 †SCARATH, LEVESON E., M.A., 84 Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.
- 1900 SCHIFF, ARTHUR, 652 Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.
- 1877 SCHIFF, CHARLES, 22 Lowndes Square, S.W.
- 1896 SCHLICH, WILLIAM, Ph.D., C.I.E., F.R.S., *Coopers Hill College*, Egham.
- 1897 SCHMIDT, ROBERT F. W., Ph.D., F.R.G.S., 39 Clarendon Road, Putney, S.W.
- 1885 SCHWARTZ, C. E. R., M.A., 8 Cambridge Gate, Regent's Park, N.W.; and *Conservative Club*, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1884 SCONCE, CAPTAIN G. COLAUGHOUN, 1 Wetherby Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.
- 1885 SCOTT, ARCHIBALD E., *Rotherfield Park*, Alton, Hants; and *United University Club*, Pall Mall East, S.W.

Year of
Election.

- 1886 SCOTT, CHARLES J., *Hilgay, Guildford.*
- 1885 SCOTT, WALTER H., M.Inst.C.E., *Park Road, East Molesey.*
- 1904 SCRIVENNER, F. A., *Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney, 18 Birchlin Lane, E.C.*
- 1893 SCRUTTON, JAMES HERBERT, *9 Gracechurch Street, E.C.*
- 1905 †SEDGWICK, ALFRED M., *105 Oakwood Court, Kensington, W.*
- 1881 SELBY, PRIDMAUX, *Koroit, Chepstow Road, Croydon.*
- 1904 SELLAR, GERRARD H. CRAIG, *75 Cromwell Road, S.W.; and Littlegreen, Petersfield, Hants.*
- 1891 SEMPLE, JAMES C., F.R.G.S., *8 Fordwych Road, West Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1887 SENIOR, EDWARD NASSAU, *147 Cannon Street, E.C.*
- 1871 SEROCOLD, G. PEARCE, *156 Sloane Street, S.W.*
- 1898 SETTLE, MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY H., R.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., *United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1888 SHAND, JOHN LOUDOUN, *24 Rood Lane, E.C.*
- 1902 SHARPE, WALTER, *12 Tenter Street, Moorfields, E.C.; and Drumna, Oakleigh Park, N.*
- 1900 SHELDRICK, JOHN S., *96 Gresham House, E.C.*
- 1898 SHELFORD, FREDERIC, B.Sc., M.Inst.C.E., F.R.G.S., *35A Great George Street, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1885 SHERLOCK, WILLIAM H., *West View, Caterham, Surrey.*
- 1893 SHEWOOD, N., *Dunedin, 50 Streatham Hill, S.W.*
- 1874 SHIPSTER, HENRY F., *10 Ladbroke Square, W.; and Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1887 †SHIRE, ROBERT W., *Penrith, Terrapin Road, Upper Tooting, S.W.*
- 1883 SHORT, CHARLES, *Office of "The Argus," 80 Fleet Street, E.C.*
- 1885 SIDBY, CHARLES, *8 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Campden Hill, W.*
- 1883 †SILVER, COLONEL HUGH A., *23 Redcliffe Square, S.W.*
- 1887 SIMEON, REV. PHILIP B., M.A., *Lathbury Rectory, Newport Pagnell.*
- 1883 †SIMPSON, SURGEON-MAJOR FRANK, *Naval and Military Club, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1892 †SIMPSON, T. BOUSTEAD, *59 Rutland Gate, S.W.*
- 1888 †SINCLAIR, AUGUSTINE W., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edin.), *Rock House, South Petherton, Somerset.*
- 1885 SINCLAIR, DAVID, *65 Russell Square, W.C.; and 19 Silver Street, E.C.*
- 1899 SINCLAIR, JAMES, *Glebe Court, Goring, Oxon.*
- 1895 SKINNER, WILLIAM BANKS, *Messrs. Lilley & Skinner, Paddington Green, W.*
- 1896 SLADE, GEORGE, *18 Laurence Pountney Hill, E.C.*
- 1887 †SLADE, HENRY G., F.R.G.S., *Heytesbury, Wilts; and Royal Societies Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1894 SLADEN, ST. BARR RUSSELL, *1 Delahay Street, S.W.*
- 1899 SLATTER, EDMUND M., *Hawkmoor, Bovey Tracey, Devon.*
- 1891 †SMART, FRANCIS G., M.A., *Bredbury, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1901 SMART, WILLIAM, *Standard Bank of South Africa, 10 Clement's Lane, E.C.*
- 1901 SMITH, ALEXANDER CURRIE, *Rokeby, Surbiton.*
- 1908 SMITH, BROOME P., *British and Foreign Bible Society, 146 Queen Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1888 SMITH, SIR CECIL CLEMENTI, G.C.M.G., *The Garden House, Wheat-hampstead, St. Albans.*
- 1889 †SMITH, D. JOHNSTONE, *142 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.*
- 1900 SMITH, DANIEL WARRES, c/o "Hong Kong Daily Press," *131 Fleet Street, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 SMITH, EDWIN, *Coburg Hotel, Carlos Place, W.*
- 1872 SMITH, SIR FRANCIS VILLENEUVE, 19 *Harrington Gardens, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1895 SMITH, LT.-COLONEL SIR GERARD, K.C.M.G., *Holford House, Baldock, Herts.*
- 1886 SMITH, JOHN, *Bramble Haw, Carshalton, Surrey.*
- 1880 †SMITH, JOSEPH J., *Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
- 1897 SMITH, RIGHT REV. BISHOP JOHN TAYLOR, D.D., *Chaplain-General, War Office, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1905 SMITH, LINDSAY CLIVE, 46 *Bickenhall Mansions, W.*
- 1896 SMITH, RICHARD TILDEN, 4 *Cophall Avenue, E.C.*
- 1887 SMITH, THOMAS, 35 *Northcote Avenue, Ealing, W.*
- 1884 SMITH, WALTER F., 62 *Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1898 SMITH, THE HON. WM. F. D., M.P., 3 *Grosvenor Place, S.W.*; and *Greenlands, Henley-on-Thames.*
- 1880 †SMITH, SIR WILLIAM F. HAYNES, K.C.M.G., *Queen's Acre, Windsor.*
- 1887 SMITH-REWSE, EUSTACE A., *Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1896 SMYTH, GENERAL SIR HENRY A., K.C.M.G., *The Lodge, Stone, Aylesbury.*
- 1893 SMYTH, REV. STEWART, *St. Mark's Vicarage, Silvertown, E.*
- 1901 SNELL, CHARLES R.,
- 1881 †SOMERVILLE, ARTHUR FOWNE, *Dinder House, Wells, Somerset*; and *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1896 †SONN, GUSTAV, 428 *Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.*
- 1874 SOFER, WM. GARLAND, B.A., J.P., *Harestone, Caterham Valley*; and *Devonshire Club, St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1886 SPANIER, ADOLF, 30 *Maresfield Gardens, N.W.*
- 1899 †SPEAK, JOHN, *The Grange, Kirton, Boston.*
- 1889 SPENCE, EDWIN J., *Totara, 20 Lunham Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.*
- 1890 SPENCE, COLONEL JOHN, *Biddlesden Park, Brackley, Northants.*
- 1905 SPENCE, WILLIAM R., *Sunnyside, Hildaville Drive, Westcliff-on-Sea.*
- 1902 SPENSLEY, HOWARD, 1 *St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1888 SPICER, ALBERT, 10 *Lancaster Gate, W.*; and *Brancoepeth House Woodford, Essex.*
- 1887 SPIERS, FELIX WILLIAM, 68 *Lowndes Square, S.W.*
- 1883 †SPRESTON, HUGH, *Innellan, Sundridge Park, Bromley, Kent.*
- 1881 SQUIRES, WILLIAM HERBERT,
- 1893 STAMFORD, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 15 *St. James's Place, S.W.*
- 1891 STANFORD, EDWARD, 12 *Long Acre, W.C.*
- 1895 †STANFORD, WILLIAM, *Kemp Hall, Oxford.*
- 1886 †STANLEY, WALMSLEY, M.Inst.C.E., 85 *Leigham Court Road, Streatham Hill, S.W.*
- 1883 STANMORE, RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.M.G., *Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*; and *The Red House, Ascot.*
- 1903 STARK, W. EMERY, F.R.G.S., *Rydal Lodge, New Park Road, Clapham Park, S.W.*; and *Constitutional Club, W.C.*
- 1878 STARK, J. G. HAMILTON, M.A., F.S.A. (Scot.), *Troqueer Holm, near Dumfries, N.B.*
- 1904 STATHAM, WILLIAM, *The Redings, Totteridge, Herts.*
- 1900 †STEAD, ALFRED, 63 *Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, S.W.*
- 1896 STEINTHAL, ANTON E., 7 *Harley Street, W.*; and c/o Messrs. A. Goetz & Co., 20 *Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 STEPHEN, NOEL CAMPBELL, 61 *Stanhope Gardens, S.W.*
 1902 STEPHEN, THOMAS, 65 *London Wall, E.C.*
 1896 STEVENS, CHARLES W., 16 *Great St. Helens, E.C.*
 1903 STEWART, A. L., c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co., 9 *Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1882 STEWART, CHARLES W. A., 2 *Marchmont Road, Richmond, S.W.*
 1905 STEWART JOSIAH, 94 *Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*
 1881 STEWART, ROBERT M., 20 *Fourth Avenue, Hove, Sussex.*
 1874 †STIRLING, SIR CHARLES E. F., BART., *Glorat, Milton of Campsie, N.B.; and Junior Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1904 STOCKHAM, HORATIO W., 391 *London Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.*
 1899 STOKES, ALFRED PARKER, 13 *Bruton Street, W.; and 13 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
 1877 STONE, FREDERICK W., B.C.L., *Holms Hill House, Ridge, Barnet; and 10 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
 1901 STONE, HERBERT, F.L.S., *Little Hay House, near Lichfield.*
 1893 STONEHAM, ALLEN H. P., Messrs. *Monkhouse, Stoneham & Co., 695 Salisbury House, London Wall, E.C.*
 1900 STOPFORD, JAMES T. A., *St. Catherine's End Farm, Ruislip, Uxbridge.*
 1875 †STRANGWAYS, HON. H. B. T., *Shapwick, Bridgwater, Somerset.*
 1873 †STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.M.G. (*High Commissioner for Canada*), 17 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1898 STREET, ARTHUR, 8 *Serie Street, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.*
 1880 †STREET, EDMUND, *Brightstone, Newport, Isle of Wight.*
 1900 STRONGE, W. CECIL, 34 *Westbourne Gardens, Folkestone.*
 1898 STROYAN, JOHN, M.P., *Saxon Hall, Palace Court, Bayswater, W.*
 1888 †STRUBEN, FREDERICK P. T., *Kya Lami, Haldon Road, Torquay.*
 1884 STUART, JOHN, F.R.G.S., 1 *Broad Street Place, E.C.*
 1895 †STUART, COLONEL J. A. M., C.B., C.M.G., *Dalvenie, Banchoory, N.B.; and United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
 1886 †STUART, WALTER, *Kingledores, Broughton, Peeblesshire.*
 1896 STURT, MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES S., *Muddiford House, Barnstaple.*
 1904 SUETER, COMMANDER MURRAY F., R.N., 31 *Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W.*
 1904 SUTHERLAND, DAVID A., F.I.C., F.C.S., 13 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
 1891 SUTTON, ARTHUR WARWICK, *Bucklebury Place, Woolhampton, Berks.*
 1902 SUTTON, ERNEST P. FOQUET, *Henley Park, Oxon.*
 1891 SUTTON, LEONARD, *Hillside, Reading.*
 1896 SUTTON, M. H. FOQUET, *Broad Oak, Reading.*
 1896 SUTTON, MARTIN J., *Henley Park, Oxon.*
 1883 SWANEY, FRANCIS, 147 *Cannon Street, E.C.*
 1889 †SYKES, GEORGE H., M.A., M.Inst.C.E., *Glencoe, Elmbourne Road, Tooting Common, S.W.*
 1897 †SYKES, ROBERT D., *The Gables, Kenilworth Road, Leamington Spa.*
 1902 SYTNER, ALBERT H., *Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, W.C.*
 1885 †TALLENTS, GEORGE WM., B.A., 49 *Warwick Square, S.W.*
 1883 TANGYE, GEORGE, *Heathfield Hall, Handsworth, Birmingham; and 35 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.*

Year of Election.	
1883	TANGYE, SIR RICHARD, <i>Coombe Bank, Kingston-on-Thames; and 35 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.</i>
1888	TANNER, J. EDWARD, C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., <i>Royal Thames Yacht Club, 7 Albemarle Street, W.</i>
1902	TARTÉ, ERNEST E. F., <i>The Hythe, Staines.</i>
1888	†TAYLOR, JAMES B., <i>Sherfield Manor, Basingstoke.</i>
1885	TAYLOR, J. V. ELLIOTT, 14 <i>Cockspur Street, S.W.</i>
1905	TAYLOR, ROBERT H., A.M.Inst.C.E., M.I.M.E., 230 <i>Lewisham High Road, St. John's, S.E.</i>
1881	†TAYLOR, THEODORE C., M.P., <i>Sunny Bank, Batley, Yorkshire.</i>
1831	†TAYLOR, W. P., c/o Messrs. Ansell, <i>Mankiewicz and Tallerman, Warrford Court, E.C.</i>
1893	TEGETMEIER, CHARLES G., 2 <i>Sussex Gardens, Thurlow Park Road, West Dulwich, S.E.</i>
1904	TEMPLE, LT.-COLONEL SIR RICHARD C., BART., C.I.E., <i>The Nash, Worcester.</i>
1905	†TENNYSON, RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.M.G., <i>Aldworth, Haslemere; and Farringford, Freshwater.</i>
1901	TENNYSON-COLE, PHILIP, 6 <i>Addison Studios, Blythe Road, W.</i>
1896	TERRY, JOHN H., <i>Elmcote, Barnet.</i>
1896	†TREW, HERBERT S.
1903	†THOMAS, D. C. J., <i>Arlington, Bassett, Southampton.</i>
1898	THOMAS, REV. E. J. MOLLARD, <i>Clifton, Bower Mount Road, Maidstone.</i>
1881	THOMAS, JOHN, 18 <i>Wood Street, E.C.</i>
1902	THOMAS, KEITH J., 86 <i>Breakspears Road, Brockley, S.E.</i>
1904	THOMAS, VIVIAN, 86 <i>Breakspears Road, Brockley, S.E.</i>
1892	*THOMPSON, SIR E. MAUNDE, K.C.B., I.S.O., LL.D., <i>British Museum, W.C.</i>
1888	THOMPSON, E. SYMES, M.D., F.R.C.P., 33 <i>Cavendish Square, W.</i>
1890	†THOMPSON, SYDNEY, <i>Wood Dene, Sevenoaks.</i>
1905	THOMPSON, SYDNEY DE COURCY, F.Z.S., 2 <i>Raven Villas, Hammersmith, W.</i>
1889	THOMSON, ALEXANDER, <i>Bartholomew House, E.C.</i>
1897	THOMSON, ALEXANDER, <i>Burgie House, Forres, N.B.</i>
1872	THORNE, CORNELIUS, <i>Maison Rouge, Main Road, Sidcup.</i>
1886	THORNE, SIR WILLIAM, M.L.A., <i>Rusdon, Rondebosch, Cape Colony; and Messrs. Stuttaford & Co., 11 New Union Street, Moor Lane, E.C.</i>
1898	†THORNTON, CHARLES, 1 <i>Mount Street, Grosvenor Square, W.</i>
1877	THURUPP, LEONARD W., 10 <i>Anglesea Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea.</i>
1882	THWAITES, HAWTREY, 27 <i>Bramham Gardens, S.W.</i>
1891	TILLIE, ALEXANDER, <i>Maple House, Ballard's Lane, Finchley, N.</i>
1903	TILLOTSON, JOHN LEVER, <i>Heathfield, Bebington, Cheshire.</i>
1897	TIMSON, MAJOR SAMUEL ROWLAND, V.D., c/o Messrs. W. Cooper & Nephews, <i>Berkhamsted.</i>
1883	†TINLINC, JAMES MADDER, <i>Cliffden, Teignmouth.</i>
1892	TIPPLETS, WILLIAM J. B., 27 <i>Trebovir Road, Earl's Court, S.W.; and 11 Maiden Lane, E.C.</i>
1902	TOLEMAN, R. J., 1 <i>Kildare Gardens, Bayswater, W.; and 22 Walbrook, E.C.</i>
1882	TOMKINSON, GEORGE ARNOLD, B.A., LL.B., 60 <i>Queen Victoria Street, E.C.</i>
1900	TOTTENHAM, HENRY LOFTUS, 1 <i>The Boltons, S.W.</i>
1884	†TOWN, HENRY, 1031 <i>Robson Street, Vancouver, British Columbia.</i>
1897	TOWNEND, THOMAS S., c/o "Argus" Office, 80 <i>Fleet Street, E.C.</i>
1892	TOWNSEND, CHARLES, J.P., <i>St. Mary's, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.</i>

Year of
Election.

- 1887 TOZER, HON. SIR HORACE, K.C.M.G. (*Agent-General for Queensland*),
1 *Victoria Street, S.W.*
- 1884 †TRAVERS, JOHN AMORY, *Tortington, Arundel.*
- 1888 TREACHER, SIR WILLIAM H., K.C.M.G., *c/o Messrs. H. S. King & Co.,*
9 *Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1902 TRIGG, HENRY STIRLING, 12 *Arundel Terrace, Brighton.*
- 1885 TRINDER, OLIVER J., 87A *Leadenhall Street.*
- 1886 TRITTON, J. HERBERT, 54 *Lombard Street, E.C.*
- 1903 TROUP, JAMES, *c/o P. Cooper, Esq., 259 Union Street, Aberdeen.*
- 1903 TUKE, JAMES, *British Linen Bank, Threadneedle Street, E.C.*
- 1899 TURNER, FREDERICK WM., *The Grange, Paradise Road, Stoke Newington,*
N.; and 50 *Old Broad Street, E.C.*
- 1885 TURNER, GORDON, *Colonial Bank, 13 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1883 TURNER, HON. JOHN H. (*Agent-General for British Columbia*), *Salisbury,*
House, Finsbury Circus, E.C.
- 1905 TURNER, ROBERT J., 16 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1896 TUSTIN, J. E., A4 *The Albany, Piccadilly, W.*
- 1886 TWYNAM, GEORGE E., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., 31 *Gledhow Gardens, South*
Kensington, S.W.
- 1898 TYSER, HENRY ERSKINE, 16 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1897 TYSER, WILLIAM H., 16 *Fenchurch Avenue, E.C.*
- 1904 †USHER, SIR ROBERT, BART., 37 *Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh.*
- 1883 †VALENTINE, HUGH SUTHERLAND, *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1895 VAN RYN, JACOBUS, *Broad Street House, E.C.*
- 1888 VAUGHAN, R. WYNDHAM, M.Inst.C.E., *Dunmore, St. Catherine's Road,*
Southbourne, Christchurch, Hants.
- 1896 VAUX, WILLIAM E.
- 1881 †VRENDAM, J. L., M.D., 73 *Canfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1888 VEITCH, JAMES A., *Hambleton House, Selby.*
- 1902 VERDON, ARTHUR, A.M.Inst.C.E., 31 *Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle Place,*
S.W.; and Conservative Club, St. James's Street, S.W.
- 1895 VERNON, HON. FORBES G., *Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W.*
- 1884 †VINCENT, SIR C. E. HOWARD, K.C.M.G., C.B., M.P., 1 *Grosvenor*
Square, W.
- 1894 VINCENT, SIR EDGAR, K.C.M.G., M.P., 3 *Buckingham Gate, S.W.; and*
Esher Place, Surrey.
- 1901 VINCENT, WILLIAM, *Kimberley Waterworks Company, 20 Laurence*
Pountney Lane, E.C.
- 1880 VOSS, HERMANN, *Anglo-Continental Guano Works, 15 Leadenhall Street,*
E.C.
- 1886 VOSS, HOULTON H., *Oriental Club, Hanover Square, W.*
- 1884 WADDINGTON, JOHN, *Ely Grange, Frant, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1897 WADHAM, WM. JOSEPH, 77 *Adelaide Road, Kensington, Liverpool.*
- 1887 WAGHORN, JAMES, 11 *Arkwright Road, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1894 WALES, H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF, K.G., G.C.M.G., *Marlborough House, S.W.,*
- 1897 WALKER, EDMUND, 65 *De Parys Avenue, Bedford.*

Year of
Election.

- 1875 WALKER, SIR EDWARD NOEL, K.C.M.G., 52 *Warwick Road, Earl's Court, S.W.*
- 1897 †WALKER, FRANK, 36 *Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1895 †WALKER, HENRY DE ROSENBACH, 95 *Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.*
- 1885 †WALKER, ROBERT J., F.R.G.S., F.R.Hist.S., *Ormidale, Knighton Park Road, Leicester.*
- 1887 WALKER, RUSSELL D., *North Villa, Park Road, Regent's Park, N.W.*
- 1902 WALKER, WILLIAM JAMES, 17 *Chesterford Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.*
- 1901 WALKER, WILLIAM S., *Cornborough, Abbotsham, Bideford.*
- 1902 WALL, EDGAR G., 29 *Palliser Road, West Kensington, W.*
- 1903 WALLACE, GEORGE W., *Commercial Bank of Australia, 1 Bishopsgate Street, E.C.*
- 1894 WALLACE, LAWRENCE A., A.M.Inst.C.E., 18 *Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, S.E.*
- 1900 WALLACE, PROFESSOR ROBERT, F.L.S., F.R.S.E., *The University, Edinburgh.*
- 1889 WALLACE, T. S. DOWNING, *Heronfield, Potters Bar.*
- 1882 WALLIS, H. BOYD, *Graylands, near Horsham.*
- 1891 WALPOLE, SIR CHARLES G., M.A., *Broadford, Chobham, Woking.*
- 1901 WALTON, JOSEPH, M.P., *Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.; and Glenside, Salisbury-by-the-Sea.*
- 1896 WARBURTON, SAMUEL, *Trenton, 4 Harrington Villas, Preston Park, Brighton.*
- 1889 WARING, FRANCIS J., C.M.G., M.Inst.C.E., *Uva Lodge, 49 Mount Avenue, Ealing, W.*
- 1880 WARREN, GENERAL SIR CHARLES, R.E., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., 10 *Wellington Crescent, Ramsgate.*
- 1900 WASON, JOHN CATHCART, M.P., 6 *Evelyn Mansions, Carlisle Place, S.W.; and Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1885 †WATERHOUSE, LEONARD, 9 *Sussex Square, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1895 WATERHOUSE, P. LESLIE, M.A., A.R.I.B.A., 1 *Verulam Buildings, Gray's Inn, W.C.*
- 1894 WATKINS, CHARLES S. C., *Ivy Bank, Mayfield, Sussex.*
- 1896 †WATSON, COLONEL SIR CHARLES M., R.E., K.C.M.G., C.B., 43 *Thurloe Square, S.W.*
- 1901 WATSON, JOHN A. S., *Ellangowan, Caterham Valley, Surrey.*
- 1884 WATSON, WILLIAM COLLING, 10 *Lyndhurst Road, Hampstead, N.W.; and 15 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1900 WATT, ERNEST A. S., B.A., *Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1887 †WATT, HUGH, 20 *Albert Gate, S.W.*
- 1901 WAY, HERBERT L., *Spencer Grange, Yeldham, Halstead, Essex.*
- 1891 WEATHERLEY, CHARLES H., *Messrs. Cooper Bros. & Co., 14 George Street, Mansion House, E.C.*
- 1880 WEBB, HENRY B., *Holmdale, Dorking, Surrey.*
- 1882 WEBB, THE RT. REV. BISHOP ALLEN B., D.D., *The Deanery, Salisbury.*
- 1892 WEDDEL, WILLIAM, 16 *St. Helen's Place, E.C.*
- 1893 †WELSTEAD, LEONARD, *Oakhyret, Caterham, Surrey.*
- 1869 WEMYSS AND MARCH, RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF, 28 *St. James's Place, S.W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1892 WEST, REV. HENRY M., M.A., *Sacombe Rectory, Ware.*
- 1878 †WESTBY, EDMUND W., *Oxford & Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1875 WESTERN, CHARLES R., *Broadway Chambers, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1897 †WESTRAY, JAMES B., 138 *Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1877 WETHERELL, WILLIAM S., 50 *Kidderminster Road, Croydon.*
- 1880 WHARTON, HENRY, 19 *Beaufort Gardens, S.W.*
- 1888 WHEELER, ARTHUR H., *Temple Chambers, E.C.*
- 1902 WHITE, MAJOR THE HON. ROBERT, 16 *Stratton Street, W.*
- 1886 †WHITE, REV. W. MOORE, LL.D., *St. James's Vicarage, Bournemouth.*
- 1897 WHITTLE, JAMES LOWRY, 2 *Brick Court, Temple, E.C.*
- 1891 †WHITT, HENRY TARTLTON, *Dewhurst Lodge, Wadhurst, Sussex.*
- 1882 WHYTE, ROBERT, 6 *Milk Street Buildings, E.C.*
- 1902 †WHYTOCK, WILLIAM, *Messrs. Fowle & Boden, 15 Coleman Street, E.C.*
- 1893 WICKHAM, REGINALD W., *Ebley Court, Stroud, Glos.*
- 1899 WICKING, HARRY, c/o W. P. Drew, Esq., 3 *Crosby Square, E.C.*
- 1896 †WILKINS, THOMAS, 19 *Lyndhurst Road, Peckham, S.E.; and 21 Great St. Helen's, E.C.*
- 1889 WILKINSON, RICHARD G., *Bank of Adelaide, 11 Leadenhall Street, E.C.*
- 1896 WILLATS, HENRY R., *Royal Chambers, Temple Row, Birmingham.*
- 1883 WILCOCKS, GEORGE WALLER, M.Inst.C.E., *Redthorn, Rodway Road, Roehampton, S.W.*
- 1895 WILLIAMS, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE CONDÉ (of *Mauritius*), 4 *Park Crescent, Worthing.*
- 1904 WILLIAMS, G. MAWDSLEY, 22 *Buckingham Palace Mansions, S.W.*
- 1884 WILLIAMS, SIR HARTLEY, *Queen Anne's Mansions, S.W.*
- 1895 WILLIAMS, COLONEL ROBERT, M.P., 1 *Hyde Park Street, W.; and Bridehead, Dorchester.*
- 1889 †WILLIAMSON, ANDREW, 27 *Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1887 †WILLIAMSON, JOHN P. G., *Rothesay House, Richmond, S.W.*
- 1903 WILLIS, ARTHUR C., *Union Bank of Australia, 71 Cornhill, E.C.*
- 1874 WILLS, GEORGE, 3 *Chapel Street, Whitecross Street, E.C.*
- 1886 WILLS, JOHN TAYLER, B.A., 23 *Savile Row, W.; and 2 King's Bench Walk, Temple, E.C.*
- 1905 WILLSON, BECKLES, 60 *Acacia Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.; and Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James's Street, S.W.*
- 1891 WILSON, REV. BERNARD R., M.A., *The Vicarage, Portsea, Portsmouth.*
- 1886 WILSON, COLONEL SIR DAVID, K.C.M.G., *Messina, Tiverton.*
- 1899 †WILSON, D. LANDALE, 69 *Mark Lane, E.C.*
- 1901 WILSON, JAMES H. CHARNOCK, *King's Leigh, Wembley, N.W.*
- 1886 †WILSON, JOHN, 86 *Westmoreland Road, Bromley, Kent.*
- 1881 †WINCHILSEA, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, *Harlech, Merioneth.*
- 1902 WING, WILLIAM, *King's Chambers, Angel Street, Sheffield.*
- 1900 WINGFIELD, SIR EDWARD, K.C.B., 40 *Albion Street, Hyde Park, W.*
- 1895 WOLF, WALTER HENRY, c/o Messrs. Jenkin & Phillips, 14 *Mincing Lane, E.C.*
- 1868 †WOLFF, RIGHT HON. SIR HENRY DRUMMOND, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., 28 *Cadogan Place, S.W.; and Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.*
- 1891 WOOD, ALFRED, *The Tyrol, Church Road, Upper Norwood, S.E.*
- 1894 WOOD, GEORGE, *The Oaks, Cambridge Road, Teddington.*
- 1902 WOOD, JAMES LEIGH, C.M.G., 29 *Oxford Square, Hyde Park, W.*

Year of
Election.

- 1901 WOOD, JAMES SCOTT, *Battledown, 2 Mount Park Crescent, Ealing, W.; and Messrs. M. B. Foster & Sons, Ltd., 242 Marylebone Road, N.W.*
- 1899 †WOOD, PETER F., *Camden Lodge, Lubbock Road, Chislehurst.*
- 1900 WOOD, THOMAS, *20 Argyle Road, Ealing, W.*
- 1894 WOOD, THOMAS LEWIS, *41 Cathcart Road, South Kensington, S.W.; United University Club, Pall Mall East, S.W.*
- 1890 WOODALL, CORBET, C.E., *95 Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.*
- 1899 WOODHOUSE, ROWLAND B., *30 Mincing Lane, E.C.*
- 1882 †WOODS, ARTHUR, *18 Kensington Garden Terrace, W.*
- 1884 †WOOLLAN, BENJAMIN M., *Sherwood Park, Tunbridge Wells.*
- 1890 †WOOLLAN, FRANK M., *Ulundi, 11 Langland Gardens, Finchley Road, N.W.*
- 1903 †WREN, CHARLES H., *54 Onslow Gardens, Highgate, N.*
- 1903 WRIGHT, ARTHUR G., *c/o Messrs. J. Buttery & Co., 7 Mark Lane, E.C.*
- 1897 WRIGHT, LEE, B.A., *25 Leadenhall Buildings, E.C.*
- 1883 WYLLIE, HARVEY, *Balgownie, Blyth Road, Bromley, Kent.*
- 1896 WYNDHAM, RT. HON. GEORGE, M.P., *35 Park Lane, W.*
- 1897 †WYNTER, ANDREW ELLIS, M.D., M.R.C.S., *43 Oakfield Road, Clifton Bristol.*
- 1892 YEREBURGH, ROBERT A., M.P., *25 Kensington Gore, S.W.*
- 1869 †YOUNG, SIR FREDERICK, K.C.M.G., *5 Queensberry Place South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1899 YOUNG, GERALD B., *Australian and New Zealand Mortgage Co., 22 Basinghall Street, E.C.*
- 1897 YOUNG, JASPER, *74 Gloucester Road, South Kensington, S.W.*
- 1888 YOUNG, COLONEL J. S., *13 Gloucester Street, S.W.*
- 1890 YUILLE, ANDREW B., *53 Nevern Square, Earl's Court, S.W.; and Bellevue, Bridge of Allan, N.B.*

NON-RESIDENT FELLOWS.

Year of
Election.

- 1889 ABBOTT, DAVID, 470 Chancery Lane, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1884 †ABBOTT, PHILIP WILLIAM, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1895 †ABBEY, HENRY, Ideal Farm, Sydenham, Natal.
 1901 ABBIT, W., B.A., The College, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1905 ABRAHAM, EDWARD A. V., America Street, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1883 †ABURBOW, CHARLES, F.R.G.S., P.O. Box 534, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1899 ACHESON-GRAY, ARTHUR, Waiwiri, Ashhurst, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1891 †ACLAND, HENRY DYKE, 145 Phillip Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1883 ACTON-ADAMS, WILLIAM, J.P., Tyapa, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1897 ACUTT, COTTON, Connington, Mooi River, Natal.
 1904 †ACUTT, ERNEST LESLIE, C.M.G., Acutt's Arcade, Durban, Natal.
 1893 ACUTT, LEONARD, Aberfoyle, Tongaat, Natal.
 1901 ADAMS, ARTHUR R., Goodwood, Penang, Straits Settlements.
 1901 ADAMS, EDWARD C., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Assistant Colonial Surgeon,
 Calabar, Southern Nigeria.
 1894 ADAMS, PERCY, Barrister-at-Law, Nelson, New Zealand.
 1896 †ADLAM, JOSEPH C., P. O. Box 1832, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1897 †ADLER, HENRY, P. O. Box 1059, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1886 ADLER, ISIDOR H., Travemünde, Lubeck, Germany.
 1893 AGAR, WALTER J., Lawrence Estate, Norwood, Ceylon.
 1895 †AGBEBI, REV. MOJOLA, M.A., Ph.D., Lagos, West Africa.
 1897 †AINSWORTH, H. S., Belvedere, Geraldton, Western Australia.
 1903 AITCHISON, PETER LUGTON, Fingo Location, Bembesi Siding, Bulawayo,
 Rhodesia.
 1890 AITKEN, JAMES, c/o Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Melbourne, Victoria.
 1888 ALBRECHT, HENRY B., Brynbella, Willow Grange Station, Natal.
 1897 ALCOCK, RANDAL J., 460 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1902 ALDOUS, REV. PERCIVAL M., M.A., c/o The Rt. Rev. The Bishop of
 Pretoria, Pretoria, Transvaal.
 1896 †ALEXANDER, ABRAHAM D., P. O. Box 76, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1904 ALEXANDER, DAVID, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., Government Medical Officer,
 Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.
 1902 ALEXANDER, J. M., c/o Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Axim, Gold Coast Colony.
 1902 ALEXANDER, CAPTAIN SCOTT, New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1881 ALISON, JAMES, Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1897 †ALLAN, SIR HUGH MONTAGUE, Ravenscraig, Montreal, Canada.
 1901 †ALLARD, J. H., Sepau, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, Federated Malay States.
 1905 ALLARDYCE, KENNETH JAMES, Suva, Fiji.
 1901 ALLARDYCE, H.E. W. L., C.M.G., Government House, Stanley, Falkland
 Islands.
 1899 ALLDRIDGE, T. E. LESLIE, Customs Dept., Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
 1883 ALLDRIDGE, T. J., I.S.O., F.R.G.S., F.Z.S.
 1883 †ALLEN, JAMES, M.H.R., Dunedin, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).

Year of
Election.

- 1882 ALLEN, THAINE, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1903 ALLEN, T. F., *c/o The Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 ALLIN, CEPHUS D., *Enterprise, Ontario, Canada; and Palo Alto, San Francisco, U.S.A.*
 1905 ALLISON, THACKERAY J., *241 West Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1880 †ALLPORT, WALTER H., C.E., *The Repp, Newmarket P.O., Jamaica.*
 1900 ALLT, ALLEN B., *Customs Dept., Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1892 ALLWOOD, JAMES, C.M.G., *Collector-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1892 ALSOP, DAVID G. E., *Messrs. Bligh & Harbottle, 504 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1904 ALTMAN, GRANVILLE J., *North Borneo Trading Co., Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
 1888 AMPHELETT, GEORGE T., *Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1892 ANDERSON, C. WILGESS, J.P., *Department of Lands and Mines, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1902 ANDERSON, DANIEL ELIE, M.D., *121 Avenue des Champs Elysées, Paris.*
 1873 †ANDERSON, DICKSON, *223 Commissioner Street, Montreal, Canada.*
 1900 ANDERSON, GEORGE C., *13 Praya Central, Hong Kong.*
 1894 ANDERSON, JAMES, J.P., *Bandarapola, Matale, Ceylon.*
 1904 ANDERSON, JAMES, M.L.A., *P.O. Box 9, Vryheid, Natal.*
 1881 †ANDERSON, REV. JAMES F., B.A., B.Sc., B.D., *St. John's, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1904 ANDERSON, H.E. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Singapore.*
 1904 ANDERSON, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., *Messrs. Guthrie & Co., Singapore.*
 1901 ANDERSON, MURDOCH, *National Bank, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1902 †ANDERSON, THOMAS J., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1889 ANDERSON, WILLIAM TRAIL, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1889 †ANDREW, DUNCAN C., *c/o Union Castle S.S. Co., Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1898 ANDREWS, M. STEWART, *Director of Telegraphs, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1891 †ANDREWS, THOMAS, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1900 †ANGUS, GEORGE, *Victoria Club, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1893 †ANGUS, JAMES, *32 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1885 †ANNAND, GEORGE, M.D., *Beaufort Street, Perth, Western Australia.*
 1902 ANSON, EDWARD R., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1902 ANSON, HON. FRANK C. M., *Treasurer, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1891 ANTHONISZ, JAMES O., *1st Magistrate, Singapore.*
 1899 ARBOUIN, C.
 1896 ARCHER, HON. F. BISSET, *Treasurer, Bathurst, Gambia (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1904 ARCHER, LEONARD A., *c/o Boating Co., Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1902 ARCHER, WILLIAM H. D., *Brickendon, Longford, Tasmania.*
 1899 ARCHIBALD, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., *New Farm, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1899 ARCHIBALD, WILLIAM, *Roxborough, Tobago, West Indies.*
 1900 ARDERNE, HENRY MATHEW, *P.O. Box 536, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1900 ARDERNE, HENRY RALPH, *P.O. Box 536, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1880 ARMBRISTER, HON. WM. E., M.E.C., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
 1901 ARMBRISTER, PERCY W. D., *Resident Justice, Inagua, Bahamas.*
 1901 ARMSTRONG W. HARVEY, J.P., *Warrigal Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1898 ARMSTRONG, CHARLES N., *261 Peel Street, Montreal, Canada.*
 1889 †ARMSTRONG, GEORGE S., M.L.A., *Inanda, Victoria County, Natal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1887 ARMYTAGE, BERTRAND, 472 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1881 ARMYTAGE, F. W., 472 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1890 ARNELL, C. C., 524 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1899 ARNOTT, G. W. CAMPBELL, 114 Victoria Street, Toronto, Canada.
 1904 ARSECULERATNE, DON PETER, Waters Meet, Mutwall, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1896 ARTHUR, ALEXANDER C., Gisborne, New Zealand.
 1905 ARTHUR, JOHN, Messrs. Brabant & Co., Brisbane, Queensland.
 1877 ARUNDEL, JOHN THOMAS, South Sea Islands.
 1896 ASHE, EVELYN O., M.D., Kimberley, Cape Colony.
 1905 ASPINALL, HERBERT H., Melbourne, Victoria.
 1902 ASPINALL, WALTER F., Coleman House, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.
 1883 ASTLES, HARVEY EUSTACE, M.D., 445 St. George's Terrace, Perth,
Western Australia.
 1896 ARTROP, JOHN H., P.O. Box 480, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1880 †ATHERSTONE, GUYBON D., M.Inst.C.E., Government Railways, Grahams-
town, Cape Colony.
 1900 †ATHERTON, THOMAS W. T., Ashanti Consols, Ltd., Ashanti, Gold Coast
Colony.
 1885 †ATKINSON, A. R., 14 Brandon Street, Wellington, New Zealand.
 1887 ATKINSON, HON. J. MITFORD, M.E.C., M.B., Government Civil Hospital,
Hong Kong.
 1905 †ATKINSON, JOHN, Customs Department, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
 1889 †ATKINSON, R. HOPE (J.P. of N. S. Wales), 332 South Fourth Avenue,
Mount Vernon, New York.
 1901 ATLEE, PERCY STEPHENSON, c/o Ivory Coast Goldfields, Limited, Grand
Bassam, Ivory Coast.
 1902 †ATTRIDGE, HENRY, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1904 ATTWELL, CHARLES G., Portswood, Green Point, Cape Town, Cape
Colony.
 1893 †AUBERT, JOHN GEORGE, Advocate, Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1897 AUSTEN, JOHN, Gwelo, Rhodesia.
 1905 AUSTIN, EDWARD N. L., Komgha, Cape Colony.
 1901 AUSTIN, HENRY BOASE, J.P., Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.
 1903 AUSTIN, KENNETH, P.O. Box 2154, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1896 AWDREY, JAMES A., P.O. Box 3423, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1892 AYERS, FRANK RICHMAN, Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide, South Australia.
 1905 BARBS, ARTHUR T., Rhodes Building, St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape
Colony.
 1900 BADOCK, PERCY T., 10 Timber Street, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1883 BADNALL, HERBERT OWEN, J.P., Resident Magistrate, Cape Town, Cape
Colony.
 1884 †BAGOT, GEORGE, Barbados.
 1891 †BAGOT, JOHN, Adelaide Club, South Australia.
 1889 †BAILEY, ABE, P.O. Box 50, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1902 †BAILEY, AMOS, M.L.A., Woodstock, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1897 BAILEY, EDWARD T., M.Inst.M.E., Fort-de-Kock, Sumatra.
 1904 BAILEY, HENRY E., W.A.F.F., Freetown, Sierra Leone.
 1901 BAILEY, WILLIAM J. GEORGE, Taguah and Abosso G. M. Co., via Tarkwa,
Gold Coast Colony.

Year of
Election.

- 1904 †BAILLIE, F. W., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1884 BAINBRIDGE, CAPTAIN WILLIAM.
 1887 †BAIRD, A. REID, *Stock Exchange Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1896 BAIRD, ROBERT TREED, *Kalgoorlie, Western Australia; and Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1900 BAKER, ALFRED, *Messrs. Mansfield & Co., Singapore.*
 1905 BAKER, ALFRED JOHN, *Government Primary School, Greytown, Natal.*
 1898 †BAKER, WILLIAM G., *Musgrave Road, Durban, Natal.*
 1882 BAKWELL, JOHN W., *Mount Lofty, Crafters, South Australia.*
 1900 BAKWELL, LEONARD W., *Fitzroy Terrace, Fitzroy, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1903 BAILE, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR HENRY, K.C.M.G., *Ingleside, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1884 †BALFOUR, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., *Tyalla, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.*
 1904 BALFOUR, JOHN FORDYCE, *Nen Gold Coast Agency, Cinnamon Bippo, Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1881 BALL, COMMANDER EDWIN, R.N.R.
 1903 BALL, THOMAS A., *Lahad Datu, British North Borneo.*
 1905 †BALL, THOMAS J., J.P., *c/o Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1884 †BALLARD, CAPTAIN HENRY, C.M.G., *Durban, Natal.*
 1887 †BALME, ARTHUR, *Walbundrie, near Albury, New South Wales.*
 1893 BAM, CAPTAIN PETRUS C. VAN B., M.L.A., *City Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1895 BANDARANAIKE, MAHA MUDALIYAR S. DIAS, C.M.G., *Horogolla, Veyangoda, Ceylon.*
 1887 BANKART, FREDERICK J., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1891 †BANKIER, FRANK M., *Laverton P.O., Western Australia.*
 1898 BANNER, HARMOOD A., *Manchester Fire Assurance Co., 78 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1904 †BANNISTER, CHARLES R., *c/o Natal Bank, P.O. Box 1134, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1889 BAPTISTE, GEORGE A., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Curepipe, Mauritius.*
 1901 †BARBER, GEORGE H., *c/o R. J. Endean, Esq., Claude's Bungalow, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1891 BARBER, HILTON, J.P., *Hales Owen, Cradock, Cape Colony.*
 1905 BARBER, SYDNEY H., *Law Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1900 BARBER, WALTER M., *92 Langley Avenue, Toronto, Canada.*
 1903 BARBOUR-JAMES, JOHN A., *Postmaster, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1892 BARFF, H. E., *Registrar, Sydney University, New South Wales.*
 1904 BARKER, FRANCIS HENRY, *Orari, South Canterbury, New Zealand; and Christchurch Club.*
 1903 BARKER, GEORGE L., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1899 BARKER, HENRY E., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1895 †BARKLIE, T. W. S., *Inspector of Villages Office, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1902 BARLOW, ALFRED, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1886 BARNARD, SAMUEL, J.P., *St. Lucia, West Indies.*
 1905 BARNES, ALFRED H., *Town Hall, Muizenberg, Cape Colony.*
 1887 BARNES, J. F. EVELYN, C.M.G., C.E., *Colonial Engineer and Surveyor-General, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1890 †BARNES, ROBERT S. W., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Durban Club, Natal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1883 †BARNETT, CAPT. E. ALGERNON.
 1900 BARNETT, FREDERICK J., *Suva, Fiji*.
 1904 BARNETT, LOUIS E., M.B., F.R.C.S.E., *Stafford Street, Dunedin, New Zealand*.
 1905 BARNES, E. W., M.A., *The College, Maritzburg, Natal*.
 1898 BARRAUT, EDWARD H., *District Officer, Sandakan, British North Borneo*.
 1891 †BARRETT, CHARLES HUGH, *P.O. Box 66, Pretoria, Transvaal*.
 1884 †BARR-SMITH, ROBERT, *Torrens Park, Adelaide, South Australia*.
 1883 BARR-SMITH, THOMAS E., *Birksgate, Glen Osmond, Adelaide, South Australia*.
 1895 †BARRY, ARTHUR J., *Pretoria Club, Transvaal*.
 1875 BARRY, SIR JACOB D., *Rustenburg, Stellenbosch, Cape Colony*.
 1902 BARTHOPE, JOHN GRANVILLE, *Silverhope, Rangitikei, New Zealand*.
 1901 BARTON, F. C. M., *Audit Dept., Pretoria, Transvaal*.
 1880 BARTON, WILLIAM, *Barrister-at-Law, Trentham, Wellington, New Zealand*.
 1892 BATCHELOR, FERDINAND C., M.D., *care of Bank of New Zealand, North Dunedin, New Zealand*.
 1901 BATEMAN, JOHN WESLEY, *Messrs. J. & W. Bateman, Fremantle, Western Australia*.
 1902 †BATEMAN, PERCY H., *Leeuw River, Ladybrand, Orange River Colony*.
 1902 BATEMAN, WALTER SLADE, *Prisons Department, Pretoria, Transvaal*.
 1896 BATES, G. DUDLEY, *Salisbury, Rhodesia*.
 1897 BATES, RICHARD W.
 1895 BATTY, JAMES A., *P.O. Box 208, Pretoria, Transvaal*.
 1904 BAY, AARON, *P. O. Box 5513, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
 1887 BAYLEY, COLONEL ARDEN L., *West India Regiment, Jamaica*.
 1905 BAXENDALE, WALTER, *P.O. Box 169, Bulawayo, Rhodesia*.
 1885 †BAYNES, HON. JOSEPH, C.M.G., M.L.C., J.P., *Nels Rest, Upper Umhass, Natal*.
 1893 BAYNES, WILLIAM, *Settle, Maritzburg, Natal*.
 1898 †BEALEY, RICHARD NOWELL, *Haldon, Hororata, Canterbury, New Zealand*.
 1891 BEANLANDS, REV. CANON ARTHUR, M.A., *Christ Church Rectory, Victoria, British Columbia*.
 1880 BEARD, CHARLES HALMAN, *Port Antonio, Jamaica*.
 1893 BEAUFORT, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE LEICESTER P., M.A., B.C.L., *Fort Jameson, North-Eastern Rhodesia*.
 1901 BEAUMONT, HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM HENRY, *6 Burger Street, Maritzburg, Natal*.
 1889 †BECK, CHARLES PROCTOR, *Sunny Side, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony (Corresponding Secretary)*.
 1886 †BECKETT, THOMAS WM., *Church Street East, Pretoria, Transvaal*.
 1904 BEDDOES, ALFRED B., *c/o Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Axim, Gold Coast Colony*.
 1889 †BEDDY, WILLIAM HENRY, *Fauresmith, Orange River Colony*.
 1905 BEETHAM, HUGH H., *Brancepeth, Masterton, New Zealand*.
 1877 BEETHAM, WILLIAM H., *Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand*.
 1898 †BEIT, WILLIAM, *Ascot, Toowoomba, Queensland*.
 1905 BELCHER, ERNEST A., B.A., *High School, Durban, Natal*.
 1897 BELL, ALEXANDER, *Makino, Feilding, Wellington, New Zealand*.
 1893 BELL, ANTHONY, *Montreux Club, Montreux, Switzerland*.

Year of
Election.

- 1903 BELL, HON. ARCHIBALD G., M.C.P., M.Inst.C.E., *Colonial Civil Engineer, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1896 BELL, FRED, P.O. Box 112, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 BELL, F. H. DILLON, *Barrister-at-Law, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1905 BELL, GEORGE P. CREIL, J.P., *Police Department, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1902 BELL, HIS HONOUR H. HESKETH, C.M.G., *Government House, Dominica.*
- 1902 †BELL, JAMES EVELYN, 408 *California Street, San Francisco.*
- 1886 BELL, JOHN W., C.M.G., *Master of the Supreme Court, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 BELL, HON. VALENTINE G., C.M.G., M.L.C., M.Inst.C.E., *Director of Public Works, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1895 †BELL, WM. H. SOMERSET, P.O. Box 4284, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1905 BELLAMY, CHARLES VINCENT, M.Inst.C.E., *Director of Public Works, Lagos, West Africa (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1893 BENINGFIELD, JAMES J., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1901 BENINGFIELD, LT.-COL. R. W., 20 *St. Andrew's Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1894 BENNETT, ALFRED C., M.D., *District Surgeon, Griqua Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 BENNETT, ARTHUR L., *Tarentum, Spanish Town, Jamaica.*
- 1888 †BENNETT, CHRIS., *Rockmore, Sutton Forest, New South Wales.*
- 1885 BENNETT, COURTENAY WALTER, C.I.E., H.B.M. Consul-General, *San Francisco.*
- 1903 BENNETT, RICHARD C., P.O. Box 967, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 BENNETT, THOMAS, M.Inst.C.E., *Kilham House, Muizenberg, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 BENNETT, THOMAS RANDLE, *City Magistrate, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1897 BENNETT, HON. WILLIAM HART, *Colonial Secretary, Stanley, Falkland Islands (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1896 †BENNIE, ANDREW, *Market Square, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 †BENSUSAN, EDGAR V., M.A.I.M.E., *Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1875 BENSUSAN, RALPH, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 BENTLEY, EDMUND T., *Durban Club, Natal.*
- 1902 BEOR, WILLIAM MICHAEL, *Harriemith, Orange River Colony.*
- 1901 BERKELEY, HENRY S., *Assistant Resident, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1903 BERKELEY, HUMPHRY, *Barrister-at-Law, Suva, Fiji.*
- 1900 BERNING, FREDERICK S., *Attorney-at-Law, Kokstad, Cape Colony.*
- 1898 BERNSTEIN, LEON J., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1900 †BERRINGTON, EVELYN D., *Ayrshire Gold Mine, Lomagunda, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 BERT, ALBERT J., P.O. Box 969, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 BERTRAM, HON. ANTON, *Attorney-General, Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1901 †BERTRAM, CHARLES FULLER, *Galteemore Farm, Pokwani Station, British Bechuanaland.*
- 1893 BERTRAM, ROBERTSON F., *High Constantia, Wynberg, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 BEST, SENATOR HON. ROBERT W., 352 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1900 BEST, W. H. G. H., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., *Government Medical Officer, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1901 BESWICK, J. H., *New Kleinfontein Co., Benoni, Transvaal.*
- 1887 †BETHUNE, GEORGE M., *Enmore, East Coast, British Guiana.*
- 1888 †BETTELHEIM, HENRI, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 †BETTINGTON, J. BRINDLEY, *Brindley Park, Merriwa, New South Wales.*
- 1897 BEYERS, F. W., P. O. Box 174, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 BIANCARDI, LIEUT.-COLONEL N. GRECH, M.V.O., A.D.C., *The Palace, Malta.*

Year of
election.

- 1884 †BICKFORD, WILLIAM, 44 Currie Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1901 BIDDLES, FRANK, Fremantle, Western Australia.
- 1881 †BIDEN, A. G., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1889 †BIDEN, WILLIAM, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1884 BIDWELL, JOHN O., J.P., Pihatea, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1900 BIGGE, PHILIP MATTHEW, Mount Brisbane, Esk, Queensland.
- 1900 BINNIE, THOMAS I., C.E., Zomba, British Central Africa.
- 1877 BIRCH, A. S., Fitzherbert Terrace, Wellington, New Zealand.
- 1883 BIRCH, HON. JAMES KORTRIGHT, Resident Councillor, Penang, Straits Settlements.
- 1893 BIRCH, WILLIAM C. CACCIA, Erewhon, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1873 BIRCH, W. J., Erewhon, Napier, New Zealand.
- 1887 †BIRCH, WILLIAM WALTER, Georgetown, British Guiana.
- 1891 BLACK, ERNEST, M.D., Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.
- 1900 BLACK, J. H., Government Railway, Lagos, West Africa.
- 1898 †BLACK, STEWART G., Glenormiston, Noorat, Victoria.
- 1889 †BLACKBURN, ALFRED L., Messrs. W. Anderson & Co., Lower St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1899 BLACKMAN, ALEXANDER A., Muston Street, Mosman, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1886 BLACKWOOD, ROBERT O., Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1888 BLAINE, MAJOR ALFRED E. B., The Bungalow, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
- 1889 †BLAINE, SIR C. FREDERICK, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1889 †BLAINE, HON. HERBERT F., K.C., Attorney-General, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.
- 1899 BLAIR, DYSON, Surveyor-General's Office, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1888 †BLAKE, H.E. SIR HENRY A., G.C.M.G., Government House, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1903 †BLAKELEY, R. H., P.O. Box 102, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1889 BLAND, HON. R. N., Resident Councillor, Malacca, Straits Settlements.
- 1902 BLANE, WILLIAM, M.I.M.E., P.O. Box 2863, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1886 BLANK, OSCAR, Hamburg.
- 1903 BLELOCH, ROBERT, P.O. Box 5754, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1897 BLELOCH, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 5754, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1896 BLENKIRON, JAMES E., Zomba, British Central Africa.
- 1903 BLICK, GRAHAM T., M.B.C.S., L.R.C.P., Broome, Western Australia.
- 1889 †BLOW, JOHN JELLINGS.
- 1903 BODLE, LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM, C.M.G., Bulawayo, Rhodesia.
- 1890 †BODY, REV. PROFESSOR C. W. E., D.C.L., General Theological Seminary, New York.
- 1890 †BOGGIE, ALEXANDER, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.
- 1881 BOIS, FREDERIC W., J.P., Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1892 BOIS, STANLEY, Colombo, Ceylon.
- 1901 BOLT, WILLIAM JAMES, High Street, Roslyn, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1898 BOLTON, FRED W., Farleigh Plantation, Mackay, Queensland.
- 1901 BOLUS, GILHAM, 42 St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
- 1896 †BONAR, THOMSON, M.D., 114 Via de Babuino, Piazza di Spagna, Rome.
- 1902 BONNER, GEORGE, San Carlos, Falkland Islands.
- 1898 BONYTHON, SIR J. LANGDON, M.P., King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1904 BOODSON, HYMAN, P.O. Box 3004, Johannesburg, Transvaal.

Year of
Election.

- 1891 BOOKER, J. DAWSON, *c/o National Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 BOOTH, CHARLES SPENCER, *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1900 BOOTH, FERDINAND ROBERT, *P.O. Box 1037, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 BOOTH, KARL E. O., *P.O. Box 1037, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 †BOOTH, ROBERT M., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Lautoka, Fiji.*
- 1904 BOOTH-CLARKSON, CAPTAIN JAMES, J.P., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Durba Club, Natal.*
- 1902 †BOGHESE, EDWARD C., *Taquah & Abosso G. M Co., Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1885 †BORTON, JOHN, *Casa Nova, Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1896 †BOSS, AARON A., *P.O. Box 562, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 BOTHA, HERCULES P., *Wolfontein, Kroonstad, Orange River Colony.*
- 1889 BOTSFORD, CHARLES S., *524 Queen Street West, Toronto, Canada.*
- 1883 BOURDILLON, EDMUND.
- 1900 BOURHILL, HENRY, *Groot Olifants River, P.O. Witbank, via Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1892 †BOURKE, HON. EDMUND F., M.L.C., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1879 BOURKE, WELLESLEY, *155 King Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1892 †BOURNE, E. F. B., *Norfolk Island, via Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1903 BOURNE, CAPTAIN HENRY R. M. (1st Royal Scots), *Machadodorp, Transvaal.*
- 1887 †BOVELL, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR HENRY A., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1904 BOWDEN, WM. DAVIS, M.A., *Government Railway Construction Bo., Sierra Leone.*
- 1886 BOWELL, SENATOR HON. SIR MACKENZIE, K.C.M.G., *Belleville, Canada.*
- 1882 †BOWEN, HON. CHARLES CHRISTOPHER, M.L.C., *Middleton, Christchurch, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1904 †BOWEN, EDWARD, *The Towers, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1886 †BOWEN, WILLIAM, *Kalimna, Balmarring, Victoria.*
- 1905 †BOWNE, DAVID J., *East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 BOWHILL, JOHN O. MONTGOMERY, *Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1900 †BOWKER, F. G. HINDE, *British American Corporation, Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1904 BOWLES, LIONEL O., C.E., F.R.G.S., *Bulandshahr, United Provinces, India.*
- 1900 †BOWYER-BOWER, T., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 BOYD-CARPENTRE, H., M.A., *Ministry of Public Instruction, Cairo, Egypt (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1889 BOYLE, H.E. SIR CAVENDISH, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1881 †BOYLE, MOSES, *Monrovia, Liberia.*
- 1901 †BRACKEN, T. W., *Government Railways, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1879 BRADFIELD, HON. JOHN L., *The Grotto, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 BRADFORD, W. K., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 BRADLEY, GODFREY T., M.I.Mech.E., *c/o Colonial Secretariat, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1901 BRADSHAW, HERBERT E., *New Rietfontein Estate Gold Mine, P.O. Knights, Transvaal.*
- 1901 BRADSHAW, J. H., *Abbontiakoon, Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1900 BRAHAM, J. F., *The Development Co., Monrovia, Liberia.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 BRAIN, HERBERT S., *Customs Dept., Larnaca, Cyprus.*
 1893 BRAINE, C. DIMOND H., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Irrigation Dept., Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1900 BRAITHWAITE, NATHANIEL, *Punta Gorda, Toledo, British Honduras.*
 1886 BRANDAY, J. W., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1902 BRATT, JAMES H. DAYSON, *Local Auditor, Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
 1884 †BRAUD, HON. ARTHUR, M.C.P., *Mon Repos, British Guiana.*
 1901 †BRAY, EDWARD L., *Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1903 BRAY, REGINALD N., *Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1903 BRIGHT, HAROLD P., *Messrs. Bucknall Bros., P.O. Box 812, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1890 †BRINK, ANDRIES LANGE, *P.O. Box 287, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 †BRITTEN, THOMAS J., *P.O. Box 494, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 BROAD, ARTHUR J., *Mauritius Assets Co., Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1903 BROAD, CHARLES, J.P., *P.O. Box 3525, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 BROAD, WALLACE, B.A., F.G.S., *Department of Mines, 111 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai, China.*
 1899 BROADRICK, E. G., *Police Magistrate, Singapore.*
 1904 BROCKMAN, EDWARD L., *Colonial Secretariat, Singapore (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1888 BRODRICK, ALAN, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1887 BRODRICK, ALBERT, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1896 BRODRICK, HAROLD, *P.O. Box 3060, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 BRODRICK, LANCELOT, *Messrs. Pavey & Co., Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1899 BROOKMAN, BENJAMIN, JR., *Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1897 BROOKS, GEORGE L., *Superintendent of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1889 BROOKS, JAMES HENRY, M.R.C.S.E., *Mahé, Seychelles.*
 1903 BROOKS, WILLIAM, *17 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1901 BROOME, HENRY ARTHUR, J.P., *Broomstone Quarries, Modderpoort, Orange River Colony.*
 1901 BROTHERS, C. J., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
 1892 †BROTHERS, C. M., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
 1901 BROUN, ALFRED FORBES, *Forests Department, Khartum, Sudan.*
 1901 BROWN, CAPTAIN ANDREW F., *P.O. Box 23, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1903 BROWN, DAVID A. MURRAY, *Sungei Nebong, Penang, Straits Settlements.*
 1903 BROWN, EDGAR J., M.B., B.S., *Ormonde College, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1896 BROWN, EDMUND A. B., *Prye, Province Wellesley, Straits Settlements.*
 1896 BROWN, HON. JAMES J., M.C.G., *Receiver-General, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1903 BROWN, JAMES E. MYLES, M.B., Ch.B., *District Surgeon, Taiping, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
 1884 BROWN, JOHN CHARLES, *406 West Street, Durban, Natal.*
 1888 BROWN, JOHN E., *Glenavon, Somerset East, Cape Colony.*
 1892 BROWN, J. ELLIS, *P.O. Box 39, Durban, Natal.*
 1893 BROWN, J. H., M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
 1889 †BROWN, JOHN LAWRENCE, *Methden, Bowenfels, New South Wales.*
 1900 †BROWN, JOHN MCLEAVY, C.M.G., *Seoul, Corea.*
 1904 †BROWN, LAWRENCE C., *Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, Federated Malay States.*
 1894 †BROWN, LESLIE E., *Messrs. Brown & Joske, Suva, Fiji.*
 1889 BROWN, HIS HONOUR MR. JUSTICE RICHARD MYLES, *Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1890 BROWN, WILLIAM, M.A., M.B., *High Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 BROWN, CAPTAIN WILLIAM H., *Rock Life Assurance Co., Burg Street Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 BROWN, WILLIAM J., *Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
- 1892 BROWN, HON. WILLIAM VILLIERS, M.L.C., *Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1895 †BROWNE, EVERARD, *Cororooke, Colac, Victoria.*
- 1880 †BROWNE, HON. C. MACAULAY, C.M.G., M.L.C., *St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1902 BROWNE, NICHOLAS E., J.P., *Wilberforce Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1895 †BROWNE, SYLVESTER, 46 *Lombard Buildings, Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1889 †BROWNE, THOMAS L., *Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1897 BROWNELL, WILLIAM P., *Liverpool Street, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1889 †BRUCE, GEORGE.
- 1890 †BRUCE, J. R. BAXTER, 20 *Bridge Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1900 BRUCE, ROBERT HUNTER, *Amoy, China.*
- 1904 BRUCE, WILLIAM J., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *Government Medical Officer Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1886 †BRUNNER, ERNEST AUGUST, M.L.A., J.P., *Eshowe, Natal.*
- 1895 BRUNTON, JOHN SPENCER, J.P., *Winslow, Darling Point, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 BRYANT, ALFRED, *Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 †BRYANT, ALFRED T., *Inspector of Schools, Singapore.*
- 1897 †BRYANT, JOSEPH, J.P., *Mount Magnet, via Geraldton, Western Australia.*
- 1880 BUCHANAN, HON. SIR E. JOHN, *Judge of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 BUCHANAN, WALTER CLARKE, M.H.R., *Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1886 †BUCHANAN, W. F., J.P., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1899 BUCKLAND, JOHN MORTIMER, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 BUCKLAND, LIEUT. VIRGIE, R.N.R., *Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1897 BUCKLE, ATHANASIUS, J.P., *Carlton House, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1897 BUCKLEY, G. A. McLAN, *Lagmhor, Ashburton, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †BUCKLEY, MAERS, J.P., *Beaulieu, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1905 BULAU, LOUIS, *Beauchamp Estate, Mauritius.*
- 1901 BULL, CHARLES, *St. John's, Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1897 †BULLEN, WM. ALFRED, *Star Life Assurance Society, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 BULLER, SIR WALTER L., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1881 *BULT, O. MANGIN, 8 *Barncleuth Square, Elizabeth Bay, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1901 BURBANK, JOHN E., *c/o Union Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1892 BURBURY, EDWARD P., *New Zealand Loan and Agency Co., Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1903 BURCHELL, HERBERT C., *St. Johns, Newfoundland.*
- 1899 BURDON, MAJOR J. ALDER, C.M.G., M.A., F.R.G.S., *Resident, Sokoto Province, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1888 BURGESS, HON. W. H., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1884 †BURKINSHAW, JOHN, *Singapore.*
- 1903 BURRELL, PERCY, *Fielding, New Zealand.*
- 1903 BURROWS, DONALD, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1894 BURT, ALBERT HAMILTON, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1903 †BURT, ANDREW, M.Inst.M.E., M.A.I.M.E., P.O. Box 208, *Shanghai, China.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 BURT, JOHN REID, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
 1882 BURT, HON. SEPTIMUS, K.C., *Perth, Western Australia.*
 1903 BURTON, ALFRED R. E., *P.O. Box 6431, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1892 BUSBY, ALEXANDER J.P., *Cassilis, New South Wales.*
 1893 BUSH, ROBERT E., *Clifton Downs, Gascoyne, Western Australia.*
 1903 BUSK, CHARLES W., *Nelson, British Columbia.*
 1901 †BUSS, REV. ARTHUR C., M.A., *The Club, Limassol, Cyprus.*
 1889 BUSBY, FRANK H., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 BUTLER, FRANCIS A., J.P., *Police Department, Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
 1886 BUTLER, HENRY, 248 *Flinders Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1900 BUTLER, RICHARD HARDING, 349 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1903 BUTLER-WRIGHT, WILLIAM, *Government Railway, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1888 BUTT, J. M., *Bank of New Zealand, Auckland, New Zealand.*
 1905 BUTTERWORTH, FRANK NESTLE, C.E., *c/o Post Office, Labuan.*
 1900 BUTTERTY, JOHN A., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 †BUTTON, FREDERICK, *Durban, Natal.*
 1898 BUTTON, HEDLEY L. W., *Brisbane Street, Launceston, Tasmania (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1902 BYRDE, F. T., *Abbontiakoon Mines, Lim., Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1893 †CACCIA, ANTHONY M., M.V.O., *Hoshangabad, Central Provinces, India.*
 1892 †CAIN, WILLIAM, *South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1878 †CAIRNCROSS, JOHN, J.P., *De Hoop, Somerset West, Cape Colony.*
 1879 CALDECOTT, HARRY S., *P.O. Box 574, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1899 CALDER, CHARLES W., *Messrs. Couche, Calder & Co., Fremantle, Western Australia.*
 1905 CALDER, WILLIAM, *Baku, Russia.*
 1884 CALDER, WILLIAM HENDERSON, *Ravelston, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1883 CALCOTT, JOHN HOPE, I.S.O.
 1903 CALVERLEY, MAJOR E. LEVISON, *Government Offices, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1904 CAMERON, DONALD C., *Assistant Colonial Secretary, Port Louis, Mauritius (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1904 CAMERON, DUNCAN, J.P., *Springfield, Ashburton, New Zealand.*
 1902 CAMERON, HAMISH S., *Ukuwela Estates Co., Lim., Ukuwela, Ceylon.*
 1900 CAMERON, WILLIAM M., *Advocate, P.O. Box 3, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1874 CAMPBELL, A. H., 17 *Manning Arcade, Toronto, Canada.*
 1899 CAMPBELL, HON. ARCHIBALD M., M.L.C., *Loudoun, Berea, Durban, Natal.*
 1902 CAMPBELL, DAVID WM., *Messrs. Elder, Dempster & Co., Montreal, Canada.*
 1890 CAMPBELL, JAMES P., *Barrister-at-Law, Featherston Street, Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1900 CAMPBELL, JOHN, L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., *Bandau Estate, Kudat, British North Borneo.*
 1897 CAMPBELL, JOHN MORROW, B.Sc., F.C.S., F.R.G.S., *Bibiani Gold Fields, Sefwi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1896 †CAMPBELL, HON. MARSHALL, M.L.C., *Mount Edgecumbe, Natal.*
 1893 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, AUGUSTINE, *Garvanza, California, U.S.A.*
 1900 CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, HARRY F., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1905 †CAMPBELL-JOHNSTON, MALCOLM, *Barrister-at-Law, Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 CANNING, ARTHUR R., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1886 CAPE, ALFRED J., *Karoola, Edgecliff Road, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1897 CAPPER, H. H., "*Times*" Office, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1899 CARDEN, JOHN CECIL, *Messrs Blaine & Co., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 CAREW, CAPTAIN HORACE J., *Japan.*
- 1903 CAREW, WALTER SINCLAIR, 229 *Cumberland Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1904 CARGILL, FRATHERSTON, M.B., *The Residency, Kano, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1895 CARGILL, H. E., *Dejoo Valley Tea Estate, Nowgong, Assam, India.*
- 1889 †CARGILL, HENRY S., *Quamichan, Vancouver's Island, British Columbia.*
- 1889 †CARGILL, WALTER, *care of Bank of New Zealand, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1898 CARMODY, P., F.I.C., F.C.S., *Government Analyst, Port of Spain, Trinidad (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1897 CARE, SIR WM. ST. JOHN, P.O. Box 130, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1884 †CARRUTHERS, DAVID, *East Demerara Water Commission, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1891 CARRUTHERS, GEORGE F., 471 *Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.*
- 1886 CARTER, CHARLES CLAUDIUS, J.P., *General Post Office, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1878 CARTER, H.E. SIR GILBERT T., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Barbados.*
- 1905 CARTWRIGHT, JOHN D., M.L.A., *Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †CARUANA-GATTO, CONTINO A., B.A., LL.D., *Assistant Crown Advocate 59 Strada Levante, Valletta, Malta.*
- 1903 CASSELBERG, ALFRED, *Pahiatua, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1878 CASEY, HON. J. J., C.M.G., K.C., *Ibrickane, Acland Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 CASHEL, CAPTAIN ROWAN, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1902 CASKIE, ALEXANDER, *Harrismith, Orange River Colony.*
- 1895 †CASTALDI, EVARISTO, 171 *Strada Meroanti, Valletta, Malta.*
- 1886 CATOR, GEORGE C., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 CATTO, JOHN, *Memsie, Bridgewater-on-Loddon, Victoria.*
- 1888 †CENTENO, LEON, *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1887 CHABAUD, JOHN A., *Attorney-at-Law, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 †CHADWICK, ROBERT, *Camden Buildings, 418 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1893 *CHAILLEY-BERT, JOSEPH, 44 *Chaussee d'Antin, Paris.*
- 1892 CHALMERS, NATHANIEL, *Labasa, Fiji.*
- 1902 CHALMERS, NATHANIEL, JUN., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Amabele-Butterworth Railway, Komgha, Eastern Province, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 CHALMERS, THOMAS A., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1902 †CHAMBERS, ARTHUR F., *British Consulate-General, San Francisco.*
- 1898 CHAMBERS, ARTHUR LEO, *Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
- 1886 CHAMBERS, JOHN RATCLIFFE, *St. Kitts, West Indies.*
- 1902 †CHAMBERLAYNE, MAJOR TANKERVILLE J., *Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1902 CHAMPION, CHARLES WM., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1904 †CHAPLIN, HENRY AYRTON, L.R.C.P.E., *Government Medical Officer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1899 †CHAPLIN, THOMAS W., P.O. Box 53, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 CHAPMAN, CHARLES W., 39 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 CHAPMAN, H. B. H., M.Inst.C.E., *Minas de Rio Tinto, Provincia de Huelva, Spain.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 CHARTERS, GEORGE H. B. S., *Cinnamon Bippo, Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony*
 1888 CHATER, HON. SIR C. PAUL, C.M.G., M.L.C., *Hong Kong*.
 1889 †CHAYTOR, JOHN C., *Spring Creek, Marlborough, New Zealand*.
 1883 †CHEESMAN, ROBERT SUCKLING, *St. Vincent, West Indies*.
 1904 CHEKE, GEORGE O. M., *District Commissioner, Calabar, Southern Nigeria*.
 1896 CHESTERTON, LEWIS B., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
 1896 †CHEWINGS, CHARLES, Ph.D., F.G.S., 85 *Edward Street, Norwood, South Australia*.
 1874 †CHINTAMON, HURRYCHUND.
 1893 CHISHOLM, JAMES, *Crossfield, Alberta, Canada*.
 1887 CHISHOLM, JAMES H., *Market Square, Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
 1880 †CHISHOLM, W., *Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
 1904 CHOMLEY, CHARLES H., "*Arena-Sun*" *Office, Law Courts Place, Melbourne, Victoria*.
 1897 CHRISP, CAPTAIN THOMAS, *Gisborne, New Zealand*.
 1896 CHRISTIAN, CHARLES, *Famagusta, Cyprus*.
 1884 †CHRISTIAN, OWEN SMITH, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary)*.
 1888 CHRISTISON, ROBERT, *Lammermoor, Hughenden, Queensland*.
 1905 CRYSTAL, JAMES H., *Dropmore, Seymour, Victoria*.
 1889 †CHURCHILL, FRANK F., M.L.A., *Wyebank, Natal*.
 1901 †CHURCHILL, FRASER E., *Brymedura, Manildra, New South Wales*.
 1884 CHURCHILL, HON. CAPTAIN JOHN SPENCER, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Nassau, Bahamas*.
 1903 CLARK, ARCHIBALD McCOSH, *Auckland, New Zealand*.
 1902 †CLARK, CHARLES CRABB, 424 *Point Road, Durban, Natal*.
 1902 †CLARK, DOUGLAS, *Senekal, Orange River Colony*.
 1902 CLARK, FRANCIS W., M.D., *Medical Officer of Health, Hong Kong*.
 1889 †CLARK, GOWAN C. S., C.M.G., *Government Railways, Cape Town, Cape Colony*.
 1889 CLARK, JAMES A. R., *care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Melbourne, Victoria*.
 1895 CLARK, JOHN MURRAY, K.C., M.A., LL.B., 16 *King Street West, Toronto, Canada*.
 1902 CLARK, ROBERT DOUGLAS, M.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Victoria Club, Maritzburg, Natal*.
 1882 †CLARK, MAJOR WALTER J., *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria*.
 1900 †CLARKE, A. RUTTER, *Universal Buildings, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia*.
 1885 †CLARKE, ALFRED E., *Coldblo', Malvern, Melbourne, Victoria*.
 1887 CLARKE, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR FIELDING, *Kingston, Jamaica*.
 1903 †CLARKE, H.E. GENERAL SIR CHARLES MANSFIELD, BART., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., *The Palace, Malta*.
 1886 CLARKE, COLONEL SIR MARSHAL J., R.A., K.C.M.G.
 1902 CLARKE, WM. WYCLIFFE, J.P., *c/o W. J. Donnelly, Esq., 257 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales*.
 1895 CLAYTON, ARTHUR G., *Colonial Secretariat, Colombo, Ceylon*.
 1888 †CLEVELAND, FRANK, *Balingup, Western Australia*.
 1900 CLEVELAND, ROBERT A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *District Medical Officer, Nicosia, Cyprus*.
 1882 CLIFFORD, SIR GEORGE HUGH, BART., *Stonyhurst, Christchurch, New Zealand*

Year of
Election.

- 1896 CLIFFORD, HON. HUGH, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1898 †CLUCAS, EVAN C., J.P., *Kia Ora, North Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1903 COATES, ARTHUR R., *Suta, Fiji.*
- 1897 COCHRAN, S. R., *Blairmont Estate, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1889 COCK, CORNELIUS, J.P., *Peddie, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 COCKBURN, SAMUEL A., *Cape Gracias á Dios, Nicaragua (via New Orleans)*
- 1880 CODD, JOHN A., *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1894 CODRINGTON, ROBERT, *Fort Jameson, North-Eastern Rhodesia.*
- 1902 COGILL, WILLIAM H., *African Banking Corporation, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1897 COHEN, ABNER, J.P., *Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1895 COHEN, H. HIRSCHL, *c/o Canadian Bank of Commerce, San Francisco, U.S.A.*
- 1903 COHEN, ISAAC F., *Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1888 †COHEN, NAPH. H., *P.O. Box 1892, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 COHEN, NEVILLE D., *care of Messrs. D. Cohen & Co., Maitland West, New South Wales.*
- 1902 COKER, WILLIAM Z., *Kumasi House, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1897 COLE, NICHOLAS, *West Cloven Hills, Camperdown, Victoria.*
- 1894 COLE, WM. O'CONNOR, *11 Soldier Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1892 †COLEMAN, JAMES H., *Waititirau, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1905 COLES, REV. CHARLES E., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 COLLET, HON. WILFRED, C.M.G., M.L.C., *District Commissioner, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1905 COLLIER, F. J., *Ocean View Hotel, Durban, Natal.*
- 1898 †COLLIER, HERBERT, *Werndew, Irving Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1892 †COLLIER, JENKIN, *Werndew, Irving Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria; and Australian Club.*
- 1885 COLLINS, ERNEST E., *Reuter's Telegram Co., Lim., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 †COLLINS, HARRY, *Club Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1900 COLLINS, HENRY M., *Reuter's Telegram Co., Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 COLLINS, JAMES A., *Registrar of the High Court, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1897 COLLINS, WILLIAM FRANCIS, *P.O. Box 170, Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
- 1880 COLLYER, HON. WILLIAM R., M.A., I.S.O., *Attorney-General, Singapore.*
- 1903 COLLYNS, ARTHUR SHUCHBURGH, *Nelson Club, Nelson, New Zealand.*
- 1903 COLQUHOUN, DANIEL, M.D., *44 High Street, Dunedin, New Zealand*
- 1884 †COLQUHOUN, ROBERT A.
- 1876 COMMISSIONG, HON. W. S., K.C., M.F.C., *St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1903 CONDER, HAROLD, *Beaufort Street, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1898 CONIGRAVE, B. FAIRFAX, *5 Ingle Chambers, Hay St., Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1898 †CONLAY, WM. LANCE, *Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.*
- 1898 CONWAY, ALEXANDER, J.P., *c/o G. H. Bethune, Featherston Street, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1902 †COOCH BEHAR, HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJAH OF, G.C.I.E., C.B., *Cooch Behar, India.*
- 1891 COOK, E. BOYER, J.P., *Thornhill, Herbert, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 COOK, FREDERICK J., *Harbour Board, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1885 COOK, JOHN, *Australian Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1889 COOLEY, WILLIAM, *Town Clerk, Durban, Natal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1895 †COOPER, J. C. JESSER, *Bulawayo Club, Rhodesia.*
 1896 COOPER, ARNOLD W., J.P., F.R.M.S., *Richmond, Natal.*
 1890 COOPER, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR POPE A., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1904 †COOPER, RICHARD HENRY, *Hilton Road, Natal.*
 1900 COPLAND-CRAWFORD, W. E. B., *Divisional Commissioner, Asaba, Southern Nigeria.*
 1900 COPLAND, CHARLES A., *Director of Public Works, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1902 COPLEY, WM. DAWN, P.O. Box 260, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1905 CORREALLY, LOUIS, 37 *Nind Street, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 †CORBET, EVERARD P., *Dargle Road, Natal.*
 1901 CORDEBOY, JOHN W., P.O. Box 22, *Kokstad, East Griqualand, Cape Colony.*
 1902 †CORDNER, E. J. K.
 1889 †CORDNER-JAMES, JOHN H., A.M.Inst.C.E., P.O. Box 1156, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 CORK, HIS HONOUR PHILIP C., C.M.G., *Government House, St. Lucia, West Indies.*
 1892 CORNER, CHARLES. M.Inst.C.E., *Resident Engineer, Rhodesian Railways, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1896 CORNISH-BOWDEN, ATHELSTAN H., *Surveyor-General's Office, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1883 CORNWALL, MOSES, J.P., *Erinville, Woodley Street, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1902 †CORT, JAMES E., *Arim, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1901 CORYNDON, R. T., *Administrator, Kalomo, North-Western Rhodesia.*
 1905 COTTON, ALFRED J., *Hidden Vale, Grandchester, Queensland.*
 1902 COTTON, E. P., *Commissioner of Lands, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1902 COTTON, JOHN W., *Hornsby, New South Wales.*
 1886 COTTRELL, HENRY E. P.
 1895 †COULDERY, WILLIAM H., J.P., c/o *Royal Bank of Queensland, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1895 COUPER, JOHN L., *Natal Bank, Durban, Natal.*
 1901 COURAGE, FRANK, *Amberley, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1880 COURTNEY, JOHN M., C.M.G., I.S.O., *Deputy Finance Minister, Ottawa, Canada.*
 1904 COUSIN, ROBERT, *Akrokterri Mines, c/o Post Office, Obuassi, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1903 COUSSET, CHARLES, L.R.P., c/o *Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1903 COWEN, CHARLES, SENIOR, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1895 COWERN, WILLIAM, *Hawera, New Zealand.*
 1889 †COWIE, ALEXANDER, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1896 †COWLEY, W. H., *care of General Post Office, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1902 COWLIN, HERBERT A., *Messrs. J. Holt & Co., Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.*
 1902 COWPER, SYDNEY, C.M.G., *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1882 COX, HON. CHARLES T., C.M.G., *Government Secretary, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1901 †COX, GEORGE LIONEL, *Ouvah Kellie, Lindula, Ceylon.*
 1902 COX, SENATOR HON. GEORGE A., *Toronto, Canada.*
 1902 COX, HERBERT C., *Canada Life Assurance Co., Toronto, Canada.*
 1901 COX, JAMES T., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1897 COX, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR LIONEL, *Singapore*.
- 1902 COX, SYDENHAM E. S., *Buffelsdoorn Estate and Gold Mining Co., Klerksdorp, Transvaal*.
- 1902 COX, WILLIAM E., *Grand Hotel, Cape Town, Cape Colony*.
- 1903 COZENS-HARDY, EDGAR W., *Public Works Department, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony*.
- 1887 †CRAFTON, RALPH C., *Bulkeley Station, Ramleh, Alexandria, Egypt (Corresponding Secretary)*.
- 1892 †CRAIGEN, WILLIAM, *Georgetown, British Guiana*.
- 1897 CRAMER, HERMANN J., *Punta Gorda, British Honduras*.
- 1890 CRANSWICK, WILLIAM F., J.P., P.O. Box 76, *Kimberley, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary)*.
- 1901 †CREABT, WM. SAMUEL, 244 *Commercial Road, Maritzburg, Natal*.
- 1890 †CRAWFORD, HON. ALFRED J., M.L.C., J.P., *Newcastle, Natal*.
- 1875 CRAWFORD, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES D., *Lachine, Quebec, Canada*.
- 1884 †CREWELL, JACOB, P.O. Box 469, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
- 1890 CRESSALL, PAUL.
- 1904 CRESSWELL, ALFRED T., G.P.O. *Bulawayo, Rhodesia*.
- 1904 †CREWE, COL. HON. CHARLES P., C.B., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony*.
- 1901 CROFTS, CHARLES J., M.Inst.C.E., *Point, Natal*.
- 1896 †CROGHAN, JOHN G., M.D., P.O. Box 2187, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
- 1896 CROMBIE, FRANK E. N., *Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand*.
- 1903 CROMPTON, ROBERT, *Suva, Fiji*.
- 1904 CROMPTON, WILLIAM LEE, *Civil Surveys, Khartum, Sudan*.
- 1901 CROSBIE, GILBERT S., *Petrolia, Ontario, Canada*.
- 1898 CROSBY, CAPTAIN ARTHUR J., c/o *Standard Bank, Durban, Natal*.
- 1885 †CROSBY, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., *Hobart, Tasmania*.
- 1891 †CROSSE, JOHN WM., J.P., R.M., *The Residency, Stanger, Natal*.
- 1898 CROSSE, THOMAS, *Woodland, Hastings, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand*.
- 1899 CROSTHWAITE, PONSONBY M., C.E., *Cyprus*.
- 1886 CRUMP, G. CRESSWELL, *The Bungalow, Toowong, Brisbane, Queensland*.
- 1901 CUBITT, CAPTAIN THOMAS A., R.A., D.S.O., *Zungeru, Northern Nigeria*.
- 1887 CUDDEFORD, WILLIAM, *Auditor, St. George's, Grenada*.
- 1901 CULLEN, COMMANDER PERCY, C.M.G., R.N.R., *Fort Johnston, British Central Africa*.
- 1905 †CULLINAN, THOMAS M., *Premier Diamond Mining Co., P.O. Box 148, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
- 1884 †CULMER, JAMES WILLIAM, M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas*.
- 1899 CULPEPER, SAMUEL A. H., *Georgetown, British Guiana*.
- 1903 CUMBERLAND, F. BARLOW, *Dunain, Port Hope, Ontario, Canada*.
- 1896 CUMMING, JAMES, *Wessell's Nek, Natal*.
- 1895 CUNDALL, FRANK, F.S.A., *Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, Jamaica (Corresponding Secretary)*.
- 1902 CUNDILL, THOMAS J., 31 *Searle Street, Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
- 1892 CUNNINGHAM, A. JACKSON, *Lunyon, Queanbeyan, New South Wales*.
- 1895 †CURRIE, OSWALD J., M.B., M.R.C.S.E., 60 *Longmarket Street, Maritzburg, Natal*.
- 1903 †CURRIE, RICHARD, P.O. Box 614, *Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
- 1896 †CURRIE, WALTER, P.O. Box 220, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia*.
- 1904 CURRY, ROBERT H., M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas*.

Year of
Election.

- 1892 CUTHBERT, HON. SIR HENRY, K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Australian Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 CUTHBERT, HON. SYDNEY, M.L.C., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1905 DAIN, C. K. (*Assistant Treasurer*), *Entebbe, Uganda.*
- 1902 DAINTON, ARTHUR E., *Public Works Department, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1904 DALGETY, DAVID, *P.O. Box 2998, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 †DALRYMPLE, THOMAS, *East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1879 DALTON, E. H. GORING.
- 1884 DANGAR, ALBERT A., *Baroona, Whittingham, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1898 †DANIELS, CHARLES W., M.B., M.R.C.S.E., *Research Institute, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.*
- 1900 DARBY, WALTER G., *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1895 †DARBYSHIRE, BENJAMIN H., *Barrister-at-Law, Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1903 DARLING, JOHN, M.P., *64 Kent Terrace, Norwood, Adelaide, S. Australia.*
- 1902 †DARLOT, LEONARD H., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1901 DARRAGH, REV. JOHN T., B.D., *St. Mary's, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 DAVENPORT, HOWARD, *Executor, Trustee, and Agency Co, 23 Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1902 DAVENPORT, JAMES E., *P.O. Box 155, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1877 †DAVENPORT, SIR SAMUEL, K.C.M.G., *Beaumont, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1895 DAVERIN, JOHN, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 DAVEY, ARNOLD E., *Currie Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1887 †DAVEY, THOMAS J., *17 Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 DAVIDSON, A. A., *Axim, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1903 DAVIDSON, ERNEST, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 †DAVIDSON, H.E. W. E., C.M.G., *Government House, Mahé, Seychelles (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1881 DAVIDSON, W. M. (*late Surveyor-General*), *Oxley, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1898 DAVIES, HON. CHARLES E., M.L.C., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1899 DAVIES, CLEMENT, *P.O. Box 155, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1901 DAVIES, FRANK A. O., *Barrister at-Law, St. George's Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1904 DAVIES, HENRY.
- 1889 DAVIES, MAJOR J. G., C.M.G., M.H.A., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1899 †DAVIES, LEAMA ROBERT, *Karridale, Western Australia.*
- 1897 DAVIES, PHILIP V., *Karridale, Western Australia.*
- 1886 †DAVIES, SIR MATTHEW H., *436 Chancery Lane, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1886 †DAVIES, MAURICE C., J.P. *Karridale, Western Australia.*
- 1897 †DAVIES, WALTER KARRI, *P.O. Box 2040, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 DAVIES, WILLIAM BROUGHTON, M.D., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1904 DAVIS, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 160, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1873 †DAVIS, HON. N. DARNELL, C.M.G., M.E.C., *Auditor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1875 †DAVIS, P., *"Natal Witness" Office, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1902 DAVIS, STEUART SPENCER, *The Treasury, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1896 DAYSON, CHARLES S., LL.B., K.C., *Solicitor-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1905 DAWK, JOHN GROSVENOR, *Halfassinee, Gold Coast Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1889 DAWES, RICHARD ST. MARK, L.R.C.P., M.B.C.S., *Gawler, South Australia.*
 1897 DAWSON, A. W., *c/o James Dawson, Esq., Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1884 DAWSON, WILLIAM, *Kaikoura, Molesworth Street, Kew, Victoria.*
 1893 †DAWSON, W. H., *c/o P.O. Rangoon, Burma.*
 1904 †DAY, GEORGE BERT, *Resident Engineer's Office, Government Railways, Famagusta, Cyprus.*
 1882 DAY, WILLIAM HENRY, *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1902 DEALE, ARTHUR, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1905 DEANS, JOHN, *Riccarton, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1901 DEARY, HARRY J., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
 1899 DEASE, PATRICK PAGET, C.E., *Les Sapins, Dinan, France.*
 1905 †DE BOISSIÈRE, RAOUL F., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Government Medical Officer, Suva, Fiji.*
 1902 DE BULTEAUX, LOUYS A., *Bel Air, Bois de la Pomponnette, Lagny, Seine-et-Marne, France.*
 1903 DE GRAEFF, HENRY, *Machadodorp, Transvaal.*
 1897 DE HAMEL, MAJOR H. BARRY, *Police Department, Singapore.*
 1904 DE KOK KAREL, B., *P.O. Box 24, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 DE LAMARRE, LOUIS BERT, *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1897 †DE LAUTOUR, BRIGADE-SURGEON LT.-COLONEL HARRY A., M.B.C.S., *Reed Street, Oamaru, New Zealand.*
 1903 DE LISSA, OSBORNE L., *Effuenta Mines, Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1892 DE MERCADO, CHARLES E., J.P., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1878 DE LA MOTHE, E. A., J.P., *Cardrona House, St. Andrews, Grenada.*
 1895 DELGADO, BENJAMIN N., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1874 DENISON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE T., *Commanding the Governor-General's Body Guard, Heydon Villa, Toronto, Canada.*
 1894 DENNETT, R. E., *Forests Department, Benin City, Southern Nigeria.*
 1889 †DENNY, F. W. RAMSAY, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1905 DENT, R. COURT, J.P., *Messrs. Dreyfus & Co., Ltd., East London, Cape Colony.*
 1890 DENTON, H.E. SIR GEORGE C., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Bathurst, Gambia.*
 1881 DE PASS, ELLIOT A., F.R.G.S., *Port Royal Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1881 DE PASS, JOHN, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1904 DESCROIZILLES, FRÉDÉRIC V., *Assistant Receiver-General, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1899 †DE SOUZA, A. J., *P.O. Box 98, Shanghai, China.*
 1897 DE SOYSA, MUDALIYAR J. W. CHARLES, M.A., J.P., *Alfred House, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1883 DE VILLIERS, ISAAC HORAK, *P.O. Box 428, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 †DE WAAL, DAVID C., *P.O. Box 97, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1898 DE WITT, ANTHONY M., *Whitehall Chambers, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1892 DE WOLF, HON. JAMES A., M.D., M.L.C., *Surgeon-General, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1887 DIAS, FELIX REGINALD, M.A., LL.M., *District Judge, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1892 †DIBBS, THOMAS A., *Commercial Banking Co., 347 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1897 DICKEY, EDWARD C., *P.O. Box 249, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 DICKINSON, FRANCIS M., *Broken Hill Proprietary Co., Melbourne, Victoria.*

Year of
Election.

- 1900 DICKSON, ARTHUR C., P.O. Box 1146, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1903 DICKSON, ALEXANDER, P.O. Box 738, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1888 †DICKSON, R. CASIMIR, Fort William, Ontario, Canada.
 1889 †DICKSON, WILLIAM SAMUEL, Fauresmith, Orange River Colony.
 1898 DIESPECKER, CAPTAIN RUDOLPH, P.O. Box 5967, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1893 DIETRICH, H., J.P., P.O. Box 12, Zeerust, Transvaal.
 1895 DIGBY-JONES, C. K.
 1894 DIXON, GEORGE G., C.E., Colonial Secretariat, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1900 DIXON, JAMES DICKSON, J.P., Navua, Fiji.
 1899 DIXSON, ARCHIBALD, Prince Alfred Yacht Club, Moore Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1904 †DIXSON, ROBERT CRAIG, 45 Park Street, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1904 DIXSON, T. STORIE, M.B., C.M., 287 Elizabeth St., Sydney, New South Wales.
 1904 DOBBIE, EDWARD D., Solicitor-General, Hobart, Tasmania.
 1889 DOBSON, SENATOR HON. HENRY, Hobart, Tasmania.
 1890 DOCKER, THOMAS L., Commercial Bank of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1882 DOCKER, WILFRID L., Nyrumbra, Darlinghurst Road, Sydney, New South Wales (Corresponding Secretary).
 1895 DOLLAR, EDWARD, P.O. Box 290, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.
 1903 DOLLEY, JOHN F., Uitenhage, Cape Colony.
 1896 DOMVILLE, LIEUT.-COL. SENATOR HON. JAMES, Rothesay, New Brunswick.
 1895 DON, DAVID, The Maze, Ridge Road, Durban, Natal.
 1904 DONNELLY, GEORGE P., Crissoge, Ngatarawa, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.
 1897 DONOVAN, FERDUS, P.O. Box 4, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1889 †DONOVAN, JOHN J., K.C., M.A., LL.D., Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1903 DOUGLAS, A. WALTER, Taviuni, Fiji.
 1902 DOUGLAS, JAMES, Natal Bank, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1904 DOUGLAS, ROBERT, "Star" Office, P.O. Box 1014, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1875 DOUGLASS, HON. ARTHUR, Heatherton Towers, near Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
 1896 DOVE, FREDERICK W., 39 East Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
 1903 DOWNER, ALFRED WM., Gothic House, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.
 1901 DOWNER, ARTHUR LIONEL, Barrister-at-Law, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1898 DOWNER, VEN. ARCHDEACON GEORGE W., The Rectory, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1897 DOWNES, S. TROUNCER, Government School, Bellair, Durban, Natal.
 1904 DOWSE, THOMAS A., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., Fernleigh, Levuka, Fiji.
 1903 †DOWSETT, CHARLES, c/o Messrs. Attwell & Co., St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1902 †DOYLE, CAPTAIN J. J., s.s. "Lagoon," Lagos, West Africa.
 1905 DOYLE, JAMES HENRY, Invenneiro, Scone, New South Wales.
 1902 †DRADER, FRANK, Lipinki, Galizien, Austria.
 1900 †DRADER, H. F., Campina, Roumania.
 1903 DRIVER, THOMAS HOLLOWAY.
 1901 DROUGHT, F. A.
 1903 DROUGHT, JAMES J., F.C.S., A.I.M.M., Molo Station, via Mombasa, British East Africa; and New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1904 DRUMMOND, GEORGE E., 421 Metcalfe Avenue, Westmount, Montreal, Canada.
 1903 †DRUMMOND, LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES H., V.D., Jamaica.

Year of
Election.

- 1905 DUDGEON, SIR CHARLES JOHN, *Shanghai*.
 1880 DUDLEY, CECIL.
 1889 DUFF, ROBERT, *Immigration Department, Georgetown, British Guiana*.
 1902 DUFFILL, JOHN HENRY, C.E., *Town Hall, Durban, Natal*.
 1902 †DUGMORE, GEORGE EGERTON, M.L.A., *Indwe, Cape Colony*.
 1896 DUIES, DAVID P., M.D., *P.O. Box 610, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
 1900 DUKA, CAPTAIN A. T., D.S.O., M.A., M.R.C.S.E., *Lismore, New South Wales*.
 1889 †DUMAT, FRANK CAMPBELL, *Barrister-at-Law, P.O. Box 370, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
 1904 DUNBAR-ANDERSON, KINGSLEY, M.Inst.M.E., M.I.Mech.E., F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 4776, Johannesburg, Transvaal*.
 1896 DUNCAN, ALEXANDER M. T., J.P., *Suva, Fiji*.
 1899 DUNCAN, ALISTER, *Imperial Maritime Customs, Hankow, China*.
 1888 †DUNCAN, ANDREW H. F., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia*.
 1905 DUNCAN, EDWARD, *Labasa, Fiji*.
 1904 DUNCAN, JAMES ALEXR., *Molteno, Cape Colony*.
 1883 DUNCAN, JAMES DENOON, *Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Cape Colony*.
 1904 †DUNCAN, JOHN, *Wellington, New Zealand*.
 1890 †DUNCAN, HON. JOHN J., M.L.C., *Hughes Park, Watervale, South Australia*.
 1901 DUNCAN, JOHN, *The Grove, Picton, New Zealand*.
 1902 DUNCAN, THOMAS M., *Messrs. J. C. Jula & Co., Cape Town, Cape Colony*.
 1882 †DUNCAN, WALTER HUGHES, M.L.A., *Adelaide Club, South Australia*.
 1897 †DUNCOMBE, H. F., *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa*.
 1903 DUNCOMBE, WALTER KELSALL, *Customs Department, Lagos, West Africa*.
 1895 DUNLOP, ALEXANDER R., *Sandakan, British North Borneo*.
 1901 DUNLOP, J. M. M., LL.D., *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa*.
 1904 DUNLOP, JOHN SYM, *Ashenhurst, Burwood, Sydney, New South Wales*.
 1892 †DUNLOP, W. P., *Clarence Street, Sydney, New South Wales*.
 1900 DUNSTER, T. CHARLES W., *West Australian Club, Perth, Western Australia*.
 1903 DUPONT, E. G. MORSON, *Assistant Resident, Northern Nigeria*.
 1889 DUPONT, MAJOR C. T., *Victoria, British Columbia*.
 1893 DUTTON, HENRY, *Anlaby, Kapunda, South Australia*.
 1900 DWYER, PIERCE M., L.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P.E., *Resident, Ilorin, Northern Nigeria*.
 1894 DYETT, HON. WM. C. L., M.L.C., *Port of Spain, Trinidad*.
 1903 DYKE, JAMES E., *c/o Messrs. P. W. Ellis & Co., Ltd., Toronto, Canada*.
 1900 DYKES, F. J. B., *Warden of Mines, Negri Sembilan, Federated Malay States*.
 1903 DYKES, JAMES, *Hoetjes Bay, Saldanha Bay, Cape Colony*.
 1904 EAGLESOME, JOHN, C.M.G., *Public Works Department, Lokoja, Northern Nigeria*.
 1894 EAKIN, J. W., M.D., *Government Medical Officer, 12 Victoria Avenue, Port of Spain, Trinidad*.
 1884 †EALLES, WILLIAM JOHN, *Hyde Park, Madras, India*.
 1899 EARDLEY-WILMOT, S., *Launceston, Tasmania*.
 1897 EARLE, ROBERT C., M.R.C.S.E., L.S.A., *Wanganui, New Zealand*.

Year of
Election.

- 1903 EARP, HON. GEORGE F., M.L.C., *Newcastle, New South Wales.*
- 1901 EASTERBROOK, ARTHUR D., *Karonga, Lake Nyasa, British Central Africa.*
- 1895 EASTWOOD, PHILIP B., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †EBERT, ERNEST, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †EDGSON, ARTHUR B., *care of Stock Exchange, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1905 †EDINGTON, THOMAS D., *Premier Diamond Mining Co., P.O. Box 148, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1900 EDMONDSON, CRESSY S., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 EDWARDS, DAVID R., M.D., *care of Australian Mutual Provident Society, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1905 EDWARDS, ERNEST, *Aamdals Værk, Skafst, Norway; and Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1899 EDWARDS, FREDERIC G. H., M.D., *Florida Road, Durban, Natal.*
- 1897 EDWARDS, G. BAKER, *Grand National Hotel, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1877 †EDWARDS, HERBERT, *Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1886 EDWARDS, NATHANIEL W., *Nelson, New Zealand.*
- 1904 †EDWARDS, W. MOORCROFT, *P.O. Box 37, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1874 †EDWARDS, HON. W. T. A., C.M.G., M.D., *Chambly Villa, Curepipe Road, Mauritius.*
- 1887 EGAN, CHARLES J., M.D., *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 EGERTON, H.E. WALTER, C.M.G., *Government House, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1897 EHRHARDT, HON. ALBERT F., *Attorney-General, Suva, Fiji.*
- 1889 EICKE, ADOLPH, *Berg Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1902 ELGIE, S. KELSEY, M.P.S., *47 Gardiner Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1882 ELLIOTT, REV. CANON F. W. T., *St. Michael's Rectory, West Coast, British Guiana.*
- 1899 ELLIOT, LESLIE.
- 1894 ELMSLIE, CHRISTOPHER TATHAM, *39 Norwich Chambers, Hunter Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1885 ELSTOB, ARTHUR, *Beach Grove, Durban, Natal.*
- 1902 ELWIN, RT. REV. EDMUND H., M.A., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Sierra Leone, Bishop's Court, Sierra Leone.*
- 1903 EMBLING, JAMES, *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †ENGELKEN, EMIL WILLIAM, *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †ENGLISH, THOMAS ROWE, *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 ESCOTT, H.E. SIR E. BICKHAM SWEET, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Belize, British Honduras (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1902 ESPEUT, CLAUDE V., *Public Works Department, Mombasa, British East Africa.*
- 1902 ESPEUT, REGINALD WM., C.E., *Government Railway, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1897 †ESSIEN, ALBERT DUKE, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1895 †ESSERY, EDWIN, J.P., *Riet Valley, Umhlali, via Durban, Natal.*
- 1897 ESUMAN-GWIRA, JOHN BUCKMAN, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1902 ETTLINGER, THOMAS E., C.E., *Mutual Buildings, Durban, Natal.*
- 1894 †ETTLING, CAPTAIN GUSTAV A., *81 Old Main Street, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 EVANS, BENJAMIN, *Beira and Mashonaland Railways, Beira, East Africa.*
- 1901 EVANS, FRANKLYN S., *Gadzema, Rhodesia.*
- 1880 EVANS, HON. FREDERICK, C.V.O., C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Gibraltar.*

Year of
Election.

- 1889 EVANS, J. EMERYS, C.M.G., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 †EVANS, MAURICE S., C.M.G., J.P., *Hill Crest, Berea Ridge, Durban, Natal.*
 1897 EVANS, SAMUEL, P.O. Box 1067, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1883 EVANS, WILLIAM, *Protector of Chinese, Singapore.*
 1890 EVANS, WILLIAM GWYNNE, P.O. Box 558, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 †EVERSFIELD, CAPTAIN GEORGE A., c/o Post Office, *Calgary, N.W.T., Canada.*
 1903 †EVES, CAPTAIN HUBERT E., J.P., *Arntully, Cedar Valley P.O., Jamaica.*
 1903 †EWENS, CREAST, 36 *Queen's Road, Hong Kong.*
- 1900 FADDELE, EDWARD, C.E., *Government Railway Extension to Bo, Sierra Leone.*
 1887 FAIRBAIRN, GEORGE, M.L.A., *care of Union Mortgage and Agency Company, William Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1891 FAIRFAX, GEOFFREY E., *Barrister-at-Law, Elaine, New South Road, Woollahra, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1898 †FAIRFAX, JAMES OSWALD, *Koorali, Wolseley Road, Point Piper, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1882 FAIRFAX, SIR JAMES R., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1879 FAITHFULL, ROBERT L., M.D., 5 *Lyons Terrace, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1889 †FARQUHARSON, ARTHUR W., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1896 †FARQUHARSON, JOHN C., J.P., *Garland Grove, Montego Bay, Jamaica.*
 1904 FARRAR, NICHOLAS, *Postmaster-General, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
 1886 †FAULKNER, ENOCH, *District Commissioner, Waterloo, Sierra Leone.*
 1892 †FAULKNER, FREDERICK C., M.A., *The High School, Perth, Western Australia.*
 1890 FAWCETT, JAMES HART, *Lanzi, Campiglia Marittima, Toscana, Italy.*
 1890 †FAWCETT, WILLIAM, B.Sc., F.L.S., *Director, Public Gardens, Gordon Town, Jamaica.*
- 1902 FAWNS, SYDNEY, *Launceston, Tasmania.*
 1894 FEEZ, COLONEL ALBRECHT, *Otto Strasse 8, Munich.*
 1895 FEILDEN, CAPTAIN ROBERT B., R.A., *Famagusta, Cyprus.*
 1888 FELL, HENRY, *Cleveland House, Alexandra Road, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1896 FELTON, HON. J. J., M.E.C., *Stanley, Falkland Islands.*
 1902 FENTON, ERNEST G., F.R.C.S.I.
 1889 †FERGUSON, JAMES E. A., M.B., C.M., *Belfield Lodge, East Coast, Demerara, British Guiana.*
- 1897 FERGUSON, JAMES FINLAY, *Kenilworth, Ridge Road, Durban, Natal.*
 1890 †FERGUSON, JAMES, P.O. Box 98, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1879 †FERGUSON, HON. JOHN, C.M.G., M.L.C., *Cinnamon Gardens, Colombo, Ceylon (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1886 FERGUSON, HON. JOHN, M.L.C., *Rockhampton, Queensland.*
 1892 †FERREIRA, ANTONIO F.
 1901 FETTES, ALEXANDER, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1890 †FIELD, A. PERCY, P.O. Box 154, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1895 †FIELDING, HON. WILLIAM S., M.P., *Ottawa, Canada.*
 1873 FIFE, GEORGE R., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1881 †FINAUGHTY, H. J.
 1901 FINCH, BARNARD, *Durban, Natal.*
 1905 FINCH, GEORGE G., P.O. Box 233, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1876 FINLAYSON, J. HARVEY, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1895 FINLAYSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL ROBERT A., C.M.G., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1878 †FINNEMORE, ROBERT I., J.P., 287 *Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1897 FIMMIE, J. P., *P. O. Box 46, Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 FIRMING, CECIL H., *Government Railway, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
- 1896 †FIRMINGER, REV. WALTER K., M.A., *care of Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Calcutta.*
- 1901 †FISHER, HERBERT S., *Wakefield Street, Kent Town, South Australia.*
- 1889 †FISHER, JOSEPH, J.P., *Fullarton, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1893 FISHER, JOHN MEADOWS, *39 Stock Exchange, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1884 FISHER, R. H. UNDERWOOD, J.P., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1881 †FISKMAN, JOHN INGLIS, *Corrabert, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1899 FITZGERALD, FREDERICK A., *Imperial Oil Refining Co., London, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1901 FITZGERALD, GEORGE L., C.E., *The Foliage, San Fernando, Trinidad.*
- 1902 FITZGERALD, O'CONNELL, *Crane House, Bridgetown, Barbados.*
- 1876 FITZGIBBON, E. G., C.M.G., *497 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1900 †FITZPATRICK, HON. SIR J. PERCY, M.L.C., *P.O. Box 149, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1887 †FLACK, JOSEPH H., *9 Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1900 †FLEGELTAUB, WALTER, *Hamilton, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1892 †FLEISCHACK, ALBERT R., *P.O. Box 64, Potchefstroom, Transvaal.*
- 1897 FLEMING, CHARLES D., J.P., *Mining Commissioner, Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
- 1880 FLEMING, JOHN, *Charlotte Town, Grenada.*
- 1900 FLEMING, JOHN M., *Great Diamond Estate, British Guiana.*
- 1896 †FLEMING, RICHARD, *P.O. Box 393, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1878 FLEMING, SIR SANDFORD, K.C.M.G., *Ottawa, Canada (Corresponding Sec.).*
- 1903 FLEMING, THOMAS, *Good Hope, Boston, Natal.*
- 1900 FLETCHER, FRANKLYN H., *P.O. Box 13, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1888 FLETCHER, WILLIAM, *P.O. Box 670, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 FLETCHER, WM. HORTON, *c/o Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 †FLINT, CAPTAIN WM. RAFFLES, *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1884 FLOYD, REV. WILLIAM, *Levuka, Fiji.*
- 1900 FOOT, LIONEL RAYNE, F.R.G.S., *care of J. H. Cheetham, Esq., Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1904 †FORBES, CAPT. DAVID, JUN., D.S.O., *Swazi Coal Mines, Athole, Swaziland, South Africa.*
- 1885 †FORBES, FREDK. WILLIAM, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 †FORBES, HENRY, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 FORBES, MAJOR PATRICK W. (6th Dragoons), *Blantyre, British Central Africa.*
- 1889 †FORD, JAMES P., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 FORD, JOSEPH C., *117 Duke Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 †FORDE, ROBERT M., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Colonial Surgeon, Bathurst, Gambia.*
- 1882 †FOREMAN, JOSEPH, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *215 Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1881 †FORREST, RT. HON. SIR JOHN, G.C.M.G., M.P., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1891 FORSTER, JULIUS J., *Bank of Madras, Madras, India.*
- 1890 FORTUNO, JOSEPH, *P. O. Box 6221, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 FOSTER, EDGAR W., *Botanic Station, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1885 FOSTER, EDWARD ALEXANDER, I.S.O., *Auditor-General, St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1883 FOWLER, ALPIN GRANT, M.Inst.C.E., *Lagos, West Africa.*

Year of
Election.

- 1888 FOWLER, HON. GEORGE M., M.L.C., *Government Agent, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1889 †FOWLER, JAMES, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1903 FOX, GEORGE, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *Gordon Street, Suva, Fiji.*
 1902 FOX, GEORGE EDWARD, *King William's Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 †FOX-DECENT, THOMAS, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1898 †FOXON, FRANK E., *Resident Magistrate, Isopo Division, Natal.*
 1893 FRAMES, PERCIVAL ROSS, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1892 FRANKLAND, FREDERICK W., *New York Life Insurance Company, Broadway, New York.*
 1895 FRANKS, GODFREY F., M.A., *Queen's College, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1886 FRASER, CHARLES A., *Commandant of Police, Nassau, Bahamas.*
 1903 †FRASER, HON. JOHN GEORGE, M.L.C., P.O. Box 250, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1896 FRASER, JAMES L., P. O. Box 429, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1902 FRASER, JOHN PRINGLE, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1898 †FRASER, JOSEPH, *Pitakande Estate, Matale, Ceylon.*
 1895 FRASER, MALCOLM A. C., *Registrar-General, Perth, Western Australia.*
 1893 FRASER, WILLIAM PERCY, P.O. Box 26, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1900 FREDERICKS, J. HAROLD, *Weest African Contract and Supply Company, Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1896 FREEMAN, JOHN, *Overpark, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1904 FREEMAN, T. KYFFIN, F.G.S., F.S.S., *St. Johns, Newfoundland.*
 1902 FRERE, ALLAN GRAY, *86th Carnatic Infantry, Trichinopoly, India.*
 1900 FRERE, HAROLD ARTHUR, *Superintendent of the Prison, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1894 FRICKER, WILLIAM C., *care of Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1905 FRIEDLANDER, CHARLES, *Victoria Chambers, Burg Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1896 †FROOD, THOMAS MORTON, M.D., P.O. Box 1032, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 FROST, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., M.L.A., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
 1902 FULFORD, HARRY E., C.M.G., *H.B.M. Consul, Newchwang, China.*
 1899 FULFORD, SENATOR HON. GEORGE T., *Brockville, Ontario, Canada.*
 1889 †FULLER, ALFRED W., *Southern Wood, East London, Cape Colony.*
 1900 FULTON, HERBERT VALPY, *Outram, Otago, New Zealand.*
 1901 FYNN, CHARLES GAWLER, *Native Commissioner, Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
 1878 †FYSH, HON. SIR PHILIP O., K.C.M.G., M.P., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1902 GABBETT, GERALD F. A., *Marine Department, Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.*
 1892 †GAIKWAD, SHRIMANT SAMPATRAO K., M.R.I., M.R.A.S., *c/o Shri Sayangi Library, Baroda, India.*
 1884 GAISFORD, HENRY, *Orangi, Napier, New Zealand.*
 1899 GALLETTLY, ARCHIBALD J. C., *Bank of Montreal, Victoria, British Columbia.*
 1900 †GALLEWSKI, MAURICE, *Stock Exchange, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 †GALPIN, GEORGE LUCK, M.D., F.R.C.S., *Cradock Place, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1899 GANADO, ROBERT F., LL.D., *27 Strada Zuccaiv, Valletta, Malta.*
 1895 GARDINER, FRANCIS J., J.P., *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
 1902 GARDNER, ASTON W., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1897 GARLAND, PATRICK J., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., *Senior Medical Officer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1887 GARLAND, WALTER F., M.Inst.C.E., *c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., Calcutta.*
 1905 †GARLICK, JOHN, M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1887 GARNETT, HARRY, *Guanica Centrale, Ponce, Porto Rico.*
 1902 GASKLEE, LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR ALFRED, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., *c/o Messrs. King, King & Co., Bombay.*
 1888 GASKIN, HON. C. P., M.C.P., *Berbice, British Guiana.*
 1903 †GASSON, GEORGE H., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
 1904 GATLAND, GEORGE J., *P.O. Box 278, Durban, Natal.*
 1891 GATTY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR STEPHEN H., *Gibraltar.*
 1897 GAU, JULIUS, *P.O. Box 209, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1895 †GAY, ARNOLD E., *The Brothers, Grenada, West Indies.*
 1895 †GAY, E. T., *The Brothers, Grenada, West Indies.*
 1902 †GAY, GEORGE SINCLAIR, *Coronado, San Diego County, California, U.S.A.*
 1893 GEARY, ALFRED, *Gardiner Street, Durban, Natal.*
 1897 GEE, GEORGE F., *care of National Bank of New Zealand, Limited, Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1933 GEMMELL, HUGH B., *Government Railways, P.O. Box 176, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1886 GEORGE, ARTHUR, *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1902 GEORGE, EDWARD C. S., C.I.E., G.P.O., *Rangoon, Burma.*
 1883 GEORGE, HON. CHARLES J., M.L.C., *Pacific House, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1903 GEORGE, WILLIAM RUFUS, 318 *George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1901 GERRARD, ALFRED G., *c/o W. B. MacIver & Co., Lim., Lagos, West Africa.*
 1894 GIBBON, CHARLES, *Goonambil, Wattegama, Ceylon.*
 1885 GIBBON, W. D., *Kandy, Ceylon.*
 1897 GIBBONS, MAJOR ALFRED ST. HILL, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 GIBBS, CLEMENT M., *c/o Messrs. H. Bevern & Co., 31 Long Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1897 GIBBS, ISAAC, *New Zealand Shipping Co., Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1897 †GIBBS, JOHN, *P.O. Box 1079, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1904 GIBLIN, JOHN SCRUBY, *Napier, New Zealand.*
 1905 GIBSON, FREDERICK A., I.S.O., *Collector of Customs, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
 1889 GIBSON, HARRY, J.P., *P.O. Box 1643, and 92 Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1896 GIDEON, HON. D. S., M.L.C., J.P., *Port Antonio, Jamaica.*
 1905 GILES, EUSTACE, *Alexandra, Victoria.*
 1898 GILES, THOMAS O'HALLORAN, M.A., LL.B., 23 *Cowra Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1905 GILES, WM. ANSTREY, M.B.C.M., *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
 1903 GILFILLAN, ALEXANDER, B.Sc., *Stock Exchange Buildings, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1904 †GILFILLAN, DOUGLAS F., *P.O. Box 1397, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1903 GILFILLAN, EDWARD T., *Conway P.O., Middelburg, Cape Colony.*
 1889 GILL, SIR DAVID, K.C.B., LL.D., F.R.S., *Astronomer Royal, The Observatory, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1887 GILLESPIE, ROBERT, *Montalto, Grace Park, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1891 †GILLESPIE, ROBERT K., J.P., *Englewood, Inverleigh, Victoria.*
 1902 GILLOTT, ARTHUR G. M., *Casilla 385, San José, Costa Rica.*
 1892 GILLOTT, HON. SIR SAMUEL, M.L.A., 9 *Brunswick St., Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1900 GILMOUR, DAVID W., *Chartered Bank of India, Shanghai, China.*

Year of
Election.

- 1889 †GIRDLESTONE, MAJOR NELSON S., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1896 GISBORNE, DUDLEY G., *P.O. Box 13, Pietersburg, Transvaal.*
 1877 †GLANVILLE, THOMAS, *Mile Gully P.O., Manchester, Jamaica.*
 1901 GLASIER, F. BEDFORD, *Government Railway, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1901 GLASS, HON. DAVID, K.C., *Rossland, British Columbia.*
 1905 †GLENNY, THOMAS A., *P.O. Box 2295, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 GLOAG, ANDREW, J.P. *37 Bird Street, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1901 †GLOAG, DURANT, *Clontarf Villa, Park Drive, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1900 GLOSSOP, REV. ARTHUR G. B., *Kota Kota, Lake Nyasa, British Central Africa.*
 1897 †GLUYAS, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 8, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 GLYNN, HENRY THOMAS, *Huntingdon Hall, Lydenburg, Transvaal.*
 1884 GOCH, G. H., *P.O. Box 163, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 GOCH, SAMUEL F., B.A., LL.B., *P.O. Box 163, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 GODDARD, FREDERICK D., *Queen's Building, Praya, Hong Kong.*
 1889 †GODDARD, WILLIAM, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1900 GODFREY, GEORGE, *Strathmore, Fitzroy St., St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1895 †GODFREY, JOSEPH JAMES, *c/o Messrs. Rutherford & Brother, Green-market Square, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1903 GOLDIE, AMYAS LEIGH, *c/o London and Sudan Mining Syndicate, Rossires, Sudan.*
 1895 GOLDIE, A. R., *c/o Bank of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1896 GOLDMANN, RICHARD, *P.O. Box 485, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 GOLDBREICH, SAMUEL, *P.O. Box 933, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 GOLDSMITH, FREDERICK, M.B., *English, Scottish, and Australian Bank, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1902 †GOLDSMITH, THOMAS, *Kroonstad, Orange River Colony.*
 1901 GOMES, HARRIS LLOYD, *Beaufort, British North Borneo.*
 1878 GOODE, CHARLES H., *48 Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1893 †GOODE, WILLIAM HAMILTON, *P.O. Box 176, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1885 GOODMAN, SIR WILLIAM MEIGH, K.C.
 1899 GOODRIDGE, HON. A. F., *St. Johns, Newfoundland.*
 1888 GOULD-ADAMS, HIS HONOUR MAJOR SIR HAMILTON J., K.C.M.G., C.B., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1879 †GORDON, CHARLES, M.D., *114 Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1891 †GORDON, JOHN, *Messrs. D. & W. Murray, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1889 †GORDON, HON. W. GORDON, M.L.C., *Knowlesly, Queen's Park, Trinidad.*
 1885 GORDON, WILLIAM MONTGOMERIE, *Assistant Colonial Secretary, Trinidad.*
 1895 GORE, HON. LT.-COLONEL J. C., *Receiver-General, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 1903 GORDON-HALL, WILLIAM H., M.B., *Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.*
 1891 GORTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL EDWARD, J.P., *Rangiatea, Bulls, Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1900 GOSLING, J. T., *Postmaster-General, Mombasa, British East Africa.*
 1893 GOULDIE, JOSEPH, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1900 GOULTRE, HERBERT H., *Barrister-at-Law, Virden, Manitoba, Canada.*
 1883 †GOVETT, ROBERT, *Culloden Station, near Aramac, Queensland.*
 1898 GOURIAT, WILLIAM DICKSON, *Dock Road, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1902 GRADWELL, WILLIAM B., J.P., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1896 GRAFTON, FREDINAND, *Dawson, Y. T., Canada.*
 1889 GRAHAM, FRANCIS G. C., C.C. and R.M., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1873 GRAHAM, JOHN, 88 *Simcoe Street, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1900 GRAHAM, WALTER DOUGLAS, *Messrs. Wilkinson, Heywood & Clarke, Hong Kong.*
- 1880 †GRAHAM, WOODTHORPE T., J.P., *P.O. Box 1155, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 †GRAIN, ERNEST A., *P.O. Munty, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 GRANT, DONALD A., *c/o Messrs. Wilkinson & Lavender, 12 Spring Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1897 †GRANT, DUNCAN, *St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1879 †GRANT, E. H.
- 1889 GRANT, HENRY E. W., *Colonial Secretariat, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1896 GRANT, SIR JAMES A., M.D., K.C.M.G., F.G.S., *150 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1904 GRANT, P. H. A., *Assistant District Commissioner, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1877 GRANT, COLONEL THOMAS HUNTER, *c/o William Bignell, Esq., Quebec, Canada.*
- 1890 GRANT-DALTON, ALAN, M.Inst.C.E., *Engineer-in-Chief, Government Railways, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 GRANT-WILLIAMS, E. A., *Bank of New South Wales, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1897 GRAVES, SOMERSET H., *Hereford Street, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1884 GRAY, HON. GEORGE W., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1888 †GRAY, ROBERT, *care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1892 GRAY, WENTWORTH D., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1887 †GREATHKAD, JOHN BALDWIN, M.B. C.M. (Edin.), *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 GREAVES, CAPTAIN WILLIAM A. B., *Newbold, Clarence River, New South Wales.*
- 1897 GRECH, SALVATORE, M.D., *8 Strada Mezzodi, Valletta, Malta.*
- 1904 GREEN, ALFRED E., *P.O. Box 340, Durban, Natal.*
- 1888 †GREEN, DAVID, *Ferndale Villa, Musgrave Road, Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 GREEN, FRANK J., *Public Works Department, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1905 †GREEN, FRANK J. H., *P.O. Box 106, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 GREEN, HELPERIUS R., *Messrs. E. K. Green & Co., Somerset Road, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 GREEN, HENRY E. OWEN, *c/o Chamber of Mines, P.O. Box 809, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1877 †GREEN, ROBERT COTTLE, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1905 GREEN, WILLIAM J., *P.O. Box 1770, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 †GREENACRE, SIR BENJAMIN W., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 GREENACRE, WALTER, *413 West Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1889 GREENE, COLONEL EDWARD M., K.C., M.L.A., *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1899 GREENE, GEORGE, *P. O. Box 406, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 GREENE, MOLESWORTH, *Greystones, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1893 †GREENLEES, JAMES NEILSON, *Stock Exchange, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 †GREENLEES, T. DUNCAN, M.D., *The Asylum, Fort England, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 GREENWOOD, G. DEAN, J.P., *Teviotdale, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1896 GREIG, GEORGE, *Laxapana, Maskeliya, Ceylon.*
- 1903 GRILL, CHARLES H., *Clapham House, Dominica, West Indies.*
- 1903 GREENFELL, ARTHUR PASCOE, *Agricultural Dept., P.O. Box 434, Pretoria, Transvaal.*

Non-Resident Fellows.

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Year of
Election.

- 1895 GREY, MAJOR RALEIGH, C.M.G., M.L.C., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1881 †GREY-WILSON, H.E. SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1879 †GRICE, JOHN, *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1885 GRIFFIN, C. T., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P.E., *Superintending Medical Officer, Haputale, Ceylon.*
- 1882 †GRIFFITH, HON. HORACE M. BRANDFORD, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Bathurst, Gambia.*
- 1881 GRIFFITH, THE RT. HON. SIR SAMUEL W., G.C.M.G., *Chief Justice, Federal High Court, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1883 †GRIFFITH, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR WILLIAM BRANDFORD, B.A. *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1901 †GRIFFITHS, HARRY D., A.R.S.M., M.I.M.E., &c., P.O. Box 2146, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1900 GRIFFITHS, CAPTAIN J. NORTON, J.P., F.G.S., M.I.M.M., *Salisbury Club, Rhodesia.*
- 1889 †GRIFFITHS, THOMAS GRIFF, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 GRIMANI, EDMUND HORNBY, *Tamsui, Formosa, China.*
- 1904 GRIMLEY, ALFRED G.
- 1896 GRIMMER, WM. P., P.O. Box 174, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 GRIMSHAW, HERBERT C. W., B.A. *Assistant District Commissioner, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1884 †GRIMWADE, HON. F. S., M.L.C., *Harleston, Caulfield, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1904 GRIMWADE, MAJOR HAROLD W., A.F.A., *Waveney, Hampden Road, Armadale, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 GRINTER, REV. JOHN, *The Rectory, San José, Costa Rica.*
- 1905 GROOM, THOMAS F., *Moreton Bay Oyster Co., Eagle Street, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1897 †GROVE, DANIEL, c/o K. Dunbar-Anderson, Esq., P.O. Box 4776, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1884 GRUNDY, EUSTACE BEARDON, K.C., *Alexandra Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1902 GUBBAY, R. A., 8 *Duddell Street, Hong Kong.*
- 1884 GURRITZ, H.E. E. P., *Government House, Sandakan, British North Borneo (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1904 GULLY, HUGH, *Barrister-at-Law, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1902 GUMPERTZ, HARRY S., *Rhodesia Goldfields, Limited, Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 GUPPY, ROBERT, *Post Office, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1889 GURDEN, R. L., 346 *Flinders Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1889 †GUTHRIE, ADAM W., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 GUTHRIE, JAMES, P.O. Box 581, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 GUTTMANN, JOSEPH T., P.O. Box 942, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 †HAARHOFF, DANIEL J., M.L.A., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 †HACKER, REV. WILLIAM J., *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1902 HADDON, FREDERICK W., "Argus" Office, *Melbourne, Victoria (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1895 HADDON-SMITH, HON. G. B., C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1902 HADDON-SMITH, HENRY B., *Govt. Railway, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 HAES, ARTHUR, P.O. Box 198, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.
 1894 HAGGART, E. A. H., Kingston, Jamaica.
 1881 HAGUE, GEORGE, Rotherwood, Redpath Street, Montreal, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).
 1896 HAINES, CHARLES H., M.A., M.D., Princes Street, Auckland, New Zealand.
 1893 †HAINS, HENRY, Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1897 HALL, REV. ALFRED, Baydonfield, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1897 HALL, GODFREY, Hororata, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1883 HALL, HON. SIR JOHN, K.C.M.G., Hororata, Canterbury, New Zealand.
 1887 HALL, WALTER R., Wildfell, Potts Point, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1902 HALLAM, HARRY, Slavery Department, Kordofan, Sudan.
 1901 HALLIFAX, JAMES W., George Town, Penang, Straits Settlements.
 1886 HAMILTON, HON. C. BOUGHTON, C.M.G., M.E.C., Receiver-General, Georgetown, British Guiana (Corresponding Secretary).
 1894 HAMILTON, HENRY DE COURCY.
 1897 HAMILTON, H. W. B., Hannan's Club, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.
 1889 HAMILTON, JOHN T., Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, Shanghai, China.
 1883 HAMNETT, FREDERICK HARPER, care of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co., Madras.
 1888 †HAMPSON, B., 33 Mutual Buildings, Smith Street, Durban, Natal.
 1888 †HAMPSON, J. ATHERTON, Hampson's Buildings, South St., Durban, Natal.
 1897 HANBURY-WILLIAMS, COLONEL JOHN, C.V.O., C.M.G., Government House, Ottawa, Canada.
 1889 †HANCOCK, EDWARD, Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1895 HANCOCK, H. R., Lyneade, Burnside, South Australia.
 1897 †HANCOCK, STRANGMAN, Jumpers Deep, Limited, Cleveland, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1899 †HANCOCK, SYDNEY, 10 Queen's Gardens, Hong Kong.
 1904 HAND, CECIL, c/o Messrs. Rolfe, Crang & Co., 40 Strand Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1886 †HANINGTON, ERNEST B. C., M.D., Victoria, British Columbia (Corresponding Secretary).
 1897 †HANKIN, CHRISTOPHER L.
 1900 HANNA, JAMES C., Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand.
 1886 †HANNAM, CHARLES, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
 1889 †HANSEN, VIGGO J.
 1888 †HARDIE, WILLIAM, Fairmont P.O., Kootenay Valley, British Columbia.
 1889 †HARDS, HARRY H., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.
 1886 HARDWICKE, EDWARD A., L.R.C.P., Havrmere, Howick Falls, Natal.
 1898 HARDY, JOHN, Printing Office Street, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1905 HARE, FRANCIS W. E., M.D., M.R.C.S.E., Brisbane, Queensland.
 1883 HAREL, PHILLIBERT C., Land of Plenty House, Essequibo, British Guiana.
 1893 HARFORD, FREDERICK, M.L.C., St. Andrew's, Grenada.
 1902 HARMSWORTH, CAPTAIN ALFRED C., Pearston, via Somerset East, Cape Colony.
 1904 HARNEY, HON. EDWARD A. ST. AUBYN, Perth, Western Australia.
 1882 †HARPER, CHARLES, M.L.A., J.P., Guildford, Western Australia.
 1903 HARPER, CHARLES H., B.A., Assistant District Commissioner, Saltpond, Gold Coast Colony.
 1904 HARPER, J. PRASCOB, F.R.G.S., Taiping, Perak, Federated Malay States.
 1902 HARPER, NOEL G., Haenertsburg, Transvaal.

Non-Resident Fellows.

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Year of
Election.

- 1884 HARPER, ROBERT, M.P., *Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1881 †HARRIS, LIEUT.-COLONEL DAVID, C.M.G., M.L.A., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 †HARRIS, HENRY WILLIAM J., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 HARRIS, JOHN MYER, *Sulymah, Sierra Leone.*
- 1901 HARRIS, LIONEL B., *Azim, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1897 HARRIS, SAUL, P.O. Box 1473, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 †HARRIS, WM. DUCKETT, *Harris Dale, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †HARRISON, FRANK, *Nictaux Falls, Annapolis Co., Nova Scotia.*
- 1892 HARRISON, J. H. HUGH, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *Orange Walk, British Honduras.*
- 1889 †HARRISON, J. SPRANGER.
- 1896 HARRISSON, SYDNEY T., *Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1885 †HARROW, EDWIN, *Thedden, Richmond, Natal.*
- 1902 HART, PETER FRANCIS, *Kelton, Arthur Street, Surrey Hills, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 HARTLAND, JOSEPH B., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1902 HARTLEY, JAMES H., *Observatory, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 HARVEY, HARRY G. C., *Barrister-at-Law, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1905 HARVEY, HENRY FREDERICK, M.R.C.S.E., L.S.A., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1884 HARVEY, JAMES, J.P., 14 *National Mutual Buildings, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1898 HARVEY, JOHN, *St. John's, Newfoundland.*
- 1882 †HARVEY, THOMAS L., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1904 HARVEY, WILLIAM S., *Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
- 1901 HARWIN, JOHN, *Sans Souci, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1897 HARWOOD, JOSHUA J., *National Mutual Buildings, St. George's Terrace, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1903 HARWOOD, HON. THOMAS C., M.L.C., *Geelong, Victoria.*
- 1902 †HASSALL, RAYMOND L., 11 *Castlereagh Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1891 HASSARD, CHARLES, c/o W. D. Wheelwright, Esq., J.P., P.O. *Sydenham, Natal.*
- 1898 †HATHORN, FERGUS A., *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1887 HATHORN, KENNETH H., K.C., M.L.A., P.O. Box 3, *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1900 †HATHORN, K. HOWARD, B.A., P.O. Box 3, *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1904 HAWES, CECIL E., *Legislative Council Office, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †HAWKER, EDWARD W., M.A., LL.M., *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1897 HAWKER, MICHAEL S., *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1897 HAWKER, RICHARD M., *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
- 1882 HAWKES, GEORGE WRIGHT, J.P., 188 *Childers Street, North Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1898 HAWKINS, ISAAC T., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Public Works Department, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1894 HAWTAYNE, MAJOR T. M. (N. Staff. Regt.), *Umballa, India.*
- 1900 †HAY, HARRY ALGERNON, *Collendina, Corowa, New South Wales.*
- 1880 †HAY, HENRY, *Collendina, Corowa, New South Wales.*
- 1886 †HAY, JAMES, P.O. Box 152, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 HAY, JAMES DOUGLAS, *Cue, Western Australia.*
- 1897 HAY, JAMES M. ALLAN, P.O. Box 48, *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1891 †HAY, JOHN, LL.D., *Crow's Nest, North Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of
Election.

- 1878 †HAY, WILLIAM, *Wyuna, Black Street, Brighton, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1905 †HAYDON, LEONARD G., M.B., C.M., D.P.H., *Port Health Office, Point, Durban, Natal.*
- 1901 HAYES-SADLER, LIEUT. COL. JAMES, C.B., *H.M. Commissioner, Uganda.*
- 1899 HAYFORD, REV. MARK C., D.D., F.R.G.S., *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1905 HAYLES, HARRY S. H., *Taquah & Abosso G. M. Co., Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1897 HAYNE, CHARLES, *City Mansion Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 HAYNES, ROBERT, *Registrar-in-Chancery, Bridgetown, Barbados.*
- 1901 HAYTER, A. C., *Transcontinental Telegraph Co., Fort Jameson, North-Eastern Rhodesia.*
- 1899 †HAYWARD, FRANK E., *Messrs. J. Martin & Co., Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1889 †HAZELL, CHARLES S., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †HEAD, WM. BEACHY, P. O. Box 1146, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 †HEATLIE, ARTHUR, B.A., M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railways, Salt River, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 HEBDEN, GEORGE H., *Erambie, Molong, New South Wales; and Union Club.*
- 1886 †HEBBON, HON. A. S., M.L.C., *Barrister-at-Law, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1891 HECTOR, CAPTAIN G. NELSON, R.N.R., *Villa Nelson, Valescure, St. Raphael, France.*
- 1876 *HECTOR, SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1903 HEDLEY, T. LIETCH, *Cape Forage Co., Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 HEMLY-HUTCHINSON, H.E. THE HON. SIR WALTER F., G.C.M.G., *Government House, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 †HEMERY, PERCY, *Assistant Receiver-General, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1896 HEMMING, SIR AUGUSTUS W. L., G.C.M.G.
- 1881 HEMMING, JOHN, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 HEMMENS, CAPTAIN R. A., *Commissioner's Office, P.O. Box 4, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 HENDERSON, J. C. A., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 HENDERSON, SAMUEL, *Woodford Lodge, Trinidad.*
- 1900 †HENDERSON, THOMSON, *National Bank, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1896 HENDRIKS, A. J., *Black River, Jamaica.*
- 1891 †HENNESSY, DAVID V., M.L.A., J.P., *Sydenham, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1896 HENRY, HON. JOHN, *Devonport West, Tasmania.*
- 1902 HENSHALL, THOMAS, *Postmaster, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †HERBERT, REGINALD F. DE COURCY, J.P., *Plantation Springlands, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1904 HERRICK, E. J., *Tautane, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
- 1904 HERRICK, F. D., *Tautane, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
- 1903 HERSHENSOHN, ALLAN C., P.O. Box 2540, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 HERTSIET, PERCY, I.S.O., J.P., *Collector of Customs, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 HEUSLEH, CHRISTIAN A., *c/o Kiss Schlesinger, Smerno-gorsk, Altai, Siberia.*
- 1904 †HEWAT, JOHN, M.B., M.L.A., *Woodstock, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 HEWICK, HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN E., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1902 HEDYEMAN, HARRY, A.M.I. Mech.E., *Ladybrand, Orange River Colony.*
- 1900 HICKMAN, W. ALBERT, B.Sc., *St. John, New Brunswick.*
- 1898 HICKS, HERBERT G., *Oudshoorn, Cape Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1888 †HIDDINGH, J. M. F., *c/o Standard Bank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1886 †HIDDINGH, MICHAEL, F.C.S., *Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1893 HIDDINGH, WILLIAM, *Barriester-at-Law, Cape Town, Cape Colony*
 1883 †HIGHEITT, JOHN MOORE.
 1903 HILDRETH, HAROLD C., F.R.C.S., R.A.M.C., *Madras.*
 1892 HILL, CHARLES WM., *Assistant Treasurer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1887 HILL, HON. EDWARD C. H., *Auditor-General, Singapore.*
 1912 HILL, J. WOODWARD, A.M.Inst.C.E., *City Engineer's Office, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1901 HILL, LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS ALEXANDER, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1887 HILL, LUKAS M., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1888 †HILL, THOMAS HESLOP, *Sungei Ujong, Federated Malay States.*
 1891 HILL, WARDROP M., *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1900 †HILLIARD, CHARLES H., *Resident Magistrate, Sutherland, Cape Colony.*
 1904 HILLMAN, SELIG, P.O. Box 2954, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 HILLMAN, WOLF, P.O. Box 2954, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1889 HILLS, T. AGG, 31 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1898 †HILTON, THOMAS J., *York Island, Sherbro, Sierra Leone.*
 1903 HIRSCH, AUGUST, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1902 †HIRSCHHORN, FRIEDRICH, 10 *Christian Street, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1904 HIRTZEL, CLEMENT, *Nairobi, British East Africa.*
 1888 †HITCHINS, CHARLES, M.L.A., *African Boating Co., Point, Durban, Natal.*
 1897 HITCHINS, JOHN F., *Penlee, Ridge Road, Durban, Natal.*
 1904 HIXSON, EDWARD M., C.E., *Government Railway, Oshogbo, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1902 HOCHSCHILD, SIGMUND, P.O. Box 25, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1902 HOCKEN, THOMAS M., M.R.C.S.E., F.L.S., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
 1902 †HOCKLY, DANIEL EDWARD, *East London, Cape Colony.*
 1884 HODGSON, H.E. SIR FREDERIC M., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1894 †HOEY, UNG BOK.
 1901 HOFMEYER, ADRIAN J. L., *Wynberg, Cape Colony.*
 1897 †HOFMEYER, HENRY J., B.A., P.O. Box 3357, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1885 HOFMEYER, HON. J. H., *Avond Rush, Stephan Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1896 HOLDSHIP, THOMAS H., *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1882 HOLDSWORTH, JOHN, *c/o Mrs. McLean, Duart, Havelock North, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
 1894 HOLE, HUGH MARSHALL, *Civil Commissioner, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1903 HOLGATE, GEORGE, 331 *Pietermaritz Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1889 HOLLAND, CUYLER A., *care of British Columbia Land Co., Victoria, British Columbia.*
 1901 HOLLAND, CHARLES THEODORE, J.P., *c/o Charterland Goldfields, Limited, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1903 HOLLANDER, FELIX CHARLES, P.O. Box 228, *Durban, Natal.*
 1889 †HOLLINS, RICHARD R., P.O. Box 289, *Johannesburg, Transvaal and Pretoria.*
 1896 †HOLLIS, A. CLAUD, *Secretary to Administration, Mombasa, East Africa.*
 1904 HOLMES, CHARLES WILLIAM, 202 *Longmarket Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1904 HOLMES, FRANCIS A., M.R.C.S.E., M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
 1889 HOLMES, JOHN R., *District Judge, Limassol, Cyprus.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 HOLMES, WILLIAM, *West Street, Durban, Natal.*
 1902 HOLMES, WM. J., *Uppington, Cape Colony.*
 1891 HOLROYD, HON. JUSTICE SIR EDWARD D., *Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1887 †HOLT, WALTER H., J.P., *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1894 HOLTON, HAROLD, *Vancouver, British Columbia.*
 1889 †HOMAN, LEONARD E. B., *P.O. Box 178, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 HOOD, A. JARVIE, M.B., C.M., *127 Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1898 HOOD, WM. ACLAND, *St. Audries, Gisborne, New Zealand.*
 1904 †HOOKE, AUGUSTUS, JR., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1902 HOOPEE, RAYMOND E., *364 Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
 1884 †HOPE, C. H. S.
 1884 †HOPE, JAMES WILLIAM, M.R.C.P., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*
 1888 HOPLEY, HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM M., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1883 †HORDEEN, EDWARD CARR, *211 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1897 †HORDEEN, SAMUEL, *Retford Hall, Darling Point, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1901 †HORNBY, WILLIAM F., *Chellow Dean, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1898 HORNBY-PORTER, CHARLES, *Colonial Secretariat, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1890 †HORNABROOK, CHARLES A., *Gilles Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1897 ROSE, RT. REV. GEORGE F., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Singapore and Sarawak, Bishop's House, Singapore.*
 1896 HOSKEN, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., *P.O. Box 667, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1884 †HOSMER, LT.-COLONEL EDWARD A. C., *Virden, Manitoba, Canada.*
 1900 HOUGH, T. F., *8 Des Vœux Rd. Central, Hong Kong.*
 1894 HOWARD, JOHN WM., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1898 HOWE, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 5168, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1899 HOWELL, HENRY SPENCER, *Stonyhurst, Galt, Ontario, Canada.*
 1904 HOY, G. FREDERICK, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1902 HOYLE, HERBERT H. A., *Ibadan, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1903 †HOYLE, JAMES J., *P.O. Box 744, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1903 †HUBBARD, ARTHUR G., *Government Railway, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1898 HUDSON, HIS HONOUR ARTHUR, *Circuit Judge, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1894 †HUDSON, WALTER E., *P.O. Box 189, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1899 HUGGINS, HENRY D., *Stipendiary Justice, Cedros, Trinidad.*
 1903 HUGHES, FRANK G., *Town Hall, Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
 1901 HUGHES, LIEUT.-COLONEL FREDERIC G., D.A.A.G., *395 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1901 †HUGHES, HUGH STANLEY, *Minnewater, Kuranda, Queensland.*
 1887 †HUGHES-HUGHES, T. W.
 1894 HULETT, GEORGE HERBERT, *Advocate of the Supreme Court, Verulam, Natal.*
 1884 HULETT, HON. SIR JAMES LIEGE, M.L.A., J.P., *Keareney, Nonoti, Natal.*
 1902 †HULETT, HORACE B., *Keareney, Nonoti, Natal.*
 1887 HULL, GEORGE H., *The Lodge, Belgravia, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1901 †HULL, HON. HENRY C., M.L.C., *P.O. Box 948, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1903 HULSTON, JOHN, *P.O. Box 92, Durban, Natal.*
 1901 HUMBY, ALBERT J., M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railways, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1904 HUMBY, CHARLES C., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*
 1901 HUMPHREYS, GEORGE, *Cathedral Square, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1889 HUNT, HON. WALTER R., *Receiver-General, Nassau, Bahamas.*
 1883 HUNTER, CHARLES THOMSON, *Belize, British Honduras.*

Year of
Election.

- 1889 HUNTER, SIR DAVID, K.C.M.G., *Government Railways, Durban, Natal.*
 1884 HUNTER, HAMILTON, C.M.G., *H.B.M. Consul, Tonga, Friendly Islands.*
 1898 †HUNTER, JAMES M., *Government Railways, Durban, Natal.*
 1899 HUNTER, JOSEPH, *Victoria, British Columbia.*
 1896 †HUNTER, THOMAS A., *27 Octagon, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
 1603 HUNTER, WILLIAM M., *161 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1897 HURRELL, WILLIAM, *Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
 1901 HUTCHEON, DUNCAN, P.V.S., *Agricultural Department, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1903 HUTCHINGS, C., *Vita Rewz, Fiji.*
 1900 HUTCHINSON, ELLIOTT ST. M., *P.O. Box 6434, and Mutual Buildings Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1897 HUTCHINSON, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR JOSEPH T., M.A., *Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 1901 HUTSON, HON. EYRE, *Colonial Secretary, Hamilton, Bermuda.*
 1904 HUTT, EDWARD, J.P., *Maitland, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1893 HUTTON, EDWARD M., M.A., *Registrar, Supreme Court, Gibraltar.*
 1887 †HUTTON, J. MOUNT, *Johannesburg Club, P.O. Box 3720, Johannesburg Transvaal.*
 1892 HUTTON, WILLIAM, *Resident J.P., Komati Poort, Transvaal.*
 1900 HUXTABLE, F. W., *P.O. Box 2682, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1885 †HYAM, ABRAHAM, *P.O. Box 3029, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 IEVERS, ROBERT LANCELOT, *Mount Ievers, Royal Park, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1884 IKIN, REV. ALFRED, D.D., *Point, Natal.*
 1904 †ILLIUS, DONALD W., *o/o Post Office, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1898 IMPET, SAMUEL P., M.D., C.M., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1880 IM THURN, H.E. SIR EVERARD F., K.C.M.G., C.B., *Government House, Suva, Fiji.*
 1894 †INGLIS, JAMES, *60 York Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1896 INGLIS, WM. WOOD, *P.O. Box 2056, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 †INKSETTER, WM. ELLSWORTH, M.D., *Alajuela, Costa Rica.*
 1905 INNES, SIDNEY NORTH, *Cresswell Downs, Northern Territory, South Australia.*
 1895 INNIS, THOMAS WALBROND, *Britannia Estate, Mauritius.*
 1891 I'ONS, FREDERICK F., *Witwatersrand G.M. Co., P.O. Knights, via Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 IRELAND, PROFESSOR ALLEYNE, *The University, Chicago; and St. Botolph Club, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.*
 1892 IRELAND, J. S. A., M.B. (*Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service*).
 1891 IRVINE, HON. HANS W. H., M.I.C., *Great Western Vineyard, Victoria.*
 1904 †IRVINE, HON. WM. HILL, M.L.A., *462 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1891 IRVING, ROBERT J.
 1897 ISAAC, GEORGE MICHAEL, *P.O. Box 3110, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1886 †ISAACS, DAVID, *P.O. Box 490, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1891 ISAACS, EMANUEL, *P.O. Box 1, Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
 1901 ISEMONGER, FRANCIS M., *Government Secretariat, Entebbe, Uganda.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 JACK, WM. LANGLANDS, 60 *Market Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1899 †JACKSON, CECIL GOWER, J.P., *Magistrate, Durban, Natal.*
- 1881 JACKSON, H.E. SIR HENRY M., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1890 JACKSON, ROBERT E., K.C., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1902 †JACKSON, THOMAS A., 305 *Bulwer Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1897 †JACOB, WILLIAM F., *Feilding, New Zealand.*
- 1901 JACOBS, DAVID M., P.O. Box 230, *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1883 †JACOBS, ISAAC, 72 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1904 JACOBS, SIMEON, P.O. Box 167, *Potchefstroom, Transvaal.*
- 1897 JAGGER, JOHN WM., M.L.A., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 JAMES, EDMUND M., 141 *Longmarket Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1876 †JAMES, J. WILLIAM, F.G.S., *Tanawari, Blakehurst, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1897 JAMES, RUDOLPH, c/o F. H. *Hamilton, Esq., Audit Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1893 JAMESON, HON. ADAM, M.D., *Commissioner of Lands, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1900 JAMESON, CHARLES S., 354 *West Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1895 JAMESON, GEORGE, *Mostyn, Springston, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1904 JAMESON, HENRY B. L., *Customs Dept., Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1899 JAMESON, HENRY LYSER, B.A., Ph.D., *Education Office, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1881 †JAMESON, HON. L. S., C.B., M.L.A., M.D., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 JAMESON, HON. ROBERT, M.L.C., *Durban, Natal.*
- 1897 JAMIESON, EDMUND C., P.O. Box 357, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 JAMIESON, GEORGE, C.M.G.
- 1897 JAMIESON, JOHN H., P.O. Box 2576, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 JAMIESON, M. B., C.E., 39 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 JANION, E. M., *Chartered Bank of India, Penang, Straits Settlements.*
- 1882 JARRETT, MICHAEL LEWIS, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P. (Edin.), *British Sherbro, West Africa.*
- 1905 JAYWARDENE, DON ADRIAN ST. V., *Jayewardene Wallawwa, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1904 JEFFARES, JOHN L. S., B.Sc., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Komgha, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 JEFFRAY, ALAN, c/o *Australian Estates & Mortgage Co., Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1893 JENKINS, ARTHUR ROGERS, *West Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1900 JENKINS, GEORGE H. V., *Herbert Park, Armidale, New South Wales.*
- 1872 †JENKINS, H. L., *Indian Civil Service.*
- 1889 †JEPPE, CARL, *Barrister-at-Law, City Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 †JEPPE, JULIUS, *Danish Consul, 32 Shortmarket Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 †JEPPE, JULIUS, JUN., P.O. Box 60, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 †JEROME, CHARLES, *Hazeldene, Park Town, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 †JOEL, LOUIS, P.O. Box 232, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 †JOFFE, MAX F., P.O. Box 352, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1904 JOHNSON EDWARD ANGAS, M.D., M.R.C.S., 295 *Pirie Street East, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1897 JOHNSON, HON. EDWARD O., *Colonial Treasurer, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1893 †JOHNSON, FRANK W. F., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1904 JOHNSON, PERCY VINER, *Assistant Magistrate, Boshof, Orange River Colony.*

Year of Election.	
1904	JOHNSON, PHILIP H., <i>South African Road Transport Co., P.O. Box 45, Kroonstad, Orange River Colony.</i>
1902	JOHNSON, SYDNEY N., <i>Charters Towers, Queensland.</i>
1904	JOHNSON, W. C. B., M.H.A., <i>Nassau, Bahamas.</i>
1894	JOHNSTON, HON. C. J., M.L.C., <i>Wellington, New Zealand.</i>
1891	†JOHNSTON, DAVID W., M.D., <i>P.O. Box 2022, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1896	JOHNSTON, D. HOPE, <i>c/o Bank of Australasia, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1889	†JOHNSTON, JAMES, J.P., <i>Oakbank, Mount Barker, South Australia.</i>
1904	JOHNSTON, JAMES LYON, <i>African Banking Corporation, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1889	JOHNSTON, PERCIVAL, J.P., <i>care of Messrs. Jones & Jones, Lincoln's Inn Chambers, Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1885	JOHNSTON, SYDNEY, <i>Napier, New Zealand.</i>
1885	JOHNSTON, HON. WALTER WOODS, M.H.R., <i>Wellington, New Zealand.</i>
1898	JOHNSTONE, GEORGE W., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., <i>Gresham House, Singapore.</i>
1901	JONES, EDWARD LLOYD, <i>Hatherley, Homebush Road, Strathfield, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1889	†JONES, EVAN H., J.P., <i>Kimberley, Cape Colony.</i>
1898	JONES, JAMES, <i>5 Commercial Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1891	JONES, JOHN R., <i>P.O. Box 966, Pretoria, Transvaal.</i>
1882	JONES, OSWALD, <i>Hamilton, Bermuda.</i>
1884	JONES, SIR PHILIP SYDNEY, M.D., <i>16 College Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1896	JONES, COMMANDER R. D. PAGET, <i>Marine Supt., Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.</i>
1873	JONES, HON. SYDNEY TWENTYMAN, <i>Grahamstown, Cape Colony.</i>
1882	JONES, HON. W. H. HYNDMAN, <i>Judicial Commissioner, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.</i>
1897	†JONES, HIS GRACE WILLIAM WEST, D.D., <i>Lord Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop's Court, Claremont, Cape Colony.</i>
1903	JOSEPH, SULIM B., <i>P.O. Box 723, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1899	JUDSON, DANIEL, J.P., <i>Bulawayo, Rhodesia.</i>
1886	JUTA, HON. SIR HENRY H., K.C., M.L.A., <i>Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1899	†KATER, NORMAN W., M.B., C.M., <i>Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1904	KAUFMAN, T., <i>P.O. Box 4291, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1901	†KAYSER, CHARLES F., <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>
1904	KEEGAN, LAURENCE E., B.A., M.D., <i>St. John's, Newfoundland.</i>
1894	†KEENAN, JAMES, F.R.C.S.I., <i>Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1902	KEEF, ERNEST E., <i>Witch Wood, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria; and Australian Club.</i>
1889	†KEIGWIN, THOMAS HENRY, <i>308 George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1889	†KEITH, JOHN T., <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>
1902	KEITH-FRASER, C. D., <i>Tongaia, Natal.</i>
1904	KELLY, BENJAMIN S., <i>182 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.</i>
1900	†KELLY, GEORGE C., <i>Mont Alto, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.</i>
1896	KELLY, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE HENRY G., <i>Forcados, Southern Nigeria.</i>
1884	†KELLY, JAMES JOHN.
1889	†KELTY, WILLIAM, <i>Department of Public Works, Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1902	KEMP, ROBERT, <i>Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.</i>
1877	KEMSLEY, JAMES, <i>Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.</i>

Year of
Election:

- 1883 KENNEDY, JAMES HUTCHINSON, *Master of the High Court, Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 KENNELLY, DAVID J., K.C., *Louisburg, Nova Scotia.*
- 1884 KENNY, W., M.D. (*Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service*).
- 1898 KENWAY, PHILIP T., *Gisborne, New Zealand.*
- 1886 KERMODE, ROBERT, *Mona Vale, Tasmania.*
- 1900 KERR, DAVID, *Abergeldie Estate, Watawala, Ceylon.*
- 1903 KERR, JOHN WISHART, M.B., *Government Medical Officer, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1888 †KERRY, T. C., *Sutton Lodge, Remmauaa, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1902 †KESSLER, CAPTAIN ROBERT C., F.R.G.S., *c/o Messrs. King & Sons, Castle Buildings, Durban, Natal.*
- 1903 KETTLEWELL, JOHN W., 273 *George Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1895 KEWLEY, CHARLES, M.A., *P.O. Box 22, Winburg, Orange River Colony.*
- 1882 †KEYNES, RICHARD R., *Keyneton, South Australia.*
- 1892 †KIDDLE, WILLIAM, *Walbundrie Station, Albury, New South Wales.*
- 1886 KILBY, HENRY G., *Bentham, Hunters Hill, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 KILPIN, ERNEST FULLER, C.M.G., *Legislative Assembly Office, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 †KING, ARTHUR S., *Nelson, Cairns, Queensland.*
- 1901 KING, HARVEY, *Cariblanco, Costa Rica.*
- 1898 †KING, KELSO, 120 *Pitt St., Sydney, New South Wales; and Australian Club.*
- 1905 KINGSLEY, GEORGE E., *Rossin House, Toronto, Canada.*
- 1902 †KIRKCALDY, NORMAN M., M.A.Inst.M.E., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1901 †KIRKCALDY, WM. MELVILLE, F.S.S., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1897 †KIRKER, JAMES, *South British Insurance Co., Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1897 KIRTON, CAPTAIN GEORGE, *Feilding, New Zealand.*
- 1902 KIRTON, WALTER.
- 1894 KITCHEN, JOHN H., *c/o The Sydney Soap and Candle Co., Ltd., 337 Kent Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1886 KITHER, WILLIAM, *Glenelg, South Australia.*
- 1878 KNEVETT, J. S. K. DE, 2 *Rue de Loxum, Brussels.*
- 1903 KNIPE, CAPTAIN RODERICK E., *Naval and Military Club, 178 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1883 KNIGHT, ARTHUR, *Grassdale, River Valley Road, Singapore.*
- 1902 †KNIGHTS, RICHARD, A.M.Inst.C.E., *Government Railway, Obuassi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1902 †KNOBEL, JOHAN B., M.B., L.R.C.S., *P.O. Box 179, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1896 KNOLLYS, H.E. SIR COURTENAY C., K.C.M.G., *Government House, St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1887 KNOX, WILLIAM, M.P., 74 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1893 †KÖNIG, PAUL, *Beau Bassin, Mauritius.*
- 1890 †KÖHLER, HON. CHARLES W. H., M.L.C., *Riverside, Paarl, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 KOLL, OTTO H., *c/o W. L. Cohen, Esq., 47 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1890 †KOTHARI, JEHANGIR H., *Karachi, India.*
- 1876 †KRIEL, REV. H. T., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1889 †KUHN, HENRY R., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 LABORDE, ARTHUR L. C., *Post Office, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1883 †LAGDEN, HON. SIR GODFREY YEATMAN, K.C.M.G., *Commissioner for Native Affairs, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1900 LAING, DAVID WILLIAM, *c/o Messrs. Caston & Davidson, Gympie, Queensland.*
- 1904 LAMB, HENRY J., *P.O. Box 1244, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 LAMB, TOMPSON, *Liverpool Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1905 LAMBERT, J. A. PEYTON, *Assistant Treasurer, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1895 LAMINGTON, H.E. THE RIGHT HON. LORD, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., *Government House, Bombay.*
- 1880 LAMPREY, LIEUT.-COLONEL J. J., R.A.M.C., F.R.G.S.
- 1898 †LANCHE, WILLIAM F., *P.O. Box 744, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 LANDALE, ALEXANDER, *Aroona, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1885 LANDALE, R. HUNTER, *Deniliquin, New South Wales.*
- 1901 LANDAU, MORRIS M., *P.O. Box 347, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1900 LANE, HON. ZEBINA, M.L.C., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1884 †LANG, WILLIAM A., *Carlaminda, Cooma, New South Wales.*
- 1894 LANGDALE, HON. FREDERICK LENOX, M.L.C., F.R.G.S., *Wakaya, Fiji.*
- 1897 LANGDON, CHARLES P., *122 William Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 †LANGDON, WILLIAM CHURCHWARD, J.P., *Port Darwin, Northern Territory, South Australia.*
- 1882 LANGE, HON. MR. JUSTICE J. H., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 †LANGHERMAN, J. W. S., *P.O. Box 253, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 LANGHERMAN, JAMES, *Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 LANGFORD, ALBERT E., *Equitable Building, Collins St., Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1900 LANGLEY, W. H., *Barrister-at-Law, 59 Government Street, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1905 LANNING, ROBERT, J.P., *Native Commissioner, Shiloh, Rhodesia.*
- 1897 LASSETTER, COLONEL H. B., C.B., *Redleaf, New South Head Road, Woollahra, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1900 LAUGHTON, JOHN M., *Town Engineer, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1897 LAURIER, RT. HON. SIR WILFRID, G.C.M.G., *Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1895 LAW, CHARLES F., *P.O. Box 116, Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1889 †LAWLEY, ALFRED L., *P.O. Box 227, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1904 LAWLEY, THE HON. SIR ARTHUR, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 LAWRENCE, JAMES, M.L.A., J.P., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 †LAWRENCE, JOHN P., *Villa Valetta, Collonge, Territet, Suisse.*
- 1899 LAWRENCE, LAURIE P., *113 Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1897 LAWRENCE, T. H., *c/o Messrs. Fowles & Boden, Field Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1903 LAWTON, ALFRED B., *P.O. Box 536, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 LAWTON, FRANK I., *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 LAYTON, BENDYSHE, *Messrs. Gibb, Livingston & Co., Hong Kong.*
- 1901 LAZARUS, SIMON L., *Suva, Fiji.*
- 1892 †LEA, JULIAN AUGUSTUS, M.B., F.R.C.S., *The Pines, Brucebridge, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1902 LEACH, JOHN B., *Poplar Grove, Whittlesea, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 LEE, D. O. E., *Audit Department, Panama Railroad Co., Colon.*
- 1889 †LEECH, H. W. CHAMBER, LL.D., *Perak, Federated Malay States.*
- 1883 †LEECH, JOHN BOURKE MASSY, *Kinta, Perak, Federated Malay States.*

Year of
Election.

- 1900 LEECHMAN, GEORGE BARCLAY, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1895 †LEFEVER, JOHN M., M.D., C.M., *Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1904 LEFEVRE, WILLIAM, *Rank of Africa, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 LEFROY, HON. HENRY BRUCE, C.M.G., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1902 LEGGATT, H. B., *Plantation Anna Regina, Essequibo, British Guiana.*
- 1904 LEGGE, CHARLES ARTHUR L., *Inspector of Police, St. Georges, Grenada, West Indies.*
- 1894 LE HUNTE, H.E. SIR GEORGE RUTHVEN, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1877 LEMBERG, PHILIP (*Consul for Portugal*), *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1883 LE MESURIER, CECIL J. R., *Barrister-at-law, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1880 LE MIÈRE, HIPPOLYTE, JUN., *Rose Cottage, Curepipe, Mauritius.*
- 1896 †LEMPRIERE, JOHN THOMSON, *Australian Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 †LENZ, OTTO, P.O. Box 92, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 LEONARD, CHARLES, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 †LEONARD, HON. JAMES W., K.C., *The Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 LEOPOLD, LEWIS J., *Educational Institute, Gloucester Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1899 LESLIE, ALEX. STEWART, *The Treasury, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1889 †LESLIE, J. H., P.O. Box 190, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 LE SUEUR, GORDON, *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 LE SUEUR, SYBRANDT, *Legislative Council Office, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 LETCHFORD, THOMAS F., *Equitable Buildings, Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1903 LETT, ROBERT E., *Police Department, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1898 †LEUCHARS, HON. GEORGE, C.M.G., M.L.A., *Beacons, Greytown, Natal.*
- 1891 †LEVET, JAMES A., *Bowdon, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 LEVI, NATHANIEL, *Liverpool, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1882 LEVY, HON. ARTHUR, M.L.C., *Mandeville, Jamaica.*
- 1901 LEVY, BARNETT, P.O. Box 240, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1899 LEVY, GEORGE, P.O. Box 240, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1902 LEWES, HENRY M., *c/o Messrs. Lyell & Butler, 349 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1883 LEWIS, ALLAN WELLESLEY, K.C., *St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1904 LEWIS, E. H., *Audit Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1903 LEWIS, HENRY M., *Civil Service, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1880 †LEWIS, HON. SIR NEIL ELLIOTT, K.C.M.G., M.A., B.O.L., *Hobart, Tasmania (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1891 LEWIS, ROBERT E., 414 *Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1884 †LEWIS, THOMAS, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1902 LEWIS, THOMAS HOPE, M.R.C.S.E., L.S.A., *Symonds Street, Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1902 LEWIS, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR WALTER LLEWELLYN, *Belice, British Honduras.*
- 1902 LEWIS, WILLIAM MILNER, 171 *Hereford Street, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1903 LMYSON, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 3192, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 †LEZARD, HERBERT L., P.O. Box 2755, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †LICHTHEIM, JACOB, P.O. Box 1618, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1905 LIDDARD, MONTAGUE L., *Assistant Resident, Bida, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1889 †LIDDLE, FREDERIC C., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 †LIDDLE, HORACE S., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 †LIDDLE, JOSEPH, *Norwich Union Buildings, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 LILLY, FLEET-SURGEON FREDERICK J., R.N., *H.M.S. "King Edward VII.," Atlantic Fleet.*
- 1894 LINCOLN, GABRIEL, *Civil Service, Port Louis, Mauritius.*
- 1895 †LINDSAY, HENRY LILL, *P.O. Box 1612, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 LINDSAY, JOHN H.
- 1896 †LINDUP, WALTER, *Fairview Tower, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 LINE, LEONARD, *196 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1899 †LINSCOTT, REV. T. S., *Brantford, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1897 LIPP, CHARLES, J.P., *African Banking Corporation, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 LISTER, HERBERT, *Pemba, Zanzibar.*
- 1897 LITHMAN, KARL, *P.O. Box 640, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 LITTLE, ARCHIBALD J., *Chungking Trading Co., Ichang, China.*
- 1899 LITTLE, CHARLES WM., *Scottish Australian Investment Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1899 LITTLE, JAMES B., *Wanderer Gold Mines, Selukwe, Rhodesia.*
- 1879 †LIVERSIDGE, ARCHIBALD, M.A., F.R.S., *Professor of Chemistry, The University, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1892 LLHWELYN, H.E. SIR ROBERT B., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Grenada, West Indies.*
- 1902 LLOYD, CHARLES, *Lowther Hotel, Durban, Natal.*
- 1892 LLOYD, CHARLES W., *Hayfield, Granville Heights, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1901 LLOYD, ERNEST A., *National Bank of South Africa, Lourenço Marques, East Africa.*
- 1899 †LLOYD, REV. JOHN T., *10 Pietersen Street, Hospital Hill, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 LLOYD, LANCLOT T., *127 Phillip Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 †LOCKWARD, HENRY, *Hamilton, Bermuda.*
- 1888 LOFTIE, ROWLEY C., *Villa Paradis, Vevey, Switzerland.*
- 1904 LOGAN, EWRN R., M.A., *Mombasa, British East Africa.*
- 1886 LOGAN, HON. JAMES D., M.L.C., *Matjesfontein, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 LONG, ARTHUR TILNEY, H.B.M. *Collector of Customs, P.O. Box 7, Lourenço Marques, East Africa.*
- 1889 LONG, EDWARD M., *Havana, Mackay, Queensland.*
- 1897 LONGDEN, HERBERT T., *Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
- 1895 LONGLEY, HON. MR. JUSTICE J. WILBERFORCE, *Halifax, Nova Scotia (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1883 LOOS, HON. F. C., M.L.C., *Roseneath, Darley Road, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1898 LORAM, ALBERT E., *21 Timber Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 LORENA, A. CHARLES, L.R.C.P.E., L.R.C.S.E., *Government Medical Officer, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1889 †LOUBSER, MATTHEW M., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 LOUGHNAN, I. HAMILTON, *Tukihiki, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
- 1888 LOVE, JAMES R., *99 Bathurst Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1884 LOVEDAY, HON. RICHARD KILSEY, M.L.C., F.R.G.S., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1878 LOVELL, SIR FRANCIS H., C.M.G., F.R.C.S.E.
- 1883 †LOVELLY, LIEUT.-COLONEL JAMES CHAPMAN, *Esplanade, Largs, Adelaide, South Australia.*

Year of
Election.

- 1896 †LOVELY, WM. H. C., M.A.I.M.E.
 1896 LOVEMORE, HARRY C., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1898 LOWRY, CAPTAIN HENRY WARD, I.S.C., *Secunderabad, India.*
 1895 †LUCAS ALEXANDER B., *Florida, Transvaal.*
 1899 LUCAS, FREDERICK G. C., *Ridge Road, Durban, Natal.*
 1895 †LUCAS, PHILIP DE N., *Florida, Transvaal.*
 1903 LUDLOW, HARRY A., *Government Railway, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1902 LUDLOW, LIONEL, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1895 *LUGARD, H.E. BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK D., K.C.M.G., C.B.,
 D.S.O., *Government House, Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
 1888 LUMB, HON. MR. JUSTICE C. F., M.A., LL.D., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
 1886 LUMGAIR, GEORGE.
 1889 †LUMSDEN, DAVID, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1903 †LUNNON, FREDERIC J., M.A., LL.M., P.O. Box 400, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1901 †LYLE, ALEXANDER, 246 *Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1905 LWIN MAUNG TIM, 5 *Pagoda Road, Rangoon, Burma.*
 1886 †LYMAN, HENRY H., 74 *McTavish Street, Montreal, Canada.*
 1898 LYNCH, GEORGE WM. A., M.B., *Ba, Fiji.*
 1905 LYNN, HENRY A., *Commerce Court, Durban, Natal.*
 1901 LYNN, WILLIAM J.
 1902 LYTLETON-TURNER, ALBERT J., *Prestea, via Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 MAASDORP, HON. MR. JUSTICE C. G., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 MACALISTER, G. IAN, *Rideau Club, Ottawa, Canada.*
 1891 MACARTHUR, DUNCAN, 7 *Reaburn, Manitoba, Canada.*
 1893 MACARTHY, THOS. G., *Phoenix Brewery, Tory St., Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1896 MACASKIE, JOHN C., *District Judge, Famagusta, Cyprus.*
 1897 MACAULAY, JOHN MAY, P.O. Box 967, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1905 MACDERMOT, RODERICK, *Gilbert Islands Protectorate.*
 1883 MACDONALD, C. FALCONAR J., *Wantabadgery, Wagga Wagga, New South
 Wales.*
 1885 MACDONALD, CLAUDE A., *Wantabadgery, Wagga Wagga, New South Wales.*
 1894 MACDONALD, H. E. COLONEL SIR CLAUDE M., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., *Tokio, Japan.*
 1891 †MACDONALD, DUNCAN, P.O. Box 82, *East London, Cape Colony.*
 1892 MACDONALD, EBENEZER, *Kamilaroi, Darling Point, Sydney, New South
 Wales.*
 1903 MACDONALD, JAMES, *Imperial Tobacco Co., 203 West Franklin Street, Rich-
 mond, Virginia, U.S.A.*
 1896 MACDONALD, REV. J. MIDDLETON (Senior Chaplain, Government of India),
 Dum Dum, Bengal, India.
 1904 MACDONALD, RANALD, *Government Offices, Chiromo, British Central
 Africa.*
 1904 †MACDONALD, RONALD M., Messrs. Gould, Beaumont & Co., *Christchurch,
 New Zealand.*
 1885 MACDONALD, THOMAS MORELL, *Invercargill, New Zealand.*
 1882 MACDOUGALL, JAMES, 365 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1891 †MACDOWALL, DAY HORT, M.P., *Prince Albert, N.W.T., Canada.*
 1889 MACEWEN, HON. ALEXANDER P., M.L.C., *Hong Kong.*
 1884 †MACFARLANE, SENATOR JAMES, *Newlands, Hobart, Tasmania.*
 1890 MACFEE, K. N., 45 *St. Sacramento Street, Montreal, Canada.*

Year of
Election.

- 1889 MACFIE, MATTHEW, *Tyalla, Elm Grove, Armadale, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1897 †MACFIE, ROBERT A., *Estancia Perla, Luquillo, Porto Rico, West Indies.*
 1903 MACGARVEY, JAMES, *Grosny, Terek Province, Russia.*
 1899 †MACGREGOR, H.E. SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., C.B., *Government House, St. John's, Newfoundland.*
 1885 MACGLASHAN, NEIL, J.P., *Mining Commissioner, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1891 MACINTOSH, JAMES, *c/o Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Townsville, Queensland.*
 1903 MACINTOSH, WILLIAM, M.L.A., *P.O. Box 20, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1900 MACIVER, FERGUS, *Stock Exchange Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1895 †MACKAY, CAPTAIN A. W., J.P., *Bathurst, New South Wales.*
 1901 †MACKAY, DONALD H. ROSS, *Albert Club, Durban, Natal.*
 1892 †MACKAY, GEORGE, *Marzelsfontein, Douglas, Cape Colony.*
 1891 MACKAY, JAMES, *Central Club, Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1890 †MACKAY, JOHN KENNETH, *Dungog, New South Wales.*
 1905 MACKAY, THOMAS JAMES, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1887 MACKELLAR, HON. CHARLES K., M.L.C., M.B., *131 Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1902 MACKENZIE, FRANCIS WALLACE, M.B., C.M., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1886 MACKENZIE, JOHN EDDIE, M.B., C.M., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1897 †MACKENZIE, MURDO S., *Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
 1902 MACKENZIE, STANLEY WYNN, *Government Railway, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1897 MACKENZIE, THOMAS, M.H.R., *Allan Grange, Kaikorai, New Zealand.*
 1904 MACKERSEY, CHARLES L., *Hastings, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
 1882 MACKIE, DAVID, *Beach-Clarridge Corporation Mantic, Conn., U.S.A.*
 1902 MACKINNON, ANGUS, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1891 †MACKINNON, W. K., *Marida, Yallock, Boorcan, Victoria.*
 1901 MACKINTOSH, DONALD, *The Pines, Essendon, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1895 †MACLAREN, DAVID, *62 Frank Street, Ottawa, Canada.*
 1902 MACLAREN, JAMES MALCOLM, B.Sc., F.G.S., *Geological Survey, Calcutta.*
 1905 †MACLEAN, KAID SIR HARRY, K.C.M.G., *The Court, Morocco.*
 1904 MACNAB, JOHN CRERAE, *Bank of Africa, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1882 MACPHERSON, JOHN, *Corner of Twenty-Seventh and J. Streets, San Diego, California, U.S.A.*
 1903 †MACPHERSON, WILLIAM MOLSON, *St. Ursule Street, Quebec, Canada.*
 1902 †MACSHERRY, RT. REV. BISHOP HUGH, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1905 MCAUSLIN, JAMES, *180 Longmarket Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1900 †MCBRYDE, HON. D. E., M.L.C., *Australian Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1902 MCCALLUM, CLIFFORD K., *Coronation Colliery Co., Witbank, Transvaal.*
 1883 MCCALLUM, H.E. COLONEL SIR HENRY EDWARD, R.E., G.C.M.G., A.D.C., *Government House, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1897 MCCALLUM, WILLIAM, *Oceana Consolidated Co., P.O. Box 1542, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1880 MCCARTHY, JAMES A., *Solicitor-General, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1904 †MCCARTHY, JOHN J., *P. O. Box 34, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1896 MCCARTHY, HON. ROBERT H., M.L.C., *Collector of Customs, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1886 †MCCAUGHEY, HON. SIR SAMUEL, M.L.C., *Coonong, Urana, New South Wales.*
 1895 †MCCONNELL, JAMES, *Ardmore Hall, Vuna, Fiji.*

Year of
Electio n

- 1897 †McCOWAT, ROBERT L., F.R.I.B.A., P.O. Box 318, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1902 MCCOWEN, JOHN R., I.S.O., J.P., Inspector-General of Constabulary, St. John's, Newfoundland.
- 1904 MCCRAE, ARTHUR G., Bank of Australasia, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1882 MCCRAE, FARQUHAR P. G., Bank of Australasia, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1889 MCCULLOCH, ALEXANDER, Adelaide Club, South Australia.
- 1896 MCCULLOUGH, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., High Street, Auckland, New Zealand.
- 1893 McDONALD, DARENT H.
- 1896 McDONALD, ERNEST E., Government Secretariat, Nicosia, Cyprus.
- 1902 †McEWAN, WILLIAM, P.O. Box 380, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1893 MCGIBSON, R. D., K.C., St. James's Club, Montreal, Canada.
- 1895 †MCGOON, ARCHIBALD, JUN., 181 St. James Street, Montreal, Canada.
- 1883 MCGRATH, HON. GEORGE, Charlemont, Jamaica.
- 1896 MCGUIRE, FELIX, Mount Royal, Hawera, New Zealand.
- 1889 †McILWRAITH, JOHN, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.
- 1894 MCLIVOR, JAMES BALFOUR, De Aar, Cape Colony.
- 1898 MCKENZIE, ARCHIBALD, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., Musgrave Road, Durban, Natal.
- 1883 †McKINNON, NEIL R., K.C., Berbice, British Guiana.
- 1896 McLAREN, J. GURDON, Dawson, Y.T., Canada.
- 1901 McLAUGHLIN, JAMES, 11 St. James Buildings, Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
- 1902 McLARIN, J. D., 217 Mercer Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 1883 †McLEAN, GEORGE, Dunedin, New Zealand.
- 1878 †McLEAN, R. D. DOUGLAS, Maraekakaho, Napier, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1884 †McLEOD, EDWIN, P.O. Box 36, Brooklyn, Queen's County, Nova Scotia.
- 1894 †McMILLAN, MAJOR F. DOUGLAS, P.O. Box 3004, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1902 McMILLAN, ROBERT, "Stock and Station Journal" Office, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1899 McMILLAN, SIR WILLIAM, K.C.M.G., Allison Street, Randwick, Sydney, New South Wales.
- 1892 McNAUGHTON, COLIN B., Concordia, Knysna, Cape Colony.
- 1900 McPHILLIPS, ALBERT E., K.C., M.P.P., Victoria, British Columbia.
- 1898 McTUEK, MICHAEL, C.M.G., Kalacoon, Essequibo, British Guiana.
- 1896 MAGAREY, WILLIAM J., Unity Chambers, Currie Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1892 †MAGER, WM. KELK, J.P., Queenstown, Cape Colony.
- 1899 MAGUIRE, CHARLES E., M.D., Government Medical Officer, Suva, Fiji.
- 1904 MAIN, FREDERICK G., Transport Department, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.
- 1884 MAIR, GEORGE, Groongal, near Hay, New South Wales.
- 1904 MAKIN, COLONEL FRANK, Gilberton, South Australia.
- 1904 MAKIN, GUY ST. JOHN, Gilberton, South Australia.
- 1895 †MALCOLM, GEORGE W., A.M.I.Mech.E., Forges et Fonderies de Maurice, Port Louis, Mauritius.
- 1902 †MALCOLM, HARCOURT G., M.H.A., Barrister-at-Law, Nassau, Bahamas.
- 1880 MALCOLM, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR ORMOND D., Nassau, Bahamas.

Year of
Election.

- 1898 MALLESON, PERCY RODBARD, *Hew River, Cape Colony.*
 1896 MALLETT, PERCY WM., *Attorney-at-Law, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1890 MANCHER, JOHN C., *Glen Moan, Willow Tree, New South Wales.*
 1882 †MANIFOLD, W. T., *Purrumbete, Camperdown, Victoria.*
 1904 MANNHEIM, ERNEST A., A.M.I.M.M., M.A.I.M.E.
 1904 MANSSEL, CAPTAIN ROBERT S., *Chibia, Angola, Portuguese South West Africa.*
 1903 MANSSELL, WM. V., *The Coaling Co., Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1897 MANSFIELD, ERNEST, *Nelson, British Columbia.*
 1902 MARAIS, CHARLES, *Land Surveyor, 2 Wale Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1890 †MARAIS, CHRISTIAN L., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
 1890 †MARAIS, JOHANNES H., M.L.A., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
 1893 MARAIS, P. HARMSSEN, *Highbury, Wynberg, Cape Colony.*
 1904 †MARLEW, E. C., *Frenchay, Diep River, near Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1887 †MARKS, ALEXANDER, J.P., *Consul for Japan, 98a Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1902 †MARKS, ELLIA, *Messrs. Lewis & Marks, P.O. Box 379, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1902 MARKS, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., *Suva, Fiji.*
 1894 †MARKS, HERBERT T., *P.O. Box 191, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1894 MARKS, PERCY J., B.A., *117 Victoria Street North, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1903 MARKS, SAMUEL HERBERT, *26 Mansion House Chambers, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1901 †MARSHOTT, WALTER J., *P.O. Box 207, Durban, Natal.*
 1904 MARSH, H. VERNON, *187 Pietermaritz Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1885 †MARSHALL, ALFRED WITTER, *College Park, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1896 MARSHALL, ARTHUR H., *c/o Orient Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1902 MARSHALL, FRANCIS M., *c/o Capato & Co., Suakin, Sudan.*
 1900 MARSHALL, JAMES C., *Dunedin Club, Fernhill, New Zealand.*
 1896 †MARSHALL, MAJOR ROBERT S., *Eve Leary Barracks, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1884 MARSHMAN, JOHN, *Holly Road, St. Alban's, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1886 MARSLAND, LUKE W., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
 1904 MARTIN HUMPHREY, M.B., M.R.C.S.E., *12 North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1902 †MARTIN, GEORGE F., J.P., *Wagadra, Nadi, Fiji; and Fiji Club, Suva, Fiji.*
 1899 MARTIN, JOHN, *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1897 MARTIN, JOHN STUART, *Barrister-at-Law, St. George's, Grenada.*
 1902 MARTIN, W. A., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 †MARZETTI, C. J., M.R.A.S., *Kandahar Estate, Balangoda, Ceylon.*
 1879 MASON, E. G. L., *Colonial Bank, Berbice, British Guiana.*
 1899 MASON, J. HERBERT, *Permanent Loan and Savings Bank, Toronto, Canada.*
 1900 †MASON, RICHARD LYTE, *Messrs. Mason & Whitelaw, P.O. Box 677, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 MATHKWS, ABRAHAM E., *Anglo-Transvaal Development Co., P.O. Box 845, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1890 MATTERSON, CHARLES H., *P.O. Box 4612, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1903 MATTERSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL ARTHUR W., *Ravenshoe, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1898 †MATTHEWS, FLETCHER, *Colenbrander's Development Co., Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*

Year of
Election.

- 1881 †MATTHEWS, J. W., M.D., P.O. Box 437, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1892 †MAUND, EDWARD A.
 1892 MAURICE, M. SIDNEY, *Bon Espoir, Molleno Road, Claremont, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1894 MAURICE, RICHARD THELWALL, *Fourth Creek, Magill, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1889 †MAYBOGORDATO, THEODORE E., J.P., *Assistant Commissioner of Police, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1899 MAW, HENRY S., L.S.A., *Coolaman, New South Wales.*
 1891 †MAXWELL, HON. FREDERIC M., K.C., *Attorney-General, Belize, British Honduras.*
 1904 MAXWELL, J. CRAWFORD, M.A., M.D., *District Commissioner, Karene, Sierra Leone.*
 1905 MAXWELL, JOHN, *Travelling Commissioner, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1881 MAXWELL, MAJOR THOMAS, J.P., *Resident Magistrate, New Hanover, Natal.*
 1905 MAXWELL, THOMAS D., *Assistant District Commissioner, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
 1904 MAY, AYLMER WM., M.D., *Sebakwe, Rhodesia.*
 1891 †MAY, CORNELIUS, *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1903 MAY, GEORGE C., *Customs Department, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1902 MAY, HON. FRANCIS H., C.M.G., M.L.C., *Colonial Secretary, Hong Kong.*
 1904 MAYALL, ROBERT PERCIVAL W., B.A., *Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 1894 †MAYDON, HON. JOHN G., M.L.A., *Durban Club, Natal.*
 1899 MAYERS, HENRY M. STEWART, *Selukwe, Rhodesia.*
 1882 MAYERS, JOSEPH BRIGGS, *c/o Messrs. Da Costa & Co., Bridgetown, Barbados.*
 1889 †MAYNARD, MAJOR J. G., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1898 MEDLICOTT, JOHN H., C.E., *Director of Irrigation Works, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 1894 †MEGGINSON, WHARRAM, *Portwood Estate, Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon.*
 1903 MEIKLE, HUGH.
 1902 †MEIKLE, THOMAS, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1901 MEILANDT, H. S., P.O. Box 6637, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 †MELHADO, WILLIAM, H.B.M. Consul, *Truxillo, Spanish Honduras.*
 1894 †MELVILL, E. H. V., A.M.Inst. C.E., *Land Surveyor, P.O. Box 719, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1880 MELVILLE, SIR GEORGE, K.C.M.G.
 1890 †MENDELSSOHN, ISIDOR, *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
 1890 MENDELSSOHN, SIDNEY, *Kimberley Club, Cape Colony.*
 1896 MENENDEZ, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE M. R., *Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
 1886 MENNIE, JAMES C., *Standard Bank, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1884 †MEREDITH, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON THOMAS, *Singapore.*
 1885 †MEREDITH-KAYE, CLARENCE KAY, *Meiringen, Timaru, New Zealand.*
 1883 MERREWETHER, HON. EDWARD MARSH, C.V.O., C.M.G., *Chief Secretary, Valletta, Malta (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1881 MERIVALE, GEORGE M., *Messrs. Gibbs, Bright & Co., 37 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1903 †MERRICK, WILLIAM, 200 *Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1904 MERRILL, ALFRED PERKINS, D.D.S., 52 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1905 †MERRIN, CHARLES E., P.O. Box 242, *Durban, Natal.*
 1892 MESSER, ALLAN E.

Year of
Election.

- 1889 MRUDDELL, WILLIAM, *Ferryden, Princes Avenue, Caulfield, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1892 †MICHAU, J. J., M.L.A., J.P., *Dusseau's Chambers, Church Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 MICHELL, ROLAND L. N., *District Commissioner, Limassol, Cyprus.*
- 1893 MICHIE, ALEXANDER, *Bank of New Zealand, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1892 †MIDDLEBROOK, JOHN E., *c/o Messrs. Bond, Finney & Co., Nelson, New Zealand.*
- 1891 MIDDLETON, JAMES GOWING, M.D., *8 Rue des Capucines, Paris.*
- 1882 MIDDLETON, HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN PAGE, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1902 †MIDDLETON, RICHARD W., L.S.A., *c/o British South Africa Company, Kalomo, North-Western Rhodesia (via Bulawayo).*
- 1891 MIDDLETON, WILLIAM, *Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1883 MIDDLETON, WILLIAM HENRY, *Durban Club, Natal.*
- 1903 MIGNON, CAPTAIN JEPSON G., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 MILES, ALFRED H., *Messrs. Murray, Roberts & Co., Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †MILES, CHARLES GEORGE, *care of Messrs. T. Birch & Co., Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 MILES, HON. E. D., M.L.C., *Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1891 MILBY, WM. KILDARE, L.R.C.P. (*Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service*).
- 1904 †MILLAR, HARRY, *Ede'weiss, Durban, Natal.*
- 1905 MILLAR, WALTER, *Government Railways, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1896 MILLER, ALLISTER M., *Swaziland Corporation, Bremersdorp, Swaziland, South Africa.*
- 1904 MILLER, HON. EDWARD, M.L.C., *c/o Bank of Victoria, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 MILLER, EDWARD H., *Public Library, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 MILLER, FREDERICK A., *The Retreat, Fisher Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1899 †MILLER, JAMES A., *P.O. Box 87, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 MILLER, ROLAND HENRY, *P.O. Box 300, Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 MILLS, E. C. EVELYN, *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1903 †MILLS, FREDERICK W., *Government Railways, Durban, Natal.*
- 1886 MILLS, JAMES, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1903 MILLS, J. SAXON, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 MILNE, DOUGLAS, *New Rietfontein Estate Gold Mines, P.O. Knights, via Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 MILNE, GEORGE T., F.R.G.S., *c/o Bank of British West Africa, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1891 MILNE, WILLIAM, *12 Waymouth Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1902 MILTHORP, BERNARD T., *Blantyre, British Central Africa.*
- 1889 †MILTON, ARTHUR C., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1898 MILTON, HIS HONOUR SIR WILLIAM H., K.C.M.G., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 MINTY, JOHN, *La Louice, Quatre Bornes, Mauritius.*
- 1904 MITCHELL, ERNEST H., A.M.Inst.C.E.
- 1885 MITCHELL, JAMES G., *Etham, Darling Point, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1900 MITCHELL, HON. SIR WILLIAM W., C.M.G., M.L.C., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1896 MOCKFORD, F. PEMBERTON, *P.O. Box 96, Pietersburg, Zoutpansberg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1898 MOFFETT, FRANCIS J., B.A., A.M.I.E.E.
 1883 †MOGG, J. W., P.O. Box 146, Pretoria, Transvaal.
 1903 MOLESWORTH, THE HON. CHARLES R., *Hôtel Bel-Air, Sark, Channel Islands.*
 1879 MOLONY, SIR C. ALFRED, K.C.M.G.
 1902 MOLYNEUX, PERCY S., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1905 MONRO, CLAUDE F. H., *Mines Office, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
 1901 MONTAGUE, CAPTAIN R. H. CROFT, 43 *St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1903 MONTGOMERIE, ARCHIBALD, *Suva, Fiji.*
 1900 MOOR, SIR RALPH D. R., K.C.M.G.
 1903 †MOOR, JOHN W., *Mooi River, Natal.*
 1889 †MOORE, ALBERT, *City Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1889 MOORE, FREDERICK HENRY, *care of Messrs. Dalgety & Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1886 †MOORE, JAMES, J.P., *Bunbury, Western Australia.*
 1883 †MOORE, THE REV. CANON OBADIAH, *Principal, Church Missionary Grammar School, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1878 †MOORE, WILLIAM H., *St. John's, Antigua.*
 1902 MOORE, PROFESSOR WM. HARRISON, B.A., LL.B., *The University, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1876 *MORGAN, HENRY J., LL.D., *Ottawa, Canada.*
 1904 MORISON, REGINALD J., *Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
 1898 MORISON, WILLIAM, *Marionville, Wakenaam, British Guiana.*
 1882 †MORRIS, SIR DANIEL, K.C.M.G., M.A., D.Sc., F.L.S., *Commissioner, Imperial Department of Agriculture, Barbados.*
 1896 †MORRIS, MOSS H., J.P., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
 1888 MORRISON, ALEXANDER, *Bank of Africa, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1881 †MORRISON, JAMES, J.P., *Water Hall, Guildford, Western Australia (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1903 MORTIMER, WILLIAM, M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., *Potchefstroom, Transvaal.*
 1903 MORTLOCK, WILLIAM T., *Martindale, Mintaro, South Australia; and Adelaide Club.*
 1897 MORTON, BENJAMIN K., 97 *Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1890 †MORTON, JAMES, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 MORTON, JOHN DRUMMOND, *Salisbury Club, Rhodesia.*
 1881 MOSELEY, HON. C. H. HARLEY, C.M.G., *Colonial Secretary, Lagos, West Africa.*
 1886 †MOSMAN, HON. HUGH, M.L.C., J.P., *Eastongray, Toowong, Brisbane Queensland.*
 1895 MOSS, E. J., *Foochow, China.*
 1885 †MOULDEN, BAYFIELD, 88 *Barnard Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1896 MOULSDALE, WILLIAM E.
 1902 †MOUNTFORD, WILLIAM H., *South African Milling Co., Shand Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1888 †MOYSEY, HENRY L., I.S.O., *Postmaster-General, Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1891 MUECKE, HON. H. C. E., M.L.C., J.P., *Medindie, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1899 MUIRHEAD, JAMES M. P., F.S.A.A., F.S.S., F.R.S.L., *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1898 †MÜLLER, FRANZ, *Saulspoort, Rustenburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 MULLER, JOHN, *Hotel Saussas, Portimao, Portugal.*
 1902 †MULLINS, A. G., *Bank of Africa, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1883 MULLINS, JOHN FRANCIS LANE, 97 *Macleay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1899 MUNRO, ALEXANDER M., M.R.C.V.S.
 1885 †MUNRO, HON. JAMES, J.P., *High Street, Armadale, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1880 †MUNRO, JOHN, *Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1903 MUNRO, RICHARD ROSS, P.O. Box 684, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1880 MURPHY, ALEXANDER D., *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1900 †MURPHY, CECIL N., *Broome, Western Australia.*
 1904 MURRAY, LIEUT.-COL. HON. ALEXANDER, V.D., M.E.C., *Colonial Engineer and Surveyor-General, Singapore.*
 1901 MURRAY, THE HON. CHARLES G., *Department of Native Affairs, P.O. Box 1166, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 MURRAY, COLIN A., I.S.O., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
 1903 †MURRAY, FREDERICK, M.B., C.M., *Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1901 †MURRAY, GEO. E., M.B., F.R.C.S., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1888 †MURRAY, GEORGE J. R., B.A., LL.B., *Magill, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1902 MURRAY, HERBERT, 319 *Bulwer Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1897 MURRAY, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., *Tamunua, Fiji.*
 1904 MURRAY, JAMES KNOWLES, *Azim, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1898 †MURRAY, HON. SIR THOMAS K., K.C.M.G., *Cleland, Maritzburg, Natal.*
 1904 †MURRAY, WILLIAM, *c/o African Association, Cape Coast, Gold Coast, Colony.*
 1903 MURRAY, WILLIAM A., B.A., M.B., *Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
 1882 †MURRAY-AYNSLEY, HUGH PERCY, J.P., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
 1887 MUSGRAVE, HON. ANTHONY, C.M.G., *Port Moresby, British New Guinea.*
 1903 MUSPRATT, EDMUND B., *Suva, Fiji.*
 1903 MUSS, LEONARD J., *Supervisor of Customs, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1905 MUSSON, CLAUDE, *Elizabeth Street, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1895 MYERS, BERTIE CECIL, *Durban, Natal.*
 1997 MYERS, PHILIP S., P.O. Box 720, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 NANCO, ROBERT JOHN, *Barrister-at-Law, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1892 †NANTON, AUGUSTUS M., 381 *Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.*
 1898 NAPIER, HON. WALTER JOHN, M.L.C., D.C.L., *Barrister-at-Law, Singapore.*
 1896 †NAPIER, WILLIAM JOSEPH, *Auckland, New Zealand.*
 1901 NASH, RICHARD B., P.O. Box 50, *Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
 1883 NASH, WILLIAM GILES, *Minas de Rio Tinto, Provincia de Huelva, Spain.*
 1885 NATHAN, ALEXANDER McDOWELL, *Trevennion Lodge, St. Andrew, Jamaica.*
 1895 †NATHAN, EMILF, *Barrister-at-Law, P.O. Box 195, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1901 NATHAN, LIONEL, P.O. Box 240, *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1896 NATHAN, H.E. MAJOR SIR MATTHEW, R.E., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Hong Kong.*
 1891 NAUDI, HON. ALFREDO, C.M.G., LL.D., *Valletta, Malta.*
 1900 NEALE, LESLIE COOKE, *Sinavia P.O., Lomagunda, Rhodesia.*
 1885 NERTHLING, HON. M. L., *Stellenbosch, Cape Colony.*
 1884 NEILL, PERCEVAL CLAY, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 NELSON, MAJOR ABERCROMBY A. C., *Director of Prisons, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1897 NELSON, RT. HON. SIR HUGH M., K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Brisbane, Queensland; and Toowoomba.*
- 1901 NESER, JOHANNES A., *Attorney-at-Law, P.O. Box 22, Klerksdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1896 NEUMANN, JOSEPH O., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1903 NEVILE, ROBERT MONTGOMERY, *Homeward Bound Mine, Beethworth, Victoria.*
- 1888 NEVILL, THE RIGHT REV. S. T., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Dunedin, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †NEWEHERRY, CHARLES, *Prynsburg, Orange River Colony.*
- 1904 NEWCOME, GUY, *Bank of New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1893 NEWDIGATE, WM., *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 NEWHAM, REV. FRANK D., B.A., *Inspector of Schools, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1883 †NEWLAND, HARRY OSMAN, *Singapore.*
- 1889 †NEWLAND, SIMPSON, *Burnside, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1904 NEWMAN, PERCY H., *c/o Niger Co., Zunguru, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1896 NEWNHAM, FREDERIC J., *Department of Native Affairs, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 NEWTON, ARNOLD C., C.E., *Knysna, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 NEWTON, FRANK J., C.M.G., *Treasurer-General, Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1893 †NICHOL, WILLIAM, M.I.M.E., *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 †NICHOLS, ARTHUR, *Commercial Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 NICHOLSON, ARTHUR CLIVE, *Khartum, Sudan.*
- 1900 NICHOLSON, BERTIE, *Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 NICHOLSON, HENRY, M.L.A., *Richmond, Natal.*
- 1886 †NICHOLSON, W. GRESHAM, *Golden Fleece, Essequibo, British Guiana.*
- 1899 NICHOLSON, WILLIAM.
- 1889 †NIND, CHARLES E., *De Beers Consolidated Mines, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 NISBET, ROBERT, *P.O. Box 201, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1904 NISBETT, HUGH M. MORE, *Kaoutuna, Coromandel, New Zealand.*
- 1879 NITCH, GEORGE H., *c/o Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 †NOBLE, JOHN, J.P., *Shellbank, St. Leonards, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1897 †NOBLE, ROBERT D'OYLY, *Petrolia, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1873 †NORDHEIMER, SAMUEL, *Toronto, Canada.*
- 1896 †NORRIS, E. S., *P.O. Box 135, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †NORRIS, LIEUT.-COL. R. J., D.S.O., *West India Regiment, Jamaica.*
- 1904 NORRIS, STEPHEN, *11 Railway Terrace, East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 NORRISH, WILLIAM, *258 Chapel Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 NORTHCOLE, H.E. RT. HON. LORD, G.C.M.G.; G.C.I.E., C.B., *Government House, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1905 NORTHCROFT, GEORGE A., A.M.Inst.C.E., *11 Markgraf Street, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1870 NORTON, EDWIN, J.P., *Grenada, West Indies.*
- 1886 NOTT, RANDOLPH, *The Mount, Bowral, New South Wales.*
- 1888 †NOURSE, HENRY, *P.O. Box 126, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 †NOYCE, ETHELBERT W., *Heidelberg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 †NOYCE, F. A., *Noycedale, Heidelberg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 NOYES, EDWARD, *109 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of
Election.

- 1901 NOYES, HENRY, 15 Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1897 NUGENT, FRANK S., Barrister-at-Law, P.O. Box 618, Winnipeg, Canada.
 1904 NUNAN, HIS HONOUR JUDGE JOSEPH J., Blantyre, British Central Africa.
 1894 NUTTALL, HIS GRACE ENOS, D.D., Lord Archbishop of the West Indies,
Kingston, Jamaica.
- 1901 OAKESHOTT, JOHN J.
 1894 OAKESHOTT, WALTER F., M.D., Lydenburg, Transvaal.
 1904 OBEYESÈKERE, DONALD, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Batadola, Veyangoda,
Ceylon.
 1905 †OBEYESÈKERE, FORNESTER A., B.A., Hill Castle, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1904 †OBEYESÈKERE, JAMES P., B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Batadola, Veyangoda,
Ceylon.
 1905 OBEYESÈKERE, STANLEY, B.A., Barrister-at-Law, Batadola, Veyangoda,
Ceylon.
 1902 OBEYESÈKERE, HON. S. C., M.L.C., Hill Castle, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1898 O'BRIEN, CHARLES A., LL.D., District Commissioner, Accra, Gold Coast
Colony.
 1895 †O'BRIEN, WILLIAM J., Burger Street, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1902 O'CONNELL, JOHN HAMILTON, C.C. & R.M., Komgha, Eastern Province,
Cape Colony.
 1882 O'CONNOR, OWEN LIVINGSTONE, F.R.Met.Soc., Curepipe, Mauritius.
 1898 O'DWYER, ARTHUR W., Calabar, Southern Nigeria.
 1882 OFFICER, WILLIAM, c/o Messrs. Goldsbrough, Mort & Co., Melbourne,
Victoria.
- 1901 O'FLAHERTY, ALFRED J., Ravensdene, Park Road, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.
 1897 O'FLAHERTY, C. R., Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1901 †OGILVIE, ARTHUR H., Suva, Fiji.
 1902 †OGILVIE, PATRICK A., P.O. Box 963, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1891 OGIL, GEORGE REYNOLDS, c/o Post Office, Campbelltown, Otago, New
Zealand.
 1895 †OHLSSON, ANDRIES, 10 Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1903 OLDFIELD, FRANK STANLEY, Town Hall, Durban, Natal.
 1901 OLIVER, HENRY A., C.M.G., M.L.A., Belgravia, Kimberley, Cape Colony.
 1898 OLIVER, LIONEL, Rangoon, Burma.
 1885 OLIVER, HON. RICHARD, Corriedale, Oamaru, New Zealand.
 1900 OLIVIER, SYDNEY, C.M.G.
 1901 O'MEARA, THOMAS P., 23 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1904 †O'NEILL, CHARLES E., c/o African Association, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.
 1897 †ONGLEY, FRED, Nicosia, Cyprus.
 1903 ONGLEY, HON. PERCY A., M.L.C., Chief of Police, St. Georges, Grenada
(Corresponding Secretary).
 1901 †ONSLow, G. M. MACARTHUR, Camden Park, Menangle, New South Wales.
 1903 ORFORD, REV. CANON HORACE WM., M.A., O'd St. Andrews, Bloemfontein,
Orange River Colony.
 1903 ORKIN, ABRAHAM, P.O. Box 2954, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1881 †ORMOND, GEORGE C., Napier, New Zealand.
 1894 ORMSBY, THE RT. REV. G. ALBERT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Honduras, Belize,
British Honduras.
 1896 O'RORKE, SIR G. MAURICE, Onehunga, Auckland, New Zealand.

Year of
Election.

- 1879 †ORPEN, JOSEPH MILLERD, *Avoca, Barkly East, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †ORPEN, REDMOND N. M., C.M.G., M.L.A., J.P., *St. Clair, Douglas, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 OSBORNE, HON. AIGERNON WILLOUGHBY, *Attorney-General, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1892 OSBORNE, HON. FREDERICK G., M.L.C., *Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1901 †OSBORNE, FRANCIS DOUGLAS, *Gopeng, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
- 1888 OSBORNE, GEORGE, *Foxlow, viâ Bungendore, New South Wales; and Union Club, Sydney.*
- 1881 OSBORNE, HAMILTON, *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 †OSWALD, JAMES D., *Merton, Caulfield, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1886 †OSWALD, HERM E., *Schlossgartenplatz 41, Darmstadt, Germany.*
- 1889 OUGHTON, HON. T. BANCROFT, M.L.C., *Solicitor-General, 93 Harbour Street, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1904 OUTHWAITE, ROBERT LEONARD, *Kumbada, Cheshunt, Victoria.*
- 1902 OWEN, HOWEL BARROW.
- 1902 OWEN, JOHN WILSON, *Government Railway, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1887 OWEN, LT.-COLONEL PERCY, *Wollongong, New South Wales.*
- 1900 OXLEY, HORACE, *P.O. Box 315, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 PAGE, ARTHUR E., *P.O. Box 523, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 PAGET, OWEN FRANK, M.B., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*
- 1872 †PAINT, HENRY NICHOLAS, J.P., *Point Tupper, Guernsey, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1902 PAKEMAN, CAPTAIN ANDREW E., *East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 PALFREY, WILLIAM, *New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 PALK, DAVID S., C.E., *Public Works Department, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1901 PALMER, JAMES D., *The Willows, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1900 PALMER, JOHN E., *c/o Messrs. Lambton & Milford, 2 Bond Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1885 PALMER, JOSEPH, *Christchurch Club, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
- 1904 †PALMER, THOMAS NORMAN P., B.A., LL.B., *The Fountain, Uitenhage, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 PALMER, WILLIAM, J.P., *292 Smith Street, Durban, Natal (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1891 †PAPENFUS, HERBERT B., J.P., *P.O. Box 5155, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1885 PARFITT, P. T. J., *c/o Bank of New Zealand, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 †PARKER, ARTHUR, *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 PARKER, CHARLES E., *P.O. Box 109, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 †PARKER, FRED. HARDYMAN, M.A., B.L., F.R.G.S., *District Judge, Nicosia, Cyprus (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1888 †PARKER, JOHN H., *P.O. Box 2666, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 †PARKER, HON. MR. JUSTICE STEPHEN HENRY, *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1902 †PARKER, ROBERT, *26 Lowther Avenue, Toronto, Canada.*
- 1896 PARKER, WALTER E., *c/o Messrs. Farrar Bros., P.O. Box 305, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 PARKER, WM. R., *Messrs. Brocklehurst & Co., Manaus, Amazonas, Brazil.*
- 1904 †PARKES, JOHN S., *P.O. Box 1660, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1901 PARKIN, HENRY CLARENCE, *Sunny Syde, P.O. Witte Klip, viâ Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1902 PARMINTER, ALFRED, *H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Panama.*
- 1899 †PARRATT, WM. HEATHER, M.I.M.E., *Plantation Rose Hall, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1901 PARRY, CHARLES MAYES, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1879 †PARSONS, CECIL J., *Thirlstane, Moriarty, Tasmania.*
- 1896 PARSONS, HAROLD G. (*Barrister-at-Law*), *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1902 †PATERSON, ALEXANDER S., *Rattray Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1903 PATTERSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL GEORGE, *Gympie, Queensland.*
- 1891 †PATTERSON, D. W. HARVEY, *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 PATTERSON, HERBERT EDWIN, *P.O. Box 394, Durban, Natal.*
- 1900 PATTERSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL J. H., *D.S.O.*
- 1892 PATTERSON, ROBERT C., C.E., *Vavuna, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1888 PAULING, GEORGE, *P.O. Box 185, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1905 PAYER, GILBERT E., *National Bank, Brandfort, Orange River Colony.*
- 1887 †PAWSEY, ALFRED, *Winchester Park, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1889 †PAYN, PHILIP FRANCIS, F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 92, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 †PAYNE, EDWARD, F.G.S., *c/o Bank of Africa, East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1880 †PAYNE, J. FREDERICK W., *Barrister-at-Law, 60 Queen Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1883 †PAYNE, JOHN A. OTONBA, F.R.G.S., *Orange House, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1904 †PAYNE, HON. THOMAS H., M.L.C., *Leura, Toorak, Victoria.*
- 1900 PEACOCK, JOHN, *c/o Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1885 †PEACOCK, HON. J. T., M.L.C., *Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †PEACOCKE, A. W. H., *P.O. Box 5700, Johannesburg, Transvaal, and Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 PEAKMAN, LIEUT.-COLONEL THOMAS C., C.M.G., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 PEARCE, HENRY, J.P., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1903 PEARCE, HERBERT G., *Panhalanga, via Umtali, Rhodesia.*
- 1901 †PEARCE, JOHN, *42 Esplanade Buildings, Durban, Natal.*
- 1901 †PEARSE, SAMUEL H., *Eyamba Beach, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1892 PEARSE, WM. SILAS, *Plympton House, Fremantle, Western Australia.*
- 1901 †PEARSON, JOHN B., *Sale, Victoria.*
- 1884 PEARSON, WALTER HENRY, *Commissioner for Crown Lands, P.O. Box 332, Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1898 †PEARSON, WILLIAM E., *29 Rue des Vinaigriers, Paris.*
- 1892 PERL, EDMUND YATES, *P.O. Box 5055, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1901 PERT, HASTINGS FITZ-EDWARD, C.E., *City Engineer, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1904 PERT, JAMES, M.I.Mech.E., *Palmiste, San Fernando, Trinidad.*
- 1904 PEIRIS, JAMES, B.A., L.L.M., *Barrister-at-Law, Rippleworth, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1904 PEIRSON, ALEXANDER R., *P.O. Box 561, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1892 PEIRSON, JOSEPH WALDIE, F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 561, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1898 PEMBERTON, FREDERICK B., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1899 PEMBERTON, JOSEPH D., *Union Club, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1902 PENDLETON, ALAN G., C.M.G., *Railway Commissioner, Adelaide, South Australia.*

Year of
Election.

- 1886 †PENNEFATHER, F. W., LL.D., *Barrister-at-Law, Adelaide University, South Australia.*
- 1896 PENNY, GEORGE J., *Ipoh, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
- 1889 †PENTLAND, ALEXANDER, M.B., *Terrigal, Gosford, New South Wales.*
- 1905 PERCY, JOSCELYN B., *Union Bank of Australia, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1888 PEREGRINE, L. N., *District Commissioner, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1897 †PERKINS, HUBERT S., *Borough Engineer's Office, Burg Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 PERKS, THOMAS, 67 *Illova Buildings, Wilhelm Street, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 PERRIN, LT.-COLONEL HARRY W., *P.O. Box 219, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1895 PERRIN, RIGHT REV. WILLIAM W., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Columbia, Bishopsclose, Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1893 PERRINS, GEORGE R., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 PERSSE, DE BURGH F., *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1904 PESSON, MORRIS L., *P.O. Box 22, Randfontein, Transvaal.*
- 1902 PETERSON, PRINCIPAL WILLIAM, LL.D., C.M.G., *McGill University, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1905 PHARAZYN, CHARLES B., *Longwood, Wairarapa, New Zealand.*
- 1903 PHILBRICK, ARTHUR J., *District Commissioner, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1903 PHILLIPS, CAPTAIN LLEWELLYN J., *Assistant Resident Magistrate, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1871 PHILLIPPO, SIR GEORGE, *H.B.M. Consul, Geneva.*
- 1890 PHILLIPPS, W. HERBERT, 71 *Brookman's Buildings, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1875 PHILLIPS, COLEMAN, *Richmond Road, Carterton, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1901 PHILLIPS, T. B., *The Treasury, Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1902 PHILLIPS, THOMAS, 278 *Smith Street, Collingwood, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1884 PICKERING, WILLIAM A., C.M.G., *Hôtel Bellevue, Bad Nauheim, Germany.*
- 1902 PICKWOOD, CECIL A., *Local Auditor, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1901 PICKWOOD, ROBERT W.
- 1892 PIERCE, JOHN M., *P.O. Box 1040, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 †PIERIS, PAULUS EDWARD, M.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Civil Service, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1902 PIERS, PETER D. H., *c/o Secretariat, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1899 PIGG, CUTHBERT R., LL.R.C.P., LL.R.C.S., *Bogasu, Himan's Concessions, Tarkwa P.O., Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1886 †PILE, HENRY ALLDYNE, *Warleigh, St. Peter, Barbados.*
- 1899 PILKINGTON, ROBERT R., B.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1897 †PIM, HOWARD, *P. O. Box 1331, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 PINGSTONE, G. A., F.C.S., *P.O. Box 445, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1884 PINNOCK, PHILIP, *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1889 PIRIE, GEORGE, *Leopard's Vley, Richmond, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 PITTENDRIGH, W. M., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1904 PITT, ROBERT G. CAMPBELL, *P.O. Box 4022, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 †PITT, WILLIAM A., LL.R.C.P., LL.R.C.S., *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1901 PITTS, JOHN, *Consolidated Investment Co., P.O. Box 590, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1893 PIZZIGHELLI, RICHARD, *P.O. Box 2706, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 PLANGE, HENRY, *Barrister-at-Law, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1902 PLANT, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 811, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 PLAYFORD, LOUIS L., *Chief Magistrate, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 PLUMMER, HON. GEORGE T., M.L.C., *La Villa, near Castries, St. Lucia.*
- 1892 PLUMMER, HON. JOHN E., M.L.C., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1899 POBER, CHARLES, *c/o Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Half Assinee, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1895 †POCOCK, W. F. H., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 †POLKINGHORNE, EDWIN, *Heidelberg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 POLLITZER, PAUL, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †POLLOCK, HON. HENRY E., K.C., M.L.C., *Hong Kong (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1904 PONTIFEX, REGINALD D., *c/o London and Brazilian Bank, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.*
- 1891 †POOLE, THOMAS J., *P.O. Box 297, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 POOLEY, JOHN, J.P., *Park Road, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 POPE, EDWARD, *Gympie, Queensland.*
- 1897 POPE, RUFUS H., M.P., *Cookshire, Quebec, Canada.*
- 1897 POPE, WILLIAM, *Eagle Chambers, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1889 †PORTER, GEORGE E., *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1900 PORTER, HOLLAND, *Garrucha Iron Mining Co., Bedar, Almeria, Spain.*
- 1903 POTTER, THE VEN. ARCHDEACON BERESFORD, M.A., *Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1883 †POWELL, FRANCIS, *Penang, Straits Settlements.*
- 1905 POWELL, ROBERT B., *Suva, Fiji.*
- 1880 POWELL, WILFRID, *H.B.M. Consul, Philadelphia, U.S.A.*
- 1896 POWER, HARRY SHAKESPEARE, *Arden, Cleveland Hill, Natal.*
- 1900 POWYS-JONES, LLEWELYN, *Resident Magistrate, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1904 POYNTON, J. C., *P.O. Box 247, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1902 †PREISS, AUGUST E., *c/o Messrs. Daldorff, Schabbel & Co., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 PRICE, CHARLES CHICHELEY, C.E., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1889 PRICE, D. E., *c/o Post Office, Forcados River, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1903 †PRICE, T. R., C.M.G., *Bryn Tirion, O'Reilly Street, The Berea, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1905 PRICE, WILLIAM C. B., *Queens'own, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 PRINCE, ALFRED E. J., *P.O. Box 2891, and 16 African Banking Corporation Buildings, Simmonds Street, Johannesburg, Transvaal (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1888 †PRINCE, J. PERROTT, M.D., *188 Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1890 PRINGLE, HON. JOHN, C.M.G., M.B., *Aquata Vale, Annotta Bay, Jamaica.*
- 1897 PRIOR, HON. LT.-COLONEL EDWARD G., M.P., *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1892 †PRITCHARD, ALEXANDER H., *Mattock, Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1902 PRITCHARD, EDWARD, J.P., *Numba, Nowra, New South Wales.*
- 1893 PROBYN, H.E. LESLIE, C.M.G., *Government House, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1898 PROCTOR, CAPTAIN JOHN, *South African College House, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1894 PROUT, HON. WM. THOMAS, C.M.G., M.L.C., M.B., C.M., *Principal Medical Officer, Freetown, Sierra Leone (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1903 PROWSE, HARRY, *138 Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 PULLAR, JAMES, F.F.A., A.I.A., 421 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.
 1896 PUNCE, CYRIL, Abeokuta, Lagos, West Africa.
 1898 PURCHAS, THOMAS A. R., Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
- 1903 QUINN, WILLIAM D., P.O. Box 1218, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1904 QUINSEY, WILLIAM, 14 Imperial Buildings, Durban, Natal.
 1895 †QUINTON, FRANCIS J., P.O. Box 662, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1903 QUINTON, JOHN PURCELL, F.R.H.S., Botanic Station, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- 1902 RAE, JAMES E., Queenstown, Cape Colony.
 1901 RAJENDRA, R., Colombo, Ceylon.
 1891 †RAJEPAKSÉ, MUDALIYAR TUDOR D. N., Colombo, Ceylon.
 1903 RALPH, CHARLES H. D., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P., Government Medical Officer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
 1897 RALPH, FRED W., Broken Hill Chambers, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1884 RÁMA-NÁTHAN, P., C.M.G., K.C., Solicitor-General, Colombo, Ceylon.
 1898 RAMSAY, KEITH, J.P., Vogel Street, Dunedin, New Zealand.
 1900 RAMSDEN, HUGH C. H., Belfield Estate, Hampden P.O., Jamaica.
 1899 RAND, ARTHUR E., New Westminster, British Columbia.
 1897 RANFURLY, RT. HON. THE EARL OF, G.C.M.G.
 1880 RANNIE, D. N., St. John's, Antigua.
 1895 RAPAPORT, ISIDORE, Stock Exchange, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1902 RASON, CAPTAIN ERNEST G., R.N., British Resident, Vila, New Hebrides.
 1900 †RASP, CHARLES, J.P., Willyama, The Avenue, Medindie, Adelaide, South Australia.
- 1896 RATHBONE, EDGAR P., P.O. Box 2998, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1898 †RATTENBURY, FRANCIS M., Victoria, British Columbia.
 1899 RATTRAY, W. WALLACE, Customs Department, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
 1902 RAWSON, H.E. ADMIRAL SIR HARRY H., K.C.B., Government House, Sydney, New South Wales.
 1904 RAY, ARTHUR C., Assistant Marine Superintendent, Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.
- 1899 †RAY, LIEUT.-COLONEL S. WELLINGTON, Port Arthur, Ontario, Canada.
 1895 †RAYMOND, THOMAS, care of Post Office, Maritzburg, Natal.
 1888 RAYNER, HON. SIR THOMAS CROSSLEY, K.C., Attorney-General, Georgetown, British Guiana.
 1902 READ, EDWARD H., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Government Medical Officer, Lagos, West Africa.
- 1901 REANEY, CECIL T., Inspector of Police, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
 1904 REECE, EARDLEY B., The Treasury, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.
 1904 REECE, HENRY FEAR, Christchurch, New Zealand.
 1904 †REECE, MAURICE D., Tanosú, via Axim, Gold Coast Colony.
 1889 REDWOOD, CHARLES L., P.O. Box 500, Johannesburg, Transvaal.
 1896 †REED, REV. G. CULLEN H., Bulilima, via Plumtree Siding, Rhodesia.
 1892 REHLER, JOHN WM., National Bank Chambers, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1904 REES, D., Park House, Park Avenue, East London, Cape Colony.
 1895 REID, ARTHUR H., C.E., F.R.I.B.A., P.O. Box 120, Cape Town, Cape Colony.
 1897 †REID, DAVID, Kimberley, Cape Colony.

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Election.

- 1896 REID, IRVINE K., M.D., C.M., *Government Medical Officer, Berbice, British Guiana.*
- 1892 REID, JAMES SMITH, *Mount Macedon, near Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1883 REID, JOHN, *Elderslie, Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1897 REID, MALCOLM, *Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 †REID, ROBERT GILLESPIE, *275 Drummond Street, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1901 REID, ROBERT SMITH, *Messrs. Gordon, Grant & Co., Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1899 †REID, THOMAS H., F.J.I.
- 1889 REID, W. J. G., *Funchal, Madeira.*
- 1903 †REID, WILLIAM D., *Reid Newfoundland Co., St. John's, Newfoundland.*
- 1889 †REINERS, AUGUST, *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †REILLY, OWEN, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 RENNER, PETER A., *Barrister-at-Law, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1885 RENNER, W., M.D., *Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1899 †RENNIE, ALFRED H., *Queen's Road Central, Hong Kong.*
- 1893 †REUNERT, THEODORE, A.M.Inst.C.E., P.O. Box 92, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1898 †REYNOLDS, FRANK, M.L.A., *Umsinto, Natal.*
- 1893 REYNOLDS, HENRY, *Calle Progreso 1449, Buenos Ayres.*
- 1881 †RHODES, A. E. G., *Barrister-at-Law, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1888 †RHODES, GEORGE H., *Claremont, Timaru, New Zealand.*
- 1883 RHODES, R. HEATON, M.H.R., *Barrister-at-Law, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †RHODES, ROBERT H., *Bluecliffe, Timaru, New Zealand.*
- 1903 RICHARDS, FRANK T., *364 Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1884 RICHARDS, T. H. HATTON, *Assistant Govt. Secretary, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1899 RICHARDSON, EDWARD, C.E., *Entebbe, Uganda.*
- 1887 †RICHARDSON, HORACE G., *Queensland.*
- 1898 RICHARDSON, J. ARTHUR, *Glenferrie House, Burwood Road, Glenferrie, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1894 RICHY, HON. MATTHEW H., K.C., D.C.L., *427 Brunswick Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia.*
- 1897 RICHMOND, JAMES, *Public Works Department, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1888 RICHTER, GUSTAV H., *Colonna House, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1890 RICKETTS, D. POYNTE, A.M.Inst.C.E., *c/o H.B.M. Consul, Tientsin, China.*
- 1904 †RIDDELL, HENRY SCOTT, *Natal Bank, Greytown, Natal.*
- 1882 RIDDIFORD, EDWARD J., *Fern Grove, Lower Hutt, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †RIDDOCH, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., *Glencoe, Mount Gambier, South Australia.*
- 1900 RIDER, REV. W. WILKINSON, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1891 †RIDGE, SAMUEL H., B.A.
- 1902 RIDSDALE, HERBERT A., *Coolgardie, Western Australia.*
- 1891 †RIGBY, GEORGE OWEN, M.B., F.R.C.S.E., *High Street, Kyneton, Victoria.*
- 1902 RILEY, RT. REV. CHARLES OWEN L., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Perth, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1881 †RIMER, J. C., *Kelvin Grove, Newlands, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 RIMINGTON, S. B., *Bank of British West Africa, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1893 RISSIK, CORNELIS, P.O. Box 401, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1898 RITCHIE, DUGALD, *Gedong Estate, Penang, Straits Settlements.*
- 1892 RITCHIE, JOHN MACFARLANE, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1900 ROBERTSON, ERNEST, M.D., M.R.C.S.E., *Symond St., Auckland, New Zealand.*

Year of
Election.

- 1890 †ROBERTS, COLONEL CHARLES F., C.M.G., A.D.C., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1885 †ROBERTS, HON. CHARLES J., C.M.G., M.L.C., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1899 †ROBERTS, CHARLES J., P.O. Box 1771, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1891 ROBERTS, JOHN, C.M.G., P.O. Box 304, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1897 ROBERTS, PERCY S., *Kooingal, Gladstone, Queensland.*
- 1900 ROBERTS, REGINALD A., *Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1889 †ROBERTS, R. WIGHTWICK, F.C.S., *Valparaiso, Chili.*
- 1899 †ROBERTSON, ALEXANDER, 157 *St. James's Street, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1890 †ROBERTSON, JAMES, *Yebir, North Pine, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1902 ROBERTSON, JOHN, 500 *Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 ROBERTSON, HON. WM. SLOANE, M.L.C., *San Fernando, Trinidad.*
- 1901 ROBINSON, EDWARD, *Ashanti, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1899 ROBINSON, MAJOR E. ROKEBY, F.R.G.S., *The Green House, 7th Street, Bezuidenhout, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 ROBINSON, F. ALLAN C., *Postmaster, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1904 ROBINSON, GEORGE A., *Watson's Bay, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1899 ROBINSON, JOHN, P.O. Box 1176, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 ROBINSON, J. R., *Fort Jameson, North-Eastern Rhodesia.*
- 1901 ROBINSON, MAURICE, P.O. Box 3217, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 ROBINSON, THOMAS, P.O. Box 1275, *Winnipeg, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1904 ROBINSON, WM. VALENTINE, C.M.G., *Parliament House, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 †ROBINSON, JOHN H., 139 *Vickery's Chambers, 82 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1882 ROCHE, CAPTAIN W. P.
- 1895 ROCK, CHARLES WM., *Golden Hills Farm, Bowkers, Natal.*
- 1885 ROCKWOOD, HON. WILLIAM GABRIEL, M.L.C., M.D., M.R.C.S., M.R.C.P., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1899 †RODDA, STANLEY N., *Mount Morgan Gold Mine, P.O. Box 95, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1889 RODGER, H.E. SIR JOHN P., K.C.M.G., *Government House, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1904 †RODGER, MAJOR THOMAS HENDERSON, D.S.O., *The Club, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †ROE, AUGUSTUS S., *Police Magistrate, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1896 ROE, FREDERICK W., 19 *Herbert Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1905 ROE, JOHN BLAKEMORE, *Tasmanian Club, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1884 ROGERS, HENRY ADAMS, P.O. Box 4602, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 ROGERS, JOSEPH W., *Mining Managers' Association, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1887 ROGERS, WM. HETWARD, P.O. Box 310, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 ROGEON, WM. SCOTT, *Conakry, Guinée Française, West Africa.*
- 1900 †ROLES, F. CROSBIE, "Times" Office, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1897 ROOT, JOHN, JUNE., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1894 ROUTH, EDWARD, P.O. Box 208, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1902 ROPER, HENRY BASIL, I.S.O., *Prisons Department, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 ROSA, JOHN CORNELIUS, *Harrismith, Orange River Colony.*
- '883 †ROSADO, HON. J. M., M.L.C., *Belize, British Honduras.*

Year of
Election.

- 1900 ROSE, DUNCAN C., *c/o Wassau Consolidated Goldfields, Ltd., Axim, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1901 ROSE-INNES, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE SIR JAMES, K.C.M.G., *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1896 †ROSETTENSTEIN, MAX, *P.O. Box 49, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1890 ROSEWARNE, D. D., *c/o Commercial Bank of Australia, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1905 ROSS, ALEXANDER C., *Sydney, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia.*
- 1898 ROSS, ALEXANDER CARNEGIE, C.B., *H.B.M. Consul, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.*
- 1899 ROSS, ALEXANDER J., *Messrs. Guthrie & Co., Singapore.*
- 1885 †ROSS, HON. JOHN K. M., M.E.C. (*Barriater-at-Law*), *Collector of Customs, Suva, Fiji (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1899 ROSS, REGINALD J. B., *Police Magistrate, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1883 ROSS, HON. WILLIAM, M.L.C., J.P., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 †ROSS, WILLIAM, *P.O. Box 151, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 ROSS, WM. ALSTON, *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1887 ROTHER, WALDEMAR H., *c/o Colonial Sugar Refining Co., Ltd., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 ROUSSEAU, JAMES T., M.A., *Warden and Stipendary Justice, Tobago, West Indies.*
- 1905 ROUTLEDGE, ALFRED WILLIAM, *Jesselton, British North Borneo.*
- 1900 ROW, THE RAJAH A. V. JUGGA, *Vizagapatam, Madras.*
- 1891 ROWAN, ANDREW, *404 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1904 ROWBOTHAM, H. J., *P.O. Box 72, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 ROWSE, JOHN A., *Gold Coast Surveys, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1891 ROYCE, G. H., *Harbour Works, Largs Bay, South Australia.*
- 1892 †ROYCE, WILLIAM, *P.O. Box 2327, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1885 ROYLE, CHARLES JOHN, *5 Bond Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 RUBIE, GORDON
- 1881 †RUDALL, JAMES T., F.R.C.S., *151 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1882 RUMSEY, COMMANDER R. MURRAY, R.N., I.S.O.
- 1902 RUNCIMAN, WILLIAM, M.L.A., *Simons Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1877 RUSSELL, ARTHUR E., *Te Matai, Palmerston North, New Zealand.*
- 1898 RUSSELL, CHARLES W., *Union Bank of Australia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1876 RUSSELL, G. GREY, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1883 †RUSSELL, JOHN PURVIS, *Wangai, Mouna, Wairarapa, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1902 RUSSELL, ROBERT, I.S.O., LL.D., *Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1877 RUSSELL, HON. SIR WILLIAM R., M.H.R., *Flaxmere, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1889 †RUTHERFORD, ARTHUR F. B., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1698 RUTHERFORD, GEORGE J., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1888 †RUTHERFORD, HENRY, J.P., *Controller of Excise, Durban, Natal.*
- 1896 †SACHS, LEO FERDINAND, *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1881 †SACHSE, CHARLES, *Wall Strasse 5/8, Berlin, Germany.*
- 1890 †SACKE, SIMON, *P.O. Box 124, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 SADLER, E. J., J.P., *Westmoreland, Jamaica.*
- 1901 †SABERT, FREDERICK A., *P.O. Box 8, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 ST. CLAIR, A., *Bolowita, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 ST. LOEHR, FREDERICK LUKE, 56 *St. George's St., Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1886 SALAMAN, FREDERICK N., 60 *University Place, New York.*
- 1903 SALIER, EDWARD LUCAS, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1885 SALIER, FREDK. J., *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1882 †SALMOND, CHARLES SHORT, *Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1904 SALTER, THOMAS, *Brynallt, Hunter's Hill, Sydney, New South Wales; and Australasian Club.*
- 1903 †SAMUEL, OLIVER, *Barrister-at-Law, New Plymouth, New Zealand.*
- 1892 SANDERSON, CHARLES E. F., C.E., *Messrs. Riley, Hargreaves & Co. Singapore.*
- 1900 SANDERSON, EDWARD MURRAY, *Glenboig, Strathclyde, Barbados.*
- 1900 SANDERSON, HARRY, *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1903 SANDFORD, ALEXANDER WALLACE, J.P., *Imperial Place, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1903 †SANDOVER, ALFRED, *Claremont, Western Australia.*
- 1900 †SANDY, JAMES M., *Blenheim, Queen St., Burwood, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1901 SANEK, CHARLES B., *New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 SARAM, F. J. DE, J.P., *Proctor, Supreme Court, Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1876 †SARGEANT, HENRY, *Fordell House, Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1902 SASSE, A. R. G., 475 *Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1903 SAUNDERS, ARTHUR R., M.B., F.R.C.S.E., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1896 †SAUNDERS, HON. CHARLES J. R., C.M.G., *Chief Magistrate and Civil Commissioner, Eshowe, Natal.*
- 1893 SAUNDERS, EDWARD, *Tongaat, Natal.*
- 1901 SAUNDERS, MAJOR FREDERICK A., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.R.G.S., *Lancing House, Grahamstown, Cape Colony (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1893 SAUNDERS, SENATOR HENRY J., A.M. Inst. C.E., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1886 SAUNDERS, HENRY W., M.D., F.R.C.S., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1880 SAUNDERS, JOHN, *Sea Cliff, near Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 †SAUNDERS, JOHN H., M.B., M.R.C.S., *c/o Bank of New South Wales, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 SAUNDERS, PHILIP, *P O Box 1863, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 SAVAGE, GABRIEL H., *Barrister-at-Law, Sunnyside, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1895 SAVILLE-KENT, WILLIAM, F.L.S., F.Z.S., *Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1903 SAW, ATHELSTAN J. H., M.A., M.D., 484 *St. George's Terrace, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1897 †SAW, WILLIAM A., *Land Titles Office, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1895 SAWERS, JOHN, *Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 SCARR, VALENTINE E., *Selukwe Columbia Gold Mine, Selukwe, Rhodesia.*
- 1884 †SCANLEN, HON. SIR THOMAS, K.C.M.G., M.E.C., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1887 SCARD, FREDERIC L., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1900 SCHMIDEL, AUGUSTE, Ph.D., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 SCHIERHOUT, MICHAEL J., *Bank of Africa, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1888 SCHOEPS, MAX, *Tete, via Kilimane, East Africa.*
- 1889 †SCHOLEFIELD, WALTER H., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1878 SCHOOLS, HON. HENRY R. PIPON, *Attorney-General, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1897 SCHREINER, HON. WILLIAM P., C.M.G., K.C., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 8 SCHULLER, OSCAR H., *P.O. Box 4427, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1896 †SCHULZ, J. A. AUREL, M.D., *Stamford Hill Road, Durban, Natal.*
- 1905 †SCONCE, HERBERT W., *Inspector of Schools, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1902 †SCOTT, ARTHUR ELDON, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., *c/o Messrs. H. B. W. Russell & Co., Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1895 SCOTT, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 846, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1901 SCOTT, EDWARD J., *c/o Corporation of Western Egypt, Cairo.*
- 1901 SCOTT, ELGIN, *Struj, Galisien, Austria.*
- 1902 †SCOTT, GEORGE, *P.O. Box 250, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1876 SCOTT, HENRY, J.P., *Eagle Chambers, Pirie Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1903 SCOTT, HENRY MILNE, *Eldon Chambers, Suva, Fiji.*
- 1901 SCOTT, SIR JAMES GEORGE, K.C.I.E., *c/o Secretariat, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1901 SCOTT, PERCY G., C.E., *c/o Public Works Department, Secretariat, Rangoon, Burma.*
- 1903 SCOTT, WILLIAM A., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Suva, Fiji.*
- 1901 SCRUBY, CHARLES B., *District Commissioner, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1903 †SCRUBY, F. SUTHERLAND, B.A., *Grammar School, Scone, New South Wales.*
- 1901 SEARLE, JAMES, M.L.A., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1893 SEAVILL, CHCIL ELIOT, *P.O. Box 295, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 SEDGEFIELD, ARTHUR E., *Murboo North, Victoria.*
- 1888 †SEDGWICK, CHARLES F., *P.O. Box 68, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 SEEHOFF, ADOLPH, *P.O. Box 47, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1903 SELMES, HENRY P., J.P., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1894 *SELOUS, FREDERICK C., *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1898 SENIOR, BERNARD, *Auditor-General, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1900 †SEERURINE, LOUIS C., *c/o General Estate and Orphan Chamber, Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 SETE, ARATHOON, I.S.O., *Registrar, Supreme Court, Hong Kong.*
- 1898 SEVERN, CLAUD, *Civil Service, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, Federated Malay States.*
- 1899 SEWELL, HARRY PERCY, B.A., *Steelfield, Duncans P.O., Jamaica.*
- 1879 †SEWELL, HON. HENRY, M.L.C., *Trelawny, Jamaica.*
- 1901 SHARP, J. W.
- 1901 SHARPE, SIR ALFRED, K.C.M.G., C.B., *H.M. Commissioner, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1902 SHAUGHNESSY, SIR THOMAS G., *Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal, Canada.*
- 1903 †SHAW, CHARLES COURTENAY, *Colonial Secretariat, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1889 SHAW, FREDERICK C. (*Surgeon Superintendent, Indian Emigration Service*).
- 1904 SHAW, PERCY A., *c/o of Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1883 †SHAW, THOMAS, *Woorwyrite, Camperdown, Victoria.*
- 1902 SHAW, HENRY B., *Assistant Under Colonial Secretary, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 SHEANE, J. H. WEST, B.A., *Native Commissioner, Lucena, North-Eastern Rhodesia.*
- 1898 SHEARD, ABRAHAM, *c/o Messrs. Bewick, Moreing & Co., Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1898 SHEARING, THOMAS, *297 Smith Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1885 †SHENTON, EDWARD, J.P., *Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1884 †SHENTON, HON. SIR GEORGE, M.L.C., J.P., *Crawley, Western Australia.*
- 1899 SHEPHERD, BRUCE, I.S.O., *Land Office, Hong Kong.*
- 1889 †SHEPHERD, JAMES, *P.O. Box 518, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1897 SHEPHERD, PERCY G., *P.O. Box 646, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 SHELLINGTON, TOM, "*Rhodesia Herald*" Office, Salisbury, Rhodesia.
- 1881 †SHIRLEY, HON. LEICESTER C., *Hyde Hall, Clarke Town P.O., Jamaica.*
- 1897 SHOLI, ROBERT F., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1904 SHORES, JOHN W., C.M.G., M Inst.C.E., *Engineer-in-Chief, Government Railways, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1904 †SHORT, LOUIS W., *P.O. Box 663, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 †SHRAGER, ISAAC, *28 Dalhousie Square West, Calcutta.*
- 1902 SHRAGER, JAMES, *Messrs. Shrager Bros., Singapore.*
- 1884 SHRIMPTON, WALTER, *Matapiro, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1902 †SIEDLE, OTTO, *P.O. Box 31, Durban, Natal.*
- 1899 SIEVERS, ANDREW J., *c/o Messrs. Dangar, Gedge & Co., 62 Margaret Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1903 SIFTON, HON. CLIFFORD, K.C., M.P., *Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1903 †SILBERBAUER, CHARLES F., *Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †SINKINS, EDWARD, *Whitecliff, Greytown, Natal.*
- 1894 SIMMONS, HON. C. J., M.L.C., *St. Vincent, West Indies.*
- 1896 SIMMONS, JOSEPH B. LINTORN.
- 1901 SIMMS, ALEXANDER.
- 1884 †SIMPSON, EDWARD FLEMING, *P.O. Box 285, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1892 †SIMPSON, G. MORRIS, *Australian Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 †SIMPSON, RICHARD M., *Phoenix Assurance Co., Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1893 SIMPSON, ROBERT M., M.D., *456 Main Street, Winnipeg, Canada.*
- 1896 SIMS, C. J., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1884 SIMSON, R. J. P., *Melbourne Club, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 SINCKLER, EDWARD G., *Police Magistrate, Gibbes Plantation, St. Peter, Barbados.*
- 1890 SINCLAIR-STEVENSON, SIR EDMOND, M.D., *Strathallan House, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 SKERMAN, SIDNEY, M.R.C.S.E., *Marton, Rangitikei, New Zealand.*
- 1904 †SKERRETT, CHARLES P., *Barrister-at-Law, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1905 SKETCHLEY, HENRY G., M.Inst.C.E., *Quilmes, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.*
- 1900 SKUES, THOMAS MCKENZIE, *Commissariat Buildings, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1901 †SLACK, WILLIAM J., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1902 †SLINGER, DAVID L., *Green Hill, St. George's, Grenada.*
- 1880 †SLOANE, ALEXANDER, *Mulwala Station, New South Wales.*
- 1896 SLOLEY, HERBERT C., C.M.G., *The Residency, Maseru, Basutoland, South Africa.*
- 1902 SMALL, JOHN D., L.R.C.S., L.S.A., *Government Medical Officer, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1894 SMALL, JOHN T., *Barrister-at-Law, 24 Adelaide Street East, Toronto, Canada (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1905 SMALLWOOD, HENRY A., *Island Treasurer, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1905 †SMITH, ALFRED, *Pacific Cable Board, Fanning Island.*
- 1891 SMITH, PROFESSOR ALFRED MICA, *Ballarat, Victoria.*
- 1903 SMITH, ARTHUR ASHDOWN, *P.O. Box 141, Durban, Natal.*
- 1882 SMITH, CHARLES, *Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1904 SMITH, CHARLES H., *33 Eleanor Street, Troyeville, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 SMITH, CHARLES H. A.R.I.B.A., *The Gables, Rondebosch, Cape Colony.*
 1898 SMITH, COLIN, 17 *Bayswater Road, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1899 SMITH, EDWARD H. DEAN, *Weld Club, Perth, Western Australia.*
 1893 †SMITH, EDWARD ROBERTS.
 1883 †SMITH, HON. SIR EDWIN THOMAS, K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1902 SMITH, HON. F. B., M.L.C., *Agricultural Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1894 SMITH, F. CALBY, *Yalumba, Angaston, South Australia.*
 1882 SMITH, HON. MR. JUSTICE FRANCIS, *Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1904 †SMITH, CAPTAIN GEORGE, A.G.A., *Thursday Island, via Queensland.*
 1899 SMITH, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., *Registrar-General, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
 1895 SMITH, HON. GEORGE DAVID, M.L.C., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 SMITH, H. JASPER, *P.O. Box 1006, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1888 †SMITH, HENRY FLESHER, *Gordon Brook, Grafton, New South Wales.*
 1899 SMITH, HENRY HAVELOCK, *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1888 †SMITH, H. G. SMTH, *Northern Club, Auckland, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1884 †SMITH, JAMES CARMICHAEL, *Post Office, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
 1902 SMITH, JOHN CLIFFORD, *Mooroolbark Park, Lilydale, Victoria.*
 1901 SMITH, LAURENCE, *The Treasury, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
 1902 SMITH, PROFESSOR R. NEIL, *The University, Hobart, Tasmania.*
 1894 †SMITH, HON. ROBERT GEMMELL, M.L.C., *Nausori, Fiji.*
 1882 SMITH, ROBERT MURRAY, C.M.G., *Repton, Toorak Rd., Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1889 SMITH, R. TOTTENHAM, *Standard Bank, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 †SMITH, SYDNEY, F.R.G.S., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Suva, Fiji.*
 1904 SMITH, THOMAS, *St. Andrew's Street, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
 1898 †SMITH, WILLIAM, *c/o Rhodesian Goldfields Co., Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
 1887 †SMITH, WILLIAM, *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
 1895 SMITH, W. E., *Railway Department, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1893 †SMITH, WM. EDWARDS, M.R.A.C., *P.O. Box 1330, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1894 SMITH, HIS GRACE WM. SAUMAREZ, D.D., *Lord Archbishop of Sydney, Greenknowe, Macleay Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1899 SMITHMAN, CAPTAIN FRANK J., D.S.O.
 1903 SMITHERS, HENRY, *Messrs. J. Robertson & Co., P.O. Box 279, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1885 †SMUTS, C. PETER, M.B., C.M. (Edin.), *Mowbray, near Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1898 SMUTS, JOHANNES, *c/o Secretary of Administration, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1901 SMUTS, LOUIS B., *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1897 SMYTH, HERBERT WARINGTON, M.A., F.G.S., *Mines Department, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 SMYTH, J. W., *New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1889 SNELL, EDWARD, *P.O. Box 235, Durban, Natal.*
 1886 SNOWDEN, HON. SIR ARTHUR, M.L.C., *433 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1903 SOLOMON, EDWARD P., *P.O. Box 424, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1899 SOLOMON, ELIAS, J.P., *Fremantle, Western Australia.*
 1896 †SOLOMON, HON. HARRY, M.L.C., *P.O. Box 1388, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1897 †SOLOMON, HARRY DOUGLAS, *P.O. Box 455, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1902 SOLOMON, N. STAFFORD, *Supervisor of Customs, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*

Year of
Election.

- 1883 SOLOMON, HON. MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM HENRY, *Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1894 †SOMERSET, EDMUND T., *P.O. Box 43, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1888 †SOMERSHIELD, OSCAR, *Regina Villa, St. Andrews Road, Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1892 SOMERVILLE, FREDERICK G., *8 Change Alley, Singapore.*
 1897 SONNENBERG, CHARLES, *P.O. Box 463, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1893 SOUTHEY, CHARLES, C.M.G., *Culmstock, near Cradock, Cape Colony.*
 1905 SOWDEN, WILLIAM J., J.P., *Park Terrace, Eastwood, Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1904 SPARK, WILLIAM STALEY, *Board of Agriculture, 138 Queen Street, Ottawa, Canada.*
 1902 SPARKS, HARRY, *Calthorpe Hall, Sydenham, Durban, Natal.*
 1904 SPENCE, FRANK, *Stipendiary Magistrate, Navua, Fiji.*
 1896 †SPENCE, ROBERT H., *P.O. Box 564, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1905 SPENCER, HAROLD, *P.O. Box 317, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1904 SPERLING, FREDERICK H. E., *Matang, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
 1899 SPIER, WILLIAM, *Gas Company, Rockhampton, Queensland.*
 1881 SPRIGG, RT. HON. SIR J. GORDON, G.C.M.G., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1905 SPRIGG, W. GORDON, J.P., *P.O. Box 1001 Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1905 SPRINGORUM, W., *Dundee, Natal.*
 1902 SPROULE, PERCY J., B.A., *Second Magistrate, Singapore.*
 1896 SPURRIER, ALFRED H., L.R.C.P., *Prison Island Sanitary Station, Zanzibar.*
 1881 †STABLES, HENRY L., M.Inst.C.E., *c/o Chief Engineer of Railways, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1896 STACK, REV. CANON JAMES W., *Casa Eldreda, Bordighera, Italy.*
 1892 †STANLEY, ARTHUR, *Middelburg, Transvaal.*
 1882 STANLEY, HENRY C., M.Inst.C.E., *23 Royal Chambers, Hunter Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1894 STANLEY, JOSEPH HENRY, *Eton Vale, Cambooya, Queensland.*
 1904 STEEDMAN, MARK CROMBIE, *c/o Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Saltpond, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1895 STEPHEN, SIR HENRY, *Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1904 STEVENS, CHARLES, *Schittes Draai, Ficksburg, Orange River Colony.*
 1888 †STEVENS, DANIEL C., F.R.G.S., *City Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1904 STEVENS, ERNEST G., C.E., *Government Railway Construction, Bo, Sierra Leone.*
 1887 †STEVENS, FRANK, C.M.G., *389 West Street, Durban, Natal.*
 1887 †STEVENS, HILDEBRAND W. H., *Hamerton, Kangaroo Point, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1902 STEVENS, PERCIVAL, A.M.Inst.C.E., *Public Works Department, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1883 STEVENSON, JOHN, *Queensland Club, Brisbane, Queensland.*
 1896 STEVENSON, THOMAS, *P.O. Box 411, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 1883 STEWART, EDWARD C., *c/o Post Office, Rotorua, New Zealand.*
 1899 STEWART, GERSHOM, *Messrs. Anton & Stewart, Hong Kong.*
 1896 STEWART, JAMES, M.Inst.C.E., *Auckland, New Zealand.*
 1888 †STEWART, McLEOD, *Ottawa, Canada.*
 1897 †STEWART, THOMAS, M.B., C.M., *P.O. Box 88, Salisbury, Rhodesia (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1895 †STETTLER, HENRY DE VILLIERS, *P.O. Box 174, Johannesburg, Transvaal,*

Year of
Election.

- 1897 STILL, WILLIAM F., J.P., *Dundee, Natal.*
- 1905 STIRTON, PERCY ERNEST, *Moree, New South Wales.*
- 1898 STOKES, CHARLES E., 6 *Beaconsfield Chambers, Coolgardie, Western Australia*
(Corresponding Secretary).
- 1905 STOKES, FREDERICK W., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 †STOKES, STEPHEN, *Park Road, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 STONE, HARRY, P.O. Box 3828, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 STONE, HENRY, *Montacute, Evelyn Scrub, Herberton, Queensland.*
- 1900 STONE, SAMUEL, P.O. Box 234, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †STONESTREET, GEORGE D., *Inspector of Mines, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.*
- 1902 STOPFORD, THE HON. JAMES RICHARD N., *Colonial Secretariat, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1904 STOUGHTON, WILLIAM A., *Rosenroll, Alberta, Canada.*
- 1903 STRACHAN, JOHN, *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1901 STRANACK, MORRIS WM., 320 *West Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1892 STRANACK, WILLIAM, 320 *West Street, Durban, Natal.*
- 1895 †STREET, ALFRED R., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1884 †STRICKLAND, H.E. SIR GERALD, K.C.M.G., *Government House, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1897 †STRONG, EDGAR H., M.R.C.S., P.O. Box 198, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia* (Corresponding Secretary).
- 1894 †STRUBEN, ARTHUR M. A., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Irrigation Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1903 †STRUBEN, CHARLES F. W., *Barrister-at-Law, Strubenheim, Rosebank, Cape Colony.*
- 1880 †STRUBEN, H. W., J.P., *Strubenheim, Rosebank, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 †STRUBEN, ROBERT H., *Tafelberg Hall, Middelburg, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 STUART, CHARLES EDWARD, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 †STUART, JAMES, *Ingwavuma, via Eshowe, Natal.*
- 1896 STUART, THOMAS J., *Tutira, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
- 1899 †STUCKE, W. H., A.R.I.B.A., P.O. Box 2271, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 STUCKEY, LEONARD C., *Wynnstay, Strangways Terrace, North Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1894 STUCKEY, MORTIMER, *Imperial Chambers, King William Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1883 †STUDHOLME, JOHN, *Coldstream, Hinds, Christchurch, New Zealand.*
- 1902 †STUDHOLME, JOSEPH F., *Ruanui, Wanganui, New Zealand.*
- 1889 STURDEE, H. KING, 240 *State Street, Albany, U.S.A.*
- 1897 STURGESS, THOMAS, *Assiout, Upper Egypt.*
- 1890 STURROCK, DAVID, *Union Bank of Australia, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1898 SUTHERLAND, M. T., *Warmbad, German South West Africa* (via *Steinkop*).
- 1904 SUTTON, CHARLES W. M., M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1889 SUTTON, HON. SIR GEORGE M., K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Fair Fell, Howick Natal.*
- 1896 SWABY, THE RT. REV. WILLIAM P., D.D., *Lord Bishop of Barbados, Bishops court, Bridgetown, Barbados.*
- 1881 †SWAN, HON. MR. JUSTICE ROBERT A., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1905 SWANSON, WILLIAM G., P.O. Box 220, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1891 SWAYNE, CHARLES R., *Stipendiary Magistrate, Loma Loma, Fiji.*
- 1884 SWAYNE, JOSEPH QUICKE, *Mullens River, British Honduras.*
- 1897 SWORD, THOMAS S., *Land Court, Brisbane, Queensland.*

Year of
Election.

- 1881 †SYMON, SENATOR SIR JOSIAH HENRY, K.C.M.G., K.C., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1885 †SIMONS, DAVID, *P.O. Box 469, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 SYMONDS, HENRY, M.D., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 TAINTON, JOHN WARWICK, *Advocate, 233, Church Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1883 TALBOT, H.E. MAJOR-GENERAL THE HON. SIR REGINALD, K.C.B., *Government House, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 TAMBACI, C.
- 1888 †TANPLIN, LT.-COLONEL HERBERT T., K.C., *Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 TANNAHILL, THOMAS F., M.D., *Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1877 †TANNER, THOMAS, *Riverslea, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1897 TANNOCK, JOHN P., M.B., C.M., *Park Avenue, East London, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 TASCHEREAU, RT. HON. SIR HENRI E., *Chief Justice, Ottawa, Canada.*
- 1883 TAPSCOTT, GEORGE A. M., *17 Park Road, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 TATHAM, BASIL ST. JOHN, *P.O. Box 1558, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 TATHAM CHARLES, J.P., *Grey Town, Natal.*
- 1894 TATHAM, FREDERIC SPENCE, K.C., M.L.A., *7 Timber Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1895 TATHAM, GEORGE FREDERICK, J.P., *Ladysmith, Natal.*
- 1895 TATHAM, RALPH H., *P.O. Box 5293, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 TAVERNER, HON. JOHN W., *Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1902 †TAYLOR, ADOLPHUS J., *Arthursleigh, North Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1895 TAYLOR, FREDERICK E., *Public Works Dept., Spanish Town, Jamaica.*
- 1887 TAYLOR, G. W.
- 1897 TAYLOR, HERBERT J., *Chief Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1898 †TAYLOR, J. HOWARD, *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1899 TAYLOR, JOHN, *The Prison, Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1882 †TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *Clarendon Street East, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1898 TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1901 TAYLOR, WILLIAM, *Hong Kong Club, Hong Kong.*
- 1883 TAYLOR, HON. W. F., M.L.C., M.D., *8 Wharf Street, Brisbane, Queensland (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1902 TAYLOR, WILLIAM IRWIN, M.D., M.R.C.S., *Government Medical Officer, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1900 TAYLOR, WILLIAM L.
- 1890 TAYLOR, HON. SIR WILLIAM T., K.C.M.G., *The Residency, Selangor, Federated Malay States (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1893 TEECE, RICHARD, *Australian Mutual Provident Society, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 TENNANT, DAVID, J.P., *Attorney-at Law, Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 †TENNANT, HERCULES, *Law Department, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1884 TESCHMAKER, CHARLES DE V., *Avondale Station, Renwick, Marlborough, New Zealand.*
- 1883 TESCHMAKER, THOMAS, J.P., *Otaio, Timaru, New Zealand.*
- 1897 *THEAL, GEORGE M'CALL, LL.D., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 †THEOMIN, DAVID E., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1897 THEOPHILUS, DAVID, *P.O. Box 72, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 THIELE, HANS H., F.R.S.G.S., *Suva, Fiji.*

Year of Election.	
1900	THISELTON, ALBERT E., <i>The Point, Durban, Natal.</i>
1901	†THOMAS, CHARLES C., <i>Government Surveyor, P.O. Box 54, Bethlehem, Orange River Colony.</i>
1899	THOMAS, DAVID R., <i>Kumasi Railway, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.</i>
1897	THOMAS, EDWARD H. L., <i>Ooonagalla, Madulkelly, Ceylon.</i>
1886	†THOMAS, HON. JAMES J., M.L.C., <i>Wilberforce House, Gloucester Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1884	†THOMAS, J. EDWIN, <i>Cavendish Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia (Corresponding Secretary).</i>
1895	THOMAS, JOHN H., J.P., <i>Little East Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1882	THOMAS, M. H., <i>Ooonagalla, Madulkelly, Ceylon.</i>
1883	†THOMAS, RICHARD D., <i>P.O. Box 185, Christchurch, New Zealand.</i>
1884	THOMAS, ROBERT KYFFIN, <i>Angas Street East, Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1899	†THOMASSETT, HANS P., <i>Cascade Estate, Mahé, Seychelles.</i>
1901	THOMPSON, EDWARD, <i>Government Railway, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1891	THOMPSON, FRED A. H., <i>Manchester House, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1881	THOMPSON, GEORGE A., <i>38 Elizabeth Street, Sydney, New South Wales.</i>
1904	THOMPSON, HENRY N., <i>Forests Department, Calabar, South Nigeria.</i>
1891	THOMPSON, MAX G. CAMPBELL, <i>Manchester House, Freetown, Sierra Leone.</i>
1884	THOMPSON, T. A., <i>Registrar of the Courts, Port of Spain, Trinidad.</i>
1895	THOMPSON, HON. WILLIAM A., <i>Treasurer, Stanley, Falkland Islands.</i>
1904	†THOMPSON, WILLIAM J., J.P., <i>Verulam, Natal.</i>
1886	THOMSON, ALPIN F., <i>Works and Railway Department, Perth, Western Australia.</i>
1885	†THOMSON, ARTHUR H.
1886	THOMSON, LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN, M.B., <i>Queensland Defence Force, Inchcome, Brisbane, Queensland.</i>
1896	THOMSON, JOHN ERSKINE, M.B., C.M., <i>District Hospital, Nannine, Western Australia.</i>
1897	THOMSON, THOMAS D., <i>Middelburg, Cape Colony.</i>
1893	THOMSON, HON. WM. BURNS, M.L.C., J.P., <i>Harriemith, Orange River Colony.</i>
1888	†THOMSON, WILLIAM CHARLES, <i>P.O. Box 676, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1899	THORNE, GEORGE, <i>Darcey Hey, Castle Hill, New South Wales.</i>
1902	THORNE, THOMAS LANE, <i>Barrister-at-Law, Church Sqre., Pretoria, Transvaal.</i>
1905	†THORNE, WILLIAM J., <i>c/o Messrs. Stuttaford & Co. Adderley Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.</i>
1884	THORNTON, HON. MR. JUSTICE S. LESLIE, <i>Penang, Straits Settlements.</i>
1892	†THORNTON, WILLIAM, <i>Maungakawa, Cambridge, Auckland, New Zealand.</i>
1903	THWAITS, JAMES A., M.B., C.M., <i>P.O. Box 1654, Johannesburg, Transvaal.</i>
1903	TIFFIN, CHRISTOPHER H., <i>Queenstown, Cape Colony.</i>
1906	TINDALL, ROBY J. L., B.A., J.P., <i>The Club, Krugersdorp, Transvaal.</i>
1886	†TINLIE, JOHN, <i>Nelson, New Zealand.</i>
1885	TODD, SIR CHARLES, K.C.M.G., F.R.S., <i>Adelaide, South Australia.</i>
1890	†TOLHURST, GEORGE E., <i>Grant Road, Wellington, New Zealand.</i>
1896	†TOLL, BENJAMIN, <i>Charters Towers, Queensland.</i>
1900	TOOGOOD, JOHN F., <i>Morven Mine Private Bag, Consolidated Gold Fields Co., Bulawayo, Rhodesia.</i>
1883	†TOPE, HON. JAMES, M.L.C., <i>Bathurst, Gambia, West Africa.</i>
1900	TOTTENHAM, RALPH G. LOFTUS, <i>Hurley House, Mowbray, Cape Colony.</i>

Year of
Election.

- 1889 †TRAILL, GILBERT F., *Kandapolla Estate, Ceylon.*
 1884 †TRAYVERS, BENJAMIN, *District Commissioner, Famagusta, Cyprus.*
 1893 †TRAYVERS, E. A. O., M.R.C.S., *State Surgeon, Kuala Lumpur, Federated Malay States.*
 1903 †TRAYVERS, JOHN EDMUND DE LA COUR, *Pilgrims Rest, Transvaal.*
 1888 †TREGARTHEN, WM. COULSON, *The Hermitage, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
 1883 †TRELEAVEN, CHARLES W., *Bogue, Balaclava P.O., Jamaica.*
 1903 TREMBARNE, CAPTAIN A. J. N., F.R.G.S., J.P., *Police Department, Zungoru, Northern Nigeria.*
 1890 TRENCARD, HENRY, 58 *Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
 1902 TRESEDER, WILLIAM A.S., *Government Railway, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
 1897 TRICKS, FREDERICK C., *Taberna, Malvern Road, Armadale, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1897 TRIGG, E. BATLY, F.R.V.I.A., *Perth, Western Australia.*
 1900 TRIMMINGHAM, NORMAN S. P., A.M.Inst.C.E., *Atlantic Quebec Western Railway, Paspebiac, Quebec, Canada.*
 1884 †TRIPP, C. HOWARD, *Solicitor, Timaru, Canterbury, New Zealand.*
 1883 TROTTER, NOEL, *Postmaster-General, Singapore.*
 1899 TRUDE, F. B., *Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
 1900 TRYON, JULIAN, *Gaika Gold Mine, Sebakwe, Rhodesia.*
 1902 TUCHTEN, JOSE G., *P.O. Box 25, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1897 TUCKER, G. A., *Mushroom Valley, Winburg, Orange River Colony.*
 1897 TUCKER, LIEUT.-COLONEL J. J., M.P., *St. John, New Brunswick.*
 1898 TUCKER, W. J. SANGER, J.P., *P.O. Box 122, Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
 1883 †TUCKER, WILLIAM KIDGER, *P.O. Box 9, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1900 TUGMAN, HERBERT ST. JOHN, *New Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
 1896 TUGWELL, RT. REV. BISHOP HERBERT, D.D., *Lagos, West Africa.*
 1883 TUPPER, HON. SIR CHARLES, BART., G.C.M.G., C.B., *Ottawa, Canada.*
 1895 †TURLAND, A. DE SALES.
 1898 †TURNBULL, ALEXANDER H., *Elibank, Wellington, New Zealand (Corresponding Secretary).*
 1899 TURNBULL, ROBERT MCGREGOR, *Linburn Station, Otago, New Zealand.*
 1898 TURNBULL, ROBERT T., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1899 TURNBULL, THOMAS, F.R.I.B.A., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
 1905 †TURNER, FRANK, *P.O. Box 539, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
 1902 †TURNER, HON. GEORGE, M.L.C., *The Hook, Highlands, Natal.*
 1882 †TURNER, HENRY GYLES, *Bundalohn, Tennyson Street, St. Kilda, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 1882 †TURTON, C. D.
 1904 TYARS, GEORGE P., *P.O. Box 404, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
 1902 TYNDALL, ARTHUR, *Adelaide Club, South Australia.*
 1881 †TYSON, CAPTAIN THOMAS G., *Kimberley Club, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
 1897 UDAL, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN S., *St. John's, Antigua.*
 1902 UNDERDOWN, THOMAS E., G.P.O., *Adelaide, South Australia.*
 1889 UNDERWOOD, EDWARD WILLIAM, *Tallandoom, Koogong-Koot Road, Hawthorn, Melbourne, Victoria.*
 UNWIN, ARTHUR HAROLD, *Forests Department, Benin City, Southern Nigeria.*
 †UPPLEBY, JOHN G., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
 USHER, ARCHIBALD R., *Belize, British Honduras.*

Year of
Election.

- 1901 VALANTIN, W. ADOLPHE, J.P., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1903 VALENTINE, SIDNEY N., *Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1892 VAN BOESCHOTEN, JOHANNES G., *P.O. Box 65, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1889 VAN BREDA, SIEVAAS, *Hauptville, Constantia Road, Wynberg, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 VAN CUYLENBURG, MAJOR HECTOR, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1904 VANDER BYL, CHARLES LE F., *68 St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †VANDER HOVEN, H. G., *P.O. Box 22, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1887 VAN DER RIET, THOMAS F. B., *Attorney-at-Law, Grahamstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 VAN DER SPUY, SIEBRANDT J., *Durbanville, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1903 VAN EEDEN, LIEUT. WALTER C., *Supervisor of Customs, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1904 †VAN HULSTEYN, SIR WILLIAM, *P.O. Box 46, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 VAN NIJKERK, JOHN, M.B., C.M., *P.O. Box 1050, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1885 VAN RENEN, HENRY, *Government Land Surveyor, Tresilian, Kenilworth, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 VAN-SENDEN, E. W., *Ravenscroft, Walkerville, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1895 VAN ULSEN, DIRK, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1904 VAN ZYL, GIBSON B., *Church Square, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 †VASSALLO, E. C., M.A., LL.D. *Advocate, 18 Strada Stretta, Valletta, Malta.*
- 1899 VAUTIN, H. D., *c/o Great Fingall Consolidated, Day Dawn, Western Australia.*
- 1883 †VELDH, CHARLES EUGENE, *Registrar, Supreme Court, Singapore.*
- 1888 †VENN, HON. H. W., M.L.A., *Dardanup Park, near Bunbury, Western Australia.*
- 1891 VENNING, ALFRED R., *Federal Secretary, Selangor, Federated Malay States.*
- 1899 VERCO, JOSEPH C., M.D., F.R.C.S., *North Terrace, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1886 †VERSFELD, DIRK, J.P., *Attorney-at-Law, Riversdale, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 †VICKERS, ALBERT, *Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 †VIGNE, JAMES TALBOT, *Market Square, Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 †VINCENT, MAJOR WILLIAM SLADE, *Townsville, Queensland.*
- 1897 VINE, SIR J. R. SOMERS, C.M.G., *P.O. Box 6242, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 VINTCENT, ALWYN J., *Mossel Bay, Cape Colony.*
- 1899 VINTER, JAMES H., *c/o Otis, McAllister & Co., 109 California Street, California, U.S.A.*
- 1895 VIRET, HON. A. PERCIVAL, *Collector of Customs, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1903 VISCHER, HANS, *Assistant Resident, Muri Province, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1897 VON STÜRMER, SPENCER W., *P.O. Box 1019, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 VON WINCKLER, J. W., M.D., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1901 VON ZWEIFBERG, CAPTAIN GUSTAF, F.R.G.S., *P.O. Box 738, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1896 VREDE, DIRK E., *Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony*
- 1897 VROOM, HENDRIK, *Elmina, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1903 WACKRILL, HERBERT J., *P.O. Box 885, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 WADE, FREDERICK C., K.C., *P.O. Box 416, Vancouver, British Columbia.*
- 1904 WADMAN, REGINALD F. C., *Excise Department, Bassein, Burma.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 WAHAB, CAPTAIN CHARLES J., *c/o National Bank of India, Mombasa, British East Africa.*
- 1890 WAIT, JOHN STUBBS, M.R.C.S.E., *Oamaru, New Zealand.*
- 1885 †WAITE, PETER, *Urrbrae, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1889 †WAKEFORD, GEORGE C., *Niekerk's Rush, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 WALDRON, DERWENT, M.B., C.M., *Senior Medical Officer, Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1903 WALE, WM. C., *Government Railway, Sekondi, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1903 WALES, PHILIP, *Assistant District Commissioner, Iddah, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1898 †WALKER, A. BLOFIELD, P.O. Box 841, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 †WALKER, ALAN C., *Huonden, Macquarie Street, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1899 †WALKER, CECIL, *Barrister-at-Law, Lindfield, Holebrook Place, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1900 WALKER, CLAUDE HAMILTON, *Utica, Fergus Co., Montana, U.S.A.*
- 1893 †WALKER, HON. GILES F., J.P., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1891 WALKER, HIS HONOUR CHIEF JUSTICE J. BAYLDON, *St. Lucia, West Indies.*
- 1900 †WALKER, SENATOR JAMES T., *Waltham Buildings, Bond Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 WALKER, JOHN, *Rosebank, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 WALKER, CAPTAIN JOHN HURRY, *Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1881 †WALKER, JOSEPH, *Hamilton House, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 †WALKER, R. LESLIE, *Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1883 †WALKER, LIEUT.-COLONEL R. S. FROWD, C.M.G., *Commandant of Malay States Guides, Taiping, Perak, Federated Malay States.*
- 1897 WALKER, WM. HEWER, G.P.O. *Windsorton, Cape Colony.*
- 1882 WALL, T. A., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1894 WALLACE, EDWARD CLEMENT, *Barrancos, Portugal.*
- 1902 †WALLACE, WILLIAM, C.M.G., *Deputy High Commissioner, Zungeru, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1903 WALLIN, CHARLES E., *Oil Springs, Ontario, Canada.*
- 1905 WALLIN, EDWIN K., *Grosny, Terek Province, Russia.*
- 1901 WALLIN, JOHN HENRY, *Douglas City, Wyoming, U.S.A.*
- 1898 WALLIS, CAPTAIN CHARLES B., *Assistant District Commissioner, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1894 †WALLIS, THE RT. REV. FREDERIC, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Wellington, Bishopscourt, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1896 WALLIS, HENRY R., *Assistant Deputy Commissioner, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1901 WALPOLE, R. H., *Assurance and Trust Co., Ltd., Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1889 †WALSH, ALBERT, P.O. Box 39, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1900 WALSH, COMMANDER J. T., R.N.R., *Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1903 WALSH, FRANK, B.A., *Napier, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 †WALTER, HENRY J., *Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1881 †WANTLISS, THOMAS D., *Ballarat, Victoria.*
- 1879 WARD, HON. LIEUT.-COLONEL CHARLES J., C.M.G., M.P.C., *Kingston, Jamaica.*
- 1873 WARD, WILLIAM CURTIS, *Victoria, British Columbia.*
- 1904 WARDEN, WILLIAM, JR., 329 *Calle Rivadavia, Buenos Ayres, Argentine Republic.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 WARDROP, JOHN GLEN, *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1903 †WARDROP, JOHN NIMMO, F.R.G.S., *Messrs. Darby & Co, Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1885 WARE, JERRY GEORGE, *care of Bank of Australasia, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1879 †WARE, JOHN, *Tatyoon, Yalla-y-Poora, Victoria.*
- 1886 †WARE, JOSEPH, *Minjah, Carramut, Victoria.*
- 1880 †WARE, J. C., *Yalla-y-Poora, Victoria.*
- 1905 WARE, WILLIAM LAWES, *Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1904 WARLIKER, LIEUT.-COLONEL DAMODER P., *79th Carnatic Infantry, Mauritius.*
- 1886 WARMINGTON, ARTHUR, *Fort George, Stony Hill P.O., St. Andrew, Jamaica.*
- 1882 †WARNER, OLIVER W.
- 1905 WARREN, NOEL A., *Customs Department, Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1889 †WATERHOUSE, ARTHUR, *10 Cowra Chambers, Grenfell Street, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1903 †WATERHOUSE, FRANK S., *Mangawhare, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1902 WATKINS, EVAN E., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1902 WATKINS, W. D. E., *Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1883 WATKINS, ARNOLD H., M.D., F.R.C.S., *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 WATKINS, FRANK, *Nairobi, British East Africa.*
- 1901 WATSON, EDWIN A., *Pahang, Federated Malay States.*
- 1887 †WATSON, H. FRASER, *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †WATSON, T. TENNANT, *Govt. Surveyor, Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 †WATT, EDWARD J., *Hastings, Hawkes Bay, New Zealand.*
- 1903 WATT, GEORGE, M.A., M.B., *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1887 WATT, WILLIAM HOLDEN, *7 Bent Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1896 †WATTS, JOHN WHIDBORNE, *Iry, Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1881 WAY, E., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 WAY, LEWIS G. K., *Wood Farm, Balgovan, Natal.*
- 1891 †WAY, THE RT. HON. SIR SAMUEL J., BART., *Chief Justice, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1892 †WAYLAND, ARTHUR E., *P.O. Box 4751, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1893 WAYLAND, CHARLES WM. H., J.P., *Lovedale, Belmont, Cape Colony.*
- 1891 WAYLAND, WALTER H., *Belmont Station, Griqualand West, Cap Colony.*
- 1887 †WEAVER, HENRY E., C.E., *Caixa 54, Manaus, Amazonas, Brazil.*
- 1902 WEBB, CLEMENT D., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1903 WEBB, LEONARD F., *108 Grant Road, Wellington, New Zealand.*
- 1903 WEBB, PERCY E.
- 1900 †WEBB, RICHARD CAPPER, J.P., *Roto, Hillston, New South Wales.*
- 1890 WEBBER, LIONEL H., *P.O. Box 164, Germiston, Transvaal.*
- 1901 WEBBER, REGINALD B., *c/o Robinson Deep G. M. Co., P.O. Box 1488, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 WEBSTER, ALEXANDER B., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1886 †WEBSTER, CHARLES, J.P., *Mackay, Queensland.*
- 1903 WEBSTER, G. W., *Assistant Resident, Keffi, Nassarawa Province, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1897 †WEBSTER, H. L., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*

Year of
Election.

- 1904 †WEEDON, WARREN, *Selby House, Wickham Terrace, Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1901 WEGE, PETER G., J.P., *7 Hofmeyr Chambers, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 WEIGHTON, LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN, *340 Prince Alfred Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1884 WEIL, BENJAMIN BERTIE, *Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1883 WEIL, JULIUS, *Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1884 WEIL, MYER, *Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 WEIL, SAMUEL, *Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 WEIR, CBCL HAMILTON, *303 Lewis Buildings, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.*
- 1903 WEISSENBORN, CHARLES A. P., *Premier Estate, Umtali, Rhodesia.*
- 1900 WELCH, J. EDGAR, *Umtali, Rhodesia.*
- 1901 WELLS, CHARLES E., *Salisbury, Rhodesia.*
- 1902 †WELLS, ERNEST T., *P.O. Box 10, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1896 †WELLS, RICHARD NOEL, *Hannan's Find Gold Reefs, Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1897 WELLS, WILLIAM, *Kimberley, Cape Colony.*
- 1895 WENDT, HON. MR. JUSTICE HENRY L., *Colombo, Ceylon.*
- 1887 WENTWORTH, FITZWILLIAM, *Union Club, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1898 WENYON, WILLIAM F., *Hong Kong.*
- 1903 WENTZEL, CHARLES A., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1902 WESSEL, THOMAS DE, *Inspector of Roads, Pretoria, Transvaal.*
- 1887 †WESTGARTH, GEORGE C., *2 O'Connell Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1902 WESTMACOTT, EDMUND D., *Taranaki, New Zealand.*
- 1902 WHEELER, WILLIAM, C.M.G., *Treasurer, Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1900 WHELAN, PATRICK, *Kalgoorlie, Western Australia.*
- 1905 WHITTAKER, WILLIAM LEOPOLD, *14 Timber Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1903 WHITE, ANDREW, W.S., *District Commissioner, Cape Coast, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1888 †WHITE, COLONEL F. B. P., *Waverley, Constant Spring, Jamaica.*
- 1900 WHITE, WILLIAM, J.P., F.G.S., *Mount Alma, Charters Towers, Queensland.*
- 1904 WHITE VEN. ARCHDEACON WILLIAM E., M.A., *Kiola, Armidale, New South Wales.*
- 1890 WHITE, W. KINROSS, *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1894 †WHITEHEAD, T. H.
- 1903 WHITELAW, JAMES, *P.O. Box 106, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1904 WHITESIDE, HENRY S., *Abosso, via Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1881 WHITEWAY, RT. HON. SIR WILLIAM V., K.C.M.G., *St. John's, Newfoundland.*
- 1886 †WHYTE, W. LESLIE, *P.O. Box 320, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1884 †WICKHAM, H. A., J.P., *Conflict Group, via Samarai, British New Guinea.*
- 1895 †WIENAND, C. F., *P.O. Box 1352, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 WIENER, LUDWIG, *Lower St. George's Street, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 WILBRAHAM, DONALD F., *Master of the Supreme Court, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1900 WILHEMAN, HENRY ST. JOHN, *Gwelo, Rhodesia.*
- 1899 WILKINSON, CHARLES D., *Hong Kong.*
- 1898 WILKINSON, E. F. W., *Public Works Dept., Accra, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1890 †WILKS, SAMUEL JERROLD, C.E., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1882 WILLCOCKS, EDWARD J. R.
- 1898 WILLIAMS, ARCHIBALD JAY, *Zomba, British Central Africa.*

Year of
Election.

- 1888 WILLIAMS, HON. CHARLES RIBY, C.M.G., *Treasurer, Acera, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1905 WILLIAMS, E. TRUBY, *of Messrs. Huddart, Parker & Co., 525 Collins Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1890 †WILLIAMS, E. VAUGHAN, J.P., *Gong Gong, Barkly West, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †WILLIAMS, ERNEST, A.M.Inst.C.E., *Rand Club, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 †WILLIAMS, FRED. W., *Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1900 †WILLIAMS, HENRY WATSON, *Essex Street, Fremantle, Western Australia.*
- 1902 WILLIAMS, G. A., P.O. Box 88, *Harriemith, Orange River Colony.*
- 1904 WILLIAMS, JAMES ALEXANDER, I.S.O., *District Commissioner, Pram Pram, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1896 †WILLIAMS, JAMES AUGUSTUS, *Bontke, Sherbro, West Africa.*
- 1903 WILLIAMS, JAMES E., *High Level Road, Sea Point, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1890 WILLIAMS, JAMES NELSON, *Hastings, Napier, New Zealand.*
- 1898 WILLIAMS, HON. MR. JUSTICE JOSHUA S., *Dunedin, New Zealand.*
- 1902 WILLIAMS, LUKE, F.G.S., *Moonah, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1891 WILLIAMS, ROBERT, C.E., *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1888 †WILLIAMS, THOMAS D., *3 Union Buildings, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 WILLIAMS, WM. NANCE, *North Sheba Gold & Exploration Co., Barberton, Transvaal.*
- 1886 †WILLIAMS, ZACHARIAH A., *Manchester House, Lagos, West Africa.*
- 1904 WILLIS, CHARLES SAVILL, M.B., C.M., J.P., *Mount Magnet, Western Australia.*
- 1896 WILLS, GEORGE F., P.O. Box 551, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1904 WILLMOT, FREDERICK C., M.D., D.P.H., *The Hill, Mowbray, Cape Colony.*
- 1880 WILMAN, HERBERT, P.O. Box 104, *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1901 WILMOT, HON. ALEXANDER, M.L.C., *Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1898 WILSON, AIDEN D., P.O. Box 3358, *Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1894 †WILSON, ALBERT J., *70^{bis} Avenue d'Iéna, Paris.*
- 1897 WILSON, BENJAMIN, *The Club, Bulawayo, Rhodesia.*
- 1899 WILSON, GEORGE, C.B., *Deputy-Commissioner, Kampala, Uganda (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1891 †WILSON, GEORGE PRANGLEY, C.E.
- 1898 WILSON, HON. HENRY F., C.M.G., *Government Secretary, Bloemfontein, Orange River Colony.*
- 1897 WILSON, JAMES G., *Bulls, Rangitiki, New Zealand.*
- 1905 WILSON, JAMES J., M.D., *Taquah & Abooso G. M. Co., Tarkwa, Gold Coast Colony.*
- 1898 †WILSON, JAMES W., *Sandakan, British North Borneo.*
- 1883 WILSON, CAPTAIN JOHN, *Beau Séjour, Rosehill, Mauritius.*
- 1904 †WILSON, JOHN B., *Lindley, Orange River Colony.*
- 1894 WILSON, WM. ALEXANDER.
- 1896 WILSON, WM. STREET, F.R.I.B.A., P.O. Box 103, *Durban, Natal.*
- 1902 †WILSON, W. T., *City Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1897 †WINCHCOMBE, F. E., M.L.A., *Messrs. Winchcombe, Carson & Co., 46 Bridge Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1887 †WINDSOR, PETER F., *Windsorton, Griqualand West, Cape Colony.*
- 1902 WINGATE, G. R., *Customs Department, Lokoja, Northern Nigeria.*
- 1902 †WINGFIELD, MAURICE E., *Government House, Sydney, New South Wales.*

Year of
Election.

- 1897 WINEFIELD, HON. MR. JUSTICE JOHN, *Calabar, Southern Nigeria (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1889 WIRGMAN, REV. CANON A. THEODORE, D.D., D.C.L., *Vice-Provost of St. Mary's Collegiate Church, Port Elizabeth, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 WIRSING, H. FRANK, *P.O. Box 12, Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1892 WIRSING, WALTER M., *P.O. Box 12, Mafeking, Cape Colony.*
- 1905 WISE, HON. BERNHARD R., K.C., *Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1895 †WISE, PERCY F., *Duff Development Co., Kelantan, vid Singapore.*
- 1895 †WITHEFORD, J. H., M.H.R., *Auckland, New Zealand.*
- 1898 WITTENOOM, HON. SIR EDWARD H., K.C.M.G., M.L.C., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1886 WITTENOOM, FREDERICK F. B., *Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1886 WITTS, BROOME LAKE, *P.O. Box 4364, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1895 †WOLFF, HENRY A., M.D., *601 West 138th Street, New York.*
- 1905 WOLFFHAGEN, JOHN E., M.B., C.M., *102 Macquarie Street, Hobart, Tasmania.*
- 1882 WOLLASTON, LT.-COL. CHARLTON F. B., *P.O. Box 590, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1899 WOOD, CHARLES, *33 King Street, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1873 WOOD, J. DENNISTOUN, M.H.A., *Barrister-at-Law, Bothwell, Tasmania.*
- 1898 †WOOD, PETER, *Burnside, Adelaide, South Australia.*
- 1902 WOODARD, HENRY, *Zomba, British Central Africa.*
- 1897 WOODBURN, WILLIAM, *Windermere Road, Durban, Natal.*
- 1887 WOODHOUSE, ALFRED, M.E., *P.O. Box 759, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1883 †WOODHOUSE, EDMUND BINGHAM, *Mount Gilead, Campbelltown, New South Wales.*
- 1885 †WOODS, HON. SIDNEY GOWER, M.L.C., *Belize, British Honduras.*
- 1898 WOOLF, DAVID LEWIS, *P.O. Box 431, Durban, Natal.*
- 1900 WOOLLEY, ADAM SEDGWICK, *P.O. Box 2891, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1898 WOOLS-SAMPSON, COLONEL SIR AUBREY, K.C.B., *P.O. Box 4601, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1897 WORSFOLD, W. BASIL, M.A., *"Star" Office, P.O. Box 1014, Johannesburg, Transvaal.*
- 1905 WORTHINGTON, REGINALD YORKE, *303 Loop Street, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1900 WRAGG, CLEMENT L., F.R.G.S., F.R.Met.Soc., *Brisbane, Queensland.*
- 1903 WRIGHT, ARTHUR, *Government Printer, Calabar, Southern Nigeria.*
- 1887 WRIGHT, ARTHUR JAMES, *56 Matboursa Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1901 WRIGHT, HON. CLAUDIUS E., M.L.C. *Barrister-at-Law, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
- 1903 WRIGHT, EDWARD FONDI.
- 1903 WRIGHT, FREDERICK, *Messrs. Elliott Bros., Terry Street, Balmain, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1893 †WRIGHT, G. H. CORY.
- 1898 †WRIGHT, HON. JAMES W., M.L.C., *4 Moirs Chambers, Perth, Western Australia.*
- 1893 WYATT, CHAS. GUY A., *Georgetown, British Guiana.*
- 1890 WYKHAM, ALFRED L., M.D., *21 St. Mary Street, St. John's, Antigua.*
- 1896 WYLIE, SAMUEL, *15 Grosvenor Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1885 WYLLIE, BRYCE J., *Kalupahani, Haldumulla, Ceylon.*
- 1883 WYNNE, HON. AGAR, *Melbourne Club, Victoria.*

Year of
Election.

- 1903 YATES, J. E., *Railway Station, Queenstown, Cape Colony.*
- 1887 †YONGE, CECIL A. S., M.L.A., *Furth, Dargle, Maritzburg, Natal.*
- 1891 YOUNG, ALFRED J. K., B.A., *Legal Adviser &c., Mahé, Seychelles.*
- 1896 †YOUNG, HON. CAPTAIN ARTHUR H., C.M.G., *Chief Secretary, Nicosia, Cyprus.*
- 1901 YOUNG, BERTIE THORPE.
- 1888 †YOUNG, CHARLES G., M.A., M.D., *Port of Spain, Trinidad.*
- 1894 †YOUNG, H. C. ARTHUR, *c/o Commercial Banking Co., Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1883 †YOUNG, HORACE E. B., *Fairymead, Bundaberg, Queensland.*
- 1882 †YOUNG, HON. JAMES H., M.E.C., *Nassau, Bahamas (Corresponding Secretary).*
- 1888 YOUNG, JOHN, J.P., *256 Pitt Street, Sydney, New South Wales.*
- 1904 †YOUNG, J. RONALD C., M.H.A., *Nassau, Bahamas.*
- 1902 YOUNG, ROBERT, *Western Road, Penang, Straits Settlements.*
- 1883 YOUNG, HIS HONOUR WILLIAM DOUGLAS, *Commissioner, Turk's and Caicos Islands.*
- 1894 YOUNGHUSBAND, COLONEL SIR FRANK E., K.C.I.E., *The Agency, Dro'i, Rajputana, India.*
- 1887 †ZBAL, SENATOR HON. SIR WILLIAM AUSTIN, K.C.M.G., *Clovelly, Lansell Street, Tborak, Melbourne, Victoria.*
- 1897 ZIETSMAN, LOUIS F., M.L.A., *Attorney-at-Law, Civil Service Club, Cape Town, Cape Colony.*
- 1881 ZOCHONIS, GEORGE B., *Freetown, Sierra Leone.*

1. The first group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the first stage of the disease. This group is the largest and is made up of people who are in the first stage of the disease.

2. The second group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the second stage of the disease. This group is the second largest and is made up of people who are in the second stage of the disease.

3. The third group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the third stage of the disease. This group is the third largest and is made up of people who are in the third stage of the disease.

4. The fourth group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the fourth stage of the disease. This group is the fourth largest and is made up of people who are in the fourth stage of the disease.

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9. The ninth group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the ninth stage of the disease. This group is the ninth largest and is made up of people who are in the ninth stage of the disease.

10. The tenth group of people who are affected by the disease are those who are in the tenth stage of the disease. This group is the tenth largest and is made up of people who are in the tenth stage of the disease.

LIST OF PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, &c., TO WHICH THE
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TUTE ARE PRESENTED.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.
 „ African Society, London.
 „ Anthropological Institute, London.
 „ Army and Navy Club, London.
 „ Athenæum Club, London.
 „ Australasian Club, Edinburgh.
 „ Bishopsgate Institute, London.
 „ Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 „ British and African Steamship Co.
 „ British Empire League.
 „ British Museum, London.
 „ Brown's Free Library, Liverpool.
 „ Cambridge University Library.
 „ Carlton Club, London.
 „ Ceylon Association.
 „ City Liberal Club, London.
 „ Colonial Office, London.
 „ Conservative Club, London.
 „ Constitutional Club, London.
 „ Crystal Palace Library.
 „ East India Association, London.
 „ East India United Service Club, London.
 „ Guildhall Library, London.
 „ House of Commons, London.
 „ House of Lords, London.
 „ Imperial Institute, London.
 „ India Office Library, London.
 „ Institute of Bankers, London.
 „ Institution of Civil Engineers.
 „ Intelligence Department, War Office.
 „ Japan Society, London.
 „ Junior Carlton Club, London.
 „ Junior United Service Club, London.
 „ Kew Guild, Kew Gardens.
 „ Liverpool Geographical Society.
 „ London Chamber of Commerce.
 „ London Institution.
 „ London Library.
 „ London School of Tropical Medicine.
 „ Manchester Geographical Society.
 „ Minet Public Library, Camberwell.
 „ Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
 „ National Club, London.
 „ National Liberal Club, London.
 „ Natural History Museum, London.
 „ Naval and Military Club, London.
 „ Navy League, London.
 „ New University Club, London.
 „ Oriental Club, London.

- The Orient-Pacific Steam Navigation Co., London.
 „ Oxford and Cambridge Club, London.
 „ Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., London.
 „ People's Palace Library, London.
 „ Public Library, Barrow-in-Furness.
 „ „ Birmingham.
 „ „ Bradford.
 „ „ Bristol.
 „ „ Cardiff.
 „ „ Chelsea.
 „ „ Clerkenwell.
 „ „ Croydon.
 „ „ Darlington.
 „ „ Derby.
 „ „ Dumbarton.
 „ „ Dundee.
 „ „ Fulham.
 „ „ Great Yarmouth.
 „ „ Hull.
 „ „ Ipswich.
 „ „ Kensington.
 „ „ Kilburn.
 „ „ Leeds.
 „ „ Lewisham.
 „ „ Lowestoft.
 „ „ Manchester.
 „ „ Newington.
 „ „ Norwich.
 „ „ Nottingham.
 „ „ Oldham.
 „ „ Plumstead.
 „ „ Plymouth.
 „ „ Putney.
 „ „ St. George, Hanover Square.
 „ „ St. Margaret and St. John, West-
 „ „ St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. [minster.
 „ „ Sheffield.
 „ „ Stoke Newington.
 „ „ Sunderland.
 „ „ Swansea.
 „ „ Wigan.
 „ Reform Club, London.
 „ Royal Asiatic Society, London.
 „ Royal Engineer Institute, Chatham.
 „ Royal Gardens, Kew.
 „ Royal Geographical Society, London.
 „ Royal Institution of Great Britain, London.
 „ Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Edinburgh.
 „ Royal Society of Literature, London.
 „ Royal Statistical Society, London.
 „ Royal United Service Institution, London.
 „ St. Stephen's Club, London.
 „ Science and Education Library, South Kensington.
 „ Society of Arts, London.
 „ Stirling and Glasgow Public Library.
 „ Tate Central Library, Brixton.
 „ Tate Public Library, Streatham.
 „ Thatched House Club, London.
 „ Trinity College, Dublin.

- The Tyneside Geographical Society.
„ Union Castle Steamship Co., London.
„ Union Club, London.
„ United Service Club, London.
„ United University Club, London.
„ University College, London.
„ Victoria Institute, London.
„ West India Committee, London.
„ Windham Club, London.

COLONIES.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.

- The Houses of Parliament, Ottawa.
„ Legislative Assembly of British Columbia.
„ „ „ Manitoba.
„ „ „ New Brunswick.
„ „ „ Newfoundland.
„ „ „ Nova Scotia.
„ „ „ Ontario.
„ „ „ Prince Edward Island
„ „ „ Quebec.
„ Bureau of Mines, Quebec.
„ Bureau of Statistics, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
„ Canadian Bankers' Association, Montreal.
„ Canadian Institute, Toronto.
„ Council of Arts and Manufactures, Montreal.
„ Fraser Institute, Montreal.
„ General Mining Association, Quebec.
„ Geographical Society, Quebec.
„ Geological Survey of Canada.
„ Hamilton Association.
„ Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Winnipeg.
„ King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia.
„ Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.
„ Literary and Scientific Society, Ottawa.
„ McGill University, Montreal.
„ MacLeod Historical Society, Alberta, N.W.T.
„ Natural History Society of New Brunswick.
„ New Brunswick Historical Society.
„ Nova Scotia Historical Society.
„ Nova Scotian Institute of Natural Science.
„ Ontario Historical Society, Toronto.
„ Public Library, Hamilton.
„ Public Library, St. John, New Brunswick.
„ Public Library, Toronto.
„ Public Library, Victoria, British Columbia.
„ Public Library, Windsor.
„ Queen's University, Kingston.
„ University Library, Winnipeg.
„ University of Toronto.
„ Victoria University, Toronto.

AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

- The Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science.
„ Australian Museum, Sydney.
„ Department of Fisheries.
„ Department of Mines, Geological Survey.

Royal Colonial Institute.

The Engineering Association of New South Wales.

- „ Free Public Library, Bathurst.
- „ „ Newcastle.
- „ „ Sydney.
- „ Houses of Parliament, Sydney.
- „ Mechanics' Institute, Albury.
- „ Royal Anthropological Society of Australasia, Sydney.
- „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia.
- „ Royal Society of New South Wales.
- „ School of Art, Grafton.
- „ „ Maitland West.
- „ „ Wollongong.
- „ Sydney University.
- „ United Service Institution, Sydney.

QUEENSLAND.

The Houses of Parliament, Brisbane.

- „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Queensland
- „ Royal Society of Queensland. [Branch].
- „ Public Library, Brisbane.
- „ School of Art, Bowen, Port Denison.
- „ „ Brisbane.
- „ „ Ipswich.
- „ „ Maryborough.
- „ „ Rockhampton.
- „ „ Toowoomba.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

The Adelaide Club.

- „ Houses of Parliament, Adelaide.
- „ Public Library, Adelaide.
- „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australia).
- „ Royal Society, Adelaide. [Branch].
- „ Zoological and Acclimatisation Society, Adelaide.

TASMANIA.

The Houses of Parliament, Hobart.

- „ Mechanics' Institute, Launceston.
- „ Public Library, Hobart.
- „ „ Launceston.
- „ Royal Society of Tasmania.
- „ Statistical Department, Hobart.

VICTORIA.

The Houses of Parliament, Melbourne.

- „ Athenæum and Burke Museum, Beechworth.
- „ Bankers' Institute of Australasia, Melbourne.
- „ Mechanics' Institute and Athenæum, Melbourne.
- „ Mechanics' Institute, Bendigo.
- „ „ Sale.
- „ „ Stawell.
- „ Melbourne University.
- „ Public Library, Ballarat.
- „ „ Castlemaine.
- „ „ Geelong.
- „ „ Melbourne.
- „ Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (Victorian
- „ Royal Society of Victoria. [Branch].
- „ United Service Institution, Melbourne.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

- the Geological Survey Office, Perth.
- „ Houses of Parliament, Perth.
- „ Registrar-General, Perth.
- „ Public Library of Western Australia, Perth.

NEW ZEALAND.

- The Houses of Parliament, Wellington.
- „ Athenæum and Mechanics' Institute, Dunedin.
- „ Auckland Institute.
- „ Canterbury College, Christchurch.
- „ New Zealand Institute, Wellington.
- „ Polynesian Society, Wellington.
- „ Public Library, Auckland.
- „ „ Wellington.
- „ University of Otago, Dunedin.

CAPE COLONY.

- The Houses of Parliament, Capetown.
- „ Chamber of Commerce, Capetown.
- „ „ Port Elizabeth.
- „ Public Library, Capetown.
- „ „ Grahamstown.
- „ „ Kimberley, Griqualand West.
- „ „ Port Elizabeth.
- „ South African Philosophical Society, Cape Town.

RHODESIA.

- Public Library, Bulawayo.

NATAL.

- The Geological Survey, Pietermaritzburg.
- „ Houses of Parliament, Pietermaritzburg.
- „ Public Library, Durban.
- „ „ „ Pietermaritzburg.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

- The Government Library, Bloemfontein.

WEST AFRICA.

- Lagos Institute.

WEST INDIES.

- The Agricultural Society of Trinidad.
- „ Agriculture Office, Antigua.
- „ Court of Policy, British Guiana.
- „ Free Public Library, Antigua.
- „ Free Library, Barbados.
- „ Institute of Jamaica.
- „ Jamaica Agricultural Society, Kingston.
- „ Legislative Council, Grenada.
- „ Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of British [Guiana.
- „ Victoria Institute, Trinidad.

MAURITIUS.

- The Public Library, Port Louis,

*Royal Colonial Institute.***INDIA.**

The Agri-Horticultural Society of Madras.
 „ Asiatic Society of Bengal.
 „ Geological Survey, Calcutta.

CEYLON.

The Planters' Association of Ceylon, Kandy.
 „ Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch).

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.

The Royal Asiatic Society (Straits Branch).

AUSTRIA.

The Geographical Society, Vienna.

BELGIUM.

Bibliothèque de l'Etat Independant du Congo.
 International Colonial Institute.
 Société d'Etudes Coloniales.

EGYPT.

National Printing Department, Cairo.
 The Public Library, Alexandria.

FRANCE.

Bibliothèque de l'Institut National de France.
 Comité de l'Afrique Française, Paris.
 Comité de l'Océanie Française, Paris.

GERMANY.

The Imperial German Government.
 Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft.
 Kolonial-Wirtschaftliches Komitee, Berlin.

HOLLAND.

Colonial Museum, Haarlem.
 Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
 van Nederlandsch-Indië.
 State Archives Department, The Hague.

ITALY.

Società Africana d' Italia.
 Società d'esplorazione Commerciale in Africa.

JAPAN.

Formosan Association, Tokyo.

JAVA.

La Société des Arts et des Sciences, Batavia.

UNITED STATES.

American Colonisation Society, Washington.
 „ Geographical Society, New York.
 „ Museum of Natural History, New York.
 „ Department of Agriculture, Washington.
 „ Bureau of Statistics, Washington.
 The Commercial Museum, Philadelphia.
 „ Department of State, Washington.
 „ Missouri Botanical Gardens, St. Louis.
 „ National Geographic Society, Washington.
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington

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